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JOURNAL OF THE PALESTINE ORIENTAL SOCIETY
VOL. I

THE PALESTINE ORIENTAL SOCIETY
JERUSALEM

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CORRIGENDA

Page	6, line 25,	read	פתג האפה	instead of	פתג האמה
„	13, „ 7 from below „	ען,	Hebrew,	not	Coptic
„	23, „ 2 „ „	Pilter			
„	27, „ 7 „ „	während			
„	33, „ 20 „ „	archaïque			
„	„ „ 25 „ „	contributions			
„	„ „ 10 from below „	לטב כל מן			
„	34, „ 8 „ „	inscription			
„	„ „ 10 „ „	déformation			
„	„ „ 15 „ „	générations			
„	„ „ 3 from below „	déplacement			
„	44, „ 9 „ „	occasions			
„	„ „ 19 „ „	יתבונן			
„	45, „ 4, before “sans”,	read	r.		
„	„ „ 37, after “comme”,	read	nimmôl, nimmôlu.		
„	„ „ 39, after <i>i</i>	read	nizzôn niddôn nillôsh, au lieu de nazôn nadôn nalôsh.		
„	„ last line	read	“au lieu de <i>n'kapper—n'wass'ru</i> nous avons obtenu <i>nikapper niwass'ru</i> .”		
„	46, line 4,	read	“donc <i>n'kapper—n'wass'ru=nikapper—niwass'ru=nikkapper—niwass'ru</i> .”		
„	„ „ 6 from below	read	הבנס twice.		
„	„ „ 2 „ „	Soph.			
„	47 „ 1 „ „	שוכתי-שושתי			

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

PALESTINE ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

Vol. I.

OCTOBER, 1920

No. I.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

"The Palestine Oriental Society" owes its origin to the American Assyriologist, Dr. Albert T. Clay. During a year's residence in Palestine in the capacity of "Annual Professor of the American School of Archaeological Research in Palestine," it occurred to him that such a Society was not only possible and desirable, but might even play a useful part in the new epoch in the study of the antiquities of the Holy Land which was to be expected under a new and enlightened administration. Accordingly he called together in Jerusalem a representative gathering for the purpose of inaugurating a society which should have as its object the cultivation and publication of researches on the Ancient East.

At this preliminary meeting held on January 9th 1920 the following were present :—

Le Rév. Père Abel, Professeur à l'Ecole Biblique de St. Etienne, Jerusalem.

Dr. W. F. Albright, Fellow and Instructor in Semitic Languages, John Hopkins University, Baltimore; Fellow of the American School of Archaeological Research in Palestine.

Mr. Eliezer Ben Yehudah, Editor of the *Thesaurus Totius Hebraicitatis et Veteris et Recentioris*.

Dr. A. T. Clay, Professor of Assyriology in Yale University; Annual Professor of the American School of Archaeological Research in Palestine.

The Archdeacon Cleophas, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Jerusalem.

Le Rév. Père Cré, des Missionnaires d'Afrique, Jerusalem.

Capt. K.E.C. Cresswell, Late Inspector of Antiquities to the British Army of Occupation in Palestine.

The Rev. Herbert Danby, Senior Kennicott Hebrew Scholar in the University of Oxford; attached to St. George's Cathedral, Jerusalem.

Le Rév. Père Declodt, des Missionnaires d'Afrique, Jerusalem.

Capt. E. T. H. Mackay, Inspector of Antiquities to the British Army of Occupation in Palestine.

Le Rév. Père Meistermann, des Franciscains de Terre-Sainte.

Major L. Nott, Military Governor of Tul-Karim, Palestine.

Le Rév. Père Orfali, des Franciscains de Terre-Sainte.

The Rev. Dr. J. P. Peters, Professor in the University of the South. Lecturer in the American School of Archaeological Research in Palestine.

Monsieur Rais, Consul Général, Délégué du Haut Commissariat de France, Jerusalem.

Le Rév. Père Savignac, Professeur à l'Ecole Biblique de St. Etienne, Jerusalem.

Dr. Nahum Slousch, Professor of New Hebrew Literature, the Sorbonne, Paris; Contributor to the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*; Secretary of the Hebrew Archaeological Society.

Col. Ronald Storrs, C. M. G., C. B. E., Military Governor of Jerusalem.

Le Rév. Père Dhorme, Prieur du
Convent des Dominicains; Professeur
à l'Ecole Biblique de St. Etienne,
Jerusalem.

Le Rév Père Leopold Dressaire, Supé-
rieur des Pères Assomptionistes, Notre
Dame de France, Jerusalem.

Dom Gregoire Fournier, Supérieur
des Bénédictins du Mont Sion,
Jerusalem.

The Rev. Dr. O.A. Glazebrook, United
States Consul in Jerusalem.

Le Rév. Père Carrière, Professeur à
l'Ecole Biblique de St. Etienne,
Jerusalem.

Le Rév. Père Lagrange, Directeur
de l'Ecole Biblique de St. Etienne,
Jerusalem; Correspondant de l'Institut
de France.

Le Rév. Père Vincent, Professeur à
l'Ecole Biblique de St. Etienne,
Jerusalem.

Maj. the Rev. P.N. Waggett, S. S. J. E.
Political Officer, Palestine.

Dr. P D'Erf Wheeler, Jerusalem Rep-
resentative of the Palestine Exploration
Fund.

Dr. W. H. Worrell, Professor of
Phonetics and Instructor in Arabic
and other Oriental Languages in the
Kennedy School of Missions; Director
of the American School of Archaeologi-
cal Research in Jerusalem.

Mr. David Yellin, M.B.E. Director of the
Hebrew Teachers' Seminary in Jerusa-
lem; President of the Council of
Jerusalem Jews.

The need, the attractiveness, and the importance of such a Society were convincingly urged by Dr. Clay. Although there had been for a long time, in Jerusalem and other parts of Palestine, learned representatives of various countries, societies and religious bodies, there had as yet existed no means whereby they could meet together for mutual criticism and stimulus. The results of their individual labours were normally unknown to fellow-workers in the same or kindred fields until published in isolated European and American periodicals. And, furthermore, nothing but good could follow from an increased facility of personal intercourse between scholars themselves, to say nothing of the opportunity offered to that very large number of people in Palestine and Syria (who, though not themselves professional students, always followed with keen interest the results of the various researches which were going on around them) of seeing and hearing men whose work had earned them in many cases a world-wide reputation.

The present moment seemed to be opportune and to hold out the best hopes for the success of such a venture. During Turkish rule Palestine was scarcely an open field for the archæologist; those who tried to carry on such work were not many in number and usually laboured under many and tiresome disabilities. But now there was every prospect of the removal of most of these difficulties, and a large influx of scholars of various nationalities, with a common interest in archæological investigations of all kinds, as well as a still larger number of those possessed of a very living interest in the results of such work.

EXPOSE GENERAL.

Un certain nombre d'orientalistes réunis à Jérusalem sur l'initiative de M. le Dr. A. T. Clay, l'assyriologue américain bien connu, ont décidé de fonder une société dont le but est de favoriser la culture et la publication des recherches sur l'ancien Orient.

A cette réunion qui a eu lieu le 9 janvier ont pris part 28 savants représentants de divers pays.

M. Clay a exposé avec force et conviction les raisons qui plaident en faveur de la fondation d'une pareille société dont le besoin et l'importance sont évidents. Car bien que l'on rencontre à Jérusalem et dans les autres centres de la Palestine des personnes originaires de divers pays, ainsi que des sociétés et des établissements confessionnels qui portent un vif intérêt aux études orientales, il n'a cependant été créé jusqu'ici aucun organe qui puisse servir de trait d'union entre les savants. L'absence d'un pareil organe a eu pour résultat qu'aucune occasion ne leur a été offerte jusqu'à présent d'entrer en contact personnel les uns avec les autres. Un échange continuuel entre eux d'observations utiles eût pu cependant stimuler les efforts individuels de chacun, efforts qui jusqu'ici restent d'une façon générale inconnus de différents savants qui travaillent dans le même domaine en Palestine et qui, le plus souvent, n'en prennent connaissance que par l'intermédiaire des revues spéciales qui paraissent en Europe et en Amérique.

Or, rien ne saurait être plus utile que la création d'un centre qui favoriserait les relations personnelles entre les savants de toute origine, sans parler de l'occasion qui serait ainsi donnée à un grand nombre de personnes qui résident en Palestine, et qui s'intéressent à nos études, de rencontrer et d'entendre des personnalités scientifiques qui, très souvent, jouissent d'une renommée mondiale.

Le moment actuel nous paraît être très propice et du meilleur augure pour la réussite d'une pareille entreprise. Sous la domination turque la Palestine était demeurée un champ fort peu accessible à l'archéologie. Les rares savants qui ont persévéré dans leur tâche se sont trouvés aux prises avec des difficultés extraordinaires. Aujourd'hui, ces difficultés semblent devoir disparaître ; si bien qu'il faut s'attendre à ce que des savants de toute nationalité, entraînés par un zèle louable pour les recherches archéologiques, affluent très nombreux en ces pays et à ce que le nombre de ceux qui s'intéressent aux résultats de ces travaux aille en augmentant sans cesse.

CONSTITUTION.

ART. I. The name of the Society shall be "The Palestine Oriental Society".

ART. II. The Object of the Society shall be the cultivation and publication of researches on the ancient Orient.

ART. III. The members of the Society shall be distinguished as active and honorary. All candidates for membership shall be proposed by the Board of Directors at a stated Meeting of the Society. The votes of three quarters of the members present shall be required for an election.

ART. IV. The Officers of the Society shall consist of a President, two Vice-Presidents, Secretary, Treasurer, and three Directors. These shall be elected by ballot at the Annual Meeting, and shall serve one year, except the three Directors who shall serve three years, one to be elected each year.

ART. V. The Board of Directors shall consist of the officers named in ART. IV. They shall propose all new candidates for election to membership, regulate the financial matters of the Society, superintend its publications, and carry into effect the resolutions of the Society. Four members of the Board shall constitute a quorum.

ART. VI. The Meetings of the Society shall be held in January, March, May and November. The November Meeting shall be regarded as the Annual Meeting when the yearly reports of the Officers shall be read, and the Annual Elections held.

ART. VII. This constitution may be amended on the recommendation of the Boards of Directors, by a vote of three quarters of the members present at a stated Meeting.

BY-LAWS.

I. Each active Member shall pay into the treasury an annual subscription of 100 piastres. The payment of 1,000 piastres at any one time will constitute membership for life.

II. Active and Honorary Members shall be entitled to a copy of all publications issued by the Society during their membership.

III. Candidates for membership, who have been elected by the Society, shall qualify as members by the payment of the annual subscription within three months of the time notice of such election is posted to them. A failure so to qualify shall be construed as a refusal to become a member. If any corporate member shall for two years fail to pay the subscription, his name may, at the discretion of the Board of Directors, be dropped from the list of members.

IV. The President at the Annual Meeting shall appoint a Committee of Arrangements, a Committee of Nominations, and a Committee of Auditors for the following year.

V. The Official Languages of the Society shall be French and English.

REPORTS OF MEETINGS :

The First General Meeting of the Society took place in Jerusalem, on March 22nd 1920, and was held at the Military Governorate by permission of Colonel R. Storrs, the Military Governor of Jerusalem. The afternoon session commenced at 2.30 p.m. with the President, Père Lagrange, in the Chair. After the President's Inaugural Address, the following papers were read :

Rev. Dr. J.P. PETERS : Influence of topography in the Psalms.

Père VINCENT : L'inscription d'Arak el-Emir.

Professor W. H. WORRELL : Noun classes and polarity in Hamitic, and their bearing upon the origin of the Semites.

Mr. Samuel RAFAELI : Early Hebrew Weights.

Mr. David YELLIN : Some fresh meanings for Hebrew roots

Mr. Israel EITAN : Contribution à l'histoire du verbe hébreu.

Rev. Timotheos THEMELIS : The Bethlehem Mosaics.

Père DHORME : L'emploi métaphorique des noms de parties du corps en Akkadien et en Hébreu.

Dr. Nahum SLOUSCH : A Palestinian Hebrew Inscription.

The evening session was open to the general public, and before proceeding with the reading of papers contributed by members of the Society, speeches were delivered by Dr. Glazebrook, the American Consul ; Mons. Louis Rais, the French Délégué ; Dr. Mac-Innes, the Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem ; Mr. G. K. Chesterton, and Mr. David Yellin.

The following papers were then submitted :

Captain E.T.H. MACKAY : Egyptian Friezes (with drawings).

Mr. A.Z. IDELSON : Hebrew music, with special reference to the musical intonations in the reading of the Pentateuch.

Dr. Aaron MAZIE : Diseases of Palestine in the Bible and the Talmud.

Père DRESSAIRE : Jérusalem à l'époque juive et les fouilles des Pères Assomptionnistes sur le Mont Sion.

Lack of time prevented the reading of four other papers by Père LAGRANGE, Mr. E. BEN YEHUDAH, Dr. W. F. ALBRIGHT, and Mr. Ephraim RUBINOVITCH.

The Second General Meeting was held on May 25th 1920, at the Military Governorate in Jerusalem. After new members had been elected, it was announced that His Excellency Field Marshal the Viscount Allenby had accepted the position of Patron of the Society. The following well-known scholars, after being nominated by the Board of Directors, were unanimously elected to

honorary membership: Sir George Adam SMITH and Professor G. A. COOKE of Great Britain; Mons. CLERMONT-GANNEAU and Père SCHEIL of France; Prof. C. C. TORREY and Prof. Morris JASTROW of America; and Prof. GUIDI of Italy.

The following contributions were then read:

Prof. A. T. CLAY. The Amorite origin of the name of Jerusalem.

Le Rév. Père LAGRANGE. Les noms géographiques de Palestine dans l'ancienne version syriaque des Evangiles.

Mr. W. J. PHYTHIAN-ADAMS. An early race of Palestine.

Mr. A. Z. IDELSON. A Comparison of some ecclesiastical modes with traditional synagogal melodies.

Le Rév. Père DHORME. L'assyrien au secours du Livre de Job.

Dr. W. F. ALBRIGHT. Mesopotamian influence in the Temple of Solomon.

Le Rév. Père DECLOEDT. Note sur une monnaie de bronze de Bar Cochba.

Mr. H. E. CLARK. The evolution of flint instruments from the early palaeolithic to the neolithic age.

Mr. Eliezer Ben YEHUDAH. The Language of the Edomites.

Mr. Samuel RAFAELI. Recent coin discoveries in Palestine.

Dr. J. P. PETERS. Notes of locality in the Psalter.

Dr. J. D. WHITING. The Samaritan Pentateuch.

Mr. S. TOLKOWSKY. A new translation of פתק האפה (2 Samuel 8 : 1).

Le Rév. Père ORFALI. Un Sanctuaire Cananéen à Siar el Ganem (prés Bethléem).

Mr. Israel EITAN. Quelques racines inconnues dans le Livre de Job."

Dr. Nahum SLOUSCH. Nouvelle interprétation d'une inscription phénicienne.



INAUGURAL ADDRESS—By the PRESIDENT,

Le Rev. Père LAGRANGE, Jerusalem.

Mesdames et Messieurs,

Que faisons-nous ? Nous offrons vraiment un spectacle étrange. L'Europe, l'Asie, le monde entier, vient d'être en proie à la plus effroyable tourmente que l'histoire ait connue. Le sol tremble encore. A la guerre entre les nations succède le malaise, sinon partout la lutte ouverte entre les classes. Il se forme des comités pour assurer le bon ordre, pour essayer de pourvoir au pain quotidien. On se demande si l'humanité pourra vivre dans des conditions économiques nouvelles. Tous les regards se portent anxieux vers l'avenir. Et nous voilà réunis pour traiter de menus problèmes qui ont à peine intéressé le passé, pour discuter du sens des mots et des règles de la grammaire, nous occuper de la géographie ancienne, des fleurs des champs, des vieilles mélodies, des lettres gravées sur les rochers de la Palestine !

En vérité, je crains qu'on ne nous reproche de jouer à la poupée dans un monde adulte, inquiet de ses destinées et que des problèmes plus urgents préoccupent.

Mais d'abord, Messieurs, nous travaillons, et c'est un excellent exemple que nous donnons dans un temps où les bras qui ont tenu l'épée répugnent à reprendre les outils ou la charrue. Nous travaillons, et la journée de huit heures nous paraît trop courte pour assouvir notre curiosité. Autant que la crise du pétrole le permet, vous prolongez vos veilles studieuses bien avant dans la nuit, et si l'insécurité du pays n'y faisait obstacle, on vous verrait reprendre l'exploration du sol pour lui arracher ses secrets. Travailler, c'est la vieille loi, opportune si l'on ne veut pas que notre humus palestinien se recouvre de nouveau de ronces et d'épines, et le travail de l'esprit n'est pas moins pénible parfois que celui de défricher la steppe. Nous proclamons à notre manière qu'il est bon que chacun reprenne son poste et s'emploie au bien général.

Il est vrai que nous portons nos efforts ailleurs que les utiles ouvriers qui nous fournissent le pain, mais j'ose dire qu'à eux-mêmes nous ne sommes pas inutiles. Car l'homme d'aujourd'hui, si fier qu'il soit des progrès de son industrie, si haut qu'il élève son vol, n'est point un titan qui vienne de sortir du sein de la terre. C'est l'héritier de générations nombreuses, et il est soumis, quoiqu'il en pense peut-être, aux obscures influences de son hérédité et à des lois éternelles ; un poids de plus de quarante siècles le courbe vers la terre, un appel non moins ancien l'invite aux choses d'en haut. Si quelque jour pouvait percer les ténèbres de l'avenir, si quelque chose d'humain peut éclairer le présent, nous guider dans notre route, nous fortifier dans l'épreuve, raviver nos plus nobles espérances, c'est la leçon du passé, c'est la lumière de l'histoire. Seulement nous ne voulons plus de cette histoire, fille de l'imagination, qui brosse de grands tableaux et range dans un bel ordre des faits éclatants dont elle n'a pas contrôlé l'exactitude. Notre méthode exige des don-

nées précises, fussent elles de médiocre apparence. C'est par une étude attentive, patiente, à la suite d'une enquête poursuivie dans tous les milieux, que se fait aujourd'hui l'histoire. Les forces d'un homme n'y suffisent plus. Nous ne sommes plus au temps d'Hérodote, ni même de Bossuet ou de Macaulay.

Et voilà pourquoi, Messieurs, nous nous sommes groupés. Il serait assurément difficile de rencontrer ailleurs qu'à Jérusalem des compétences aussi diverses, sur un sol plus profondément transformé par les civilisations les plus variées. Nous y rencontrons l'empreinte de l'antique Babylone, mère du droit, des sciences exactes, de l'astronomie, d'un art réaliste et vigoureux. Pour lire les plus antiques annales de la Palestine, il faut être assyriologue. Mais ces annales ont été exhumées des sables de l'Égypte, parce que l'Égypte elle aussi avait foulé les plaines du pays de Canaan, l'Égypte d'où est venu Moïse avec les fils d'Israël. Et déjà la Grèce avait abordé à nos rivages, représentée par des ancêtres qu'elle avait oubliés depuis, les Philistins, fils de la Crète aux cent villes, chantée par Homère, et la première maîtresse des eaux orientales de la Méditerranée. Alexandre poussa jusqu'à Tyr et à Gaza sa course triomphale, et les Romains voulurent associer ce fleuron à la couronne d'empires que baignait leur mer. Enfin l'Islam vint, puis les Tartares, immense débordement de l'Asie qui provoqua le reflux européen.

Car vous le savez, Messieurs, et tous, Palestiniens d'origine ou d'adoption, nous en sommes fiers, cette contrée deshéritée avec ses collines arides du haut desquelles Jérusalem regarde vers le désert et vers la mer, ce pays aux dimensions étroites, mais si grand dans l'histoire, surtout religieuse, est au confluent des grandes civilisations antiques, et bien des races humaines, nourries sur ce sol, s'y sont endormies du sommeil de la terre. Il en est d'elles comme de ces couches de sédiment qui se forment au fond des mers, et qui révèlent aux géologues la flore et la faune disparues des temps écoulés. Mais s'il arrive dans ce domaine paisible de la nature que des couches plus basses se soulèvent tout à coup et remontent à la surface, que penser de ces stratification humaines, toujours vivantes dans leurs descendants ? Aussi, avouons-le, Jérusalem et la Palestine ont dans le monde entier la réputation d'un sol remué par l'ardeur des passions nationales et religieuses, et plus il appelle le concours des spécialistes les plus divers, plus il semble fait pour provoquer la mésintelligence et la discorde.

Eh bien, Messieurs, c'est à nous à faire à notre pays une meilleure réputation. Plus précieux encore que l'encouragement au travail, plus utile que les leçons de l'histoire, vous donnerez l'exemple de la concorde. Ou plutôt vous montrerez par l'histoire que la haine est stérile et destructrice, tandis que la concorde édifie, féconde, assure le bonheur de tous.

Sans doute cependant, et quelle que soit la bonne volonté générale, sera-t-il opportun de prendre des assurances. Nous ne parlerons pas de ce qui pourrait nous diviser. J'ose dire que par ma robe même on peut voir à qui appartiennent ma vie, mon cœur

et mon âme, mais je n'ai pas prononcé le mot de religion. Les études religieuses, les plus graves de toutes, et comme je pense les seules définitivement nécessaires, ne font point partie de notre programme. On ne devra les aborder que comme les abeilles font les fleurs, d'une touche délicate et ailée, et afin de composer du miel. Et quant à la politique, le mieux sera d'ignorer qu'elle existe et que quelques personnes puissent s'y intéresser.

Il ne me reste plus, Mesdames et Messieurs, qu'à vous exprimer ma gratitude pour l'honneur qui m'a été fait de présider cette première séance, à remercier Monsieur le gouverneur-militaire qui a bien voulu nous accueillir ici, et à déclarer fondée la *Société Orientale de Palestine*, en vous souhaitant une cordiale bienvenue.

SOME FRESH MEANINGS OF HEBREW ROOTS.

DAVID YELLIN

(Jerusalem).

There are certain roots in Hebrew which, besides the customary sense in which they occur in the Bible, have another sense as well. Only it so happens that they have this sense in only a small minority of the passages where they are used. So long as the language was living, the different meanings of the roots of the language were understood regardless of the frequency or infrequency of their occurrence; but once it ceased to be a spoken language and was confined to the limits of a book, the large portion of the language's vocabulary and radical significances not contained within that book began to be forgotten: and the same fate befell the secondary meanings of the roots we have in mind. Because they occurred in the majority of instances in one particular meaning, this meaning was kept in the reader's mind; and in course of time applied also in those instances where the second meaning should be applied, though this was only accomplished at times with difficulty. Consequent on this forced exegesis there sprang up diverse and bizarre renderings, where context was ignored and the whole passage rendered meaningless owing to ignorance of this other meaning inherent in the root.

A comparison with the vocabularies of the other Semitic languages enables us to rediscover these forgotten meanings, and to explain words in the Bible which seemed incomprehensible, or comprehensible only with difficulty, owing to the commoner significance being wrongly thrust on them. To illustrate this, we propose to bring forward a selection of such roots drawn from a large list in the present writer's possession.

אבד

Besides the meaning "to be lost," this root had among the Hebrews the same meaning which it has in Arabic (أَبَد), the sense of unending time, whose further limit "is lost" to us, withheld from our attainment—eternity. We find a case exactly like this in the root אָלַם, from which we get the word אָלֶם—a time whose end is "concealed" from us, [cf. נָעַלַם, *nif.* "be hidden"].

We find the root in this sense in the oracles of Balaam, and in verses from the Book of Job, which has been largely influenced by the Arabic language; and by applying this new interpretation we can better understand certain passages in the Bible:

(1) In Num. 24: 20, in the Balaam oracles, we read: *And he looked on Amalek, and took up his parable and said: Amalek (is) the first of the nations, and his latter end* אָבֵד עָרֵי אָבֵד (R.V. "shall come to

destruction.") We see, from the beginning of the verse that Balaam was expatiating in *praise* of Amalek, "first of the nations," and with this description agrees the parallel clause "and his latter end *is unto eternity*," i. e. as he is the first of the nations in time, so shall he be the last among them to exist, and his end shall reach "to the limit of eternity."

In the same way he praises the Kenite : *Strong is thy dwelling-place, and thy nest is set in the crag...and they shall afflict Asshur and afflict Eber*, אֲבֵר הוּא עֲרֵי אֲבֵר i.e. the Kenites also [i.e. like Amalek] shall endure for ever.

Through this interpretation, עֲרֵי which has reference to time, becomes clearer, and affords a parallel to the common expression עֲרֵי עֶד (Ps. 53 : 18 ; 92 : 8 ; 132 : 12, 14 ; Is. 26 : 4 ; 65 : 18) and the expression עַד עוֹלָם (Gen. 13 : 15 ; Ex. 12 : 24 ; etc.).

Was the word אֲבֵר, which is twice written without waw, originally a segholate, 'obhêd, which is more in accord with its abstract meaning (like נֶזַח with the same meaning) ? The same question is raised even if we explain this word in the customary way "destruction" (H. Olshausen ; *Lehr. der Hebr. Spr.*, p. 337).

(2) Besides the form אֲבֵר, we have also from the same root and with the same meaning the form אֲבֵרוֹן. This corresponds with the abstract noun formation as in רַעֲבוֹן. Here we find the suffix וֹן—, apparently indicative of time just like the *tanwin* in Arabic (أَوَّ), and we also find it added to proper names like Hebron, Shomeron, Eglon and the like, indicating locality. We find this form in Job 31 : 12 ; *For it, (fornication), is a fire devouring* עַד אֲבֵרוֹן ; i. e. for ever, without cessation. We find the same idea in connexion with the word עוֹלָם in Is. 33 : 14 ; *Who among us shall dwell with the devouring fire ? Who among us shall dwell with everlasting burning ?* מוֹקְרֵי עוֹלָם.

(3) We find the root used as a verb in the *qal*, with the same significance : Job. 30 : 2 : *Yea, the strength of their hands, whereto should it profit me, men upon whom* אֲבֵר כָּלָה, i. e. old age is already come upon them from of old, and Job's mockery is natural against those who are younger than he (v. 1.), for these young men were weak and feeble in comparison with him, and powerless ; and they were as though old age had already, long ago, come upon them.

The author of the Book of Job uses the same expression elsewhere, employing the verb derived from עוֹלָם, "eternity," in Job. 6 : 16 : *Wherein the snow* יִתְעַלֵּם, i. e. exists eternally. Here we have the *hithpa'el* form, corresponding to يَتَعَالَى in Arabic.

אמן

To the various meanings which this root has in Hebrew, we must add one belonging to the Arabic *أمن*, namely "be confident," "unafraid of evil." In this sense we find the root in the following places in the Bible :

(1) In the Nif'al : (a) Is. 7 : 9. *If ye will not believe in me* (adopting the reading *בִּי* instead of *בִּי*, according to the variant in Kittel's text) *לֹא הָאֲמֵנוּ* ; i. e. ye shall not remain in peace and security.

(b) Chr. 20 : 20, *Believe in the Lord your God והאמנו*, and rest in confidence, just as he says, immediately after : *Believe in his prophets והצליתו* and prosper.

In these two passages, one of which is certainly influenced by the other, we have a play of words on the two meanings of the root *אמן*.

(2) In the Hif'il. (a) Job 39 : 24, in his description of the restlessness of the horse in time of battle, the writer says : *With storm and rage יגמא he maketh holes in the ground* [i. e. he makes holes in the ground with his hoofs by stamping like the horse which wishes to run but is restrained by his rider] *ולא יאמין כי קול שופר* and he cannot remain quiet and stand at rest, for his stormy spirit drives him on as he hears the sound of the trumpet.

(b) Prov. 14 : 15. *The simple-minded יאמין לכל דבר*. Here the meaning is not the usual one of the verb, that he believes in everything that is told him ; the continuation opposes this, and the parallelism here requires the meaning of "be confident, unfearing" — *The simple-minded is confident in every matter, but the prudent looketh well to his going : a wise man feareth and turneth away from evil, but the foolish man passeth by without fear.* ⁽¹⁾

The same idea occurs twice again in Proverbs. (22 : 3 ; 27 : 12).

The occurrence of the *nif'al* and the *hif'il* of this root with a meaning dealing with a subjective state of mind is paralleled by the use of the root *רנע*, with the same meaning in both *nif'al*, and *hif'il*, of restfulness, security (see Dt. 28 : 65 ; Is. 34 : 14 ; Jer. 47 : 6).

(3) As an adjective of the form *katûl* : 2 Sam. 20 : 19. *We are of them that are שלומי אֲמֵנוּ יִשְׂרָאֵל the men of Israel who dwell in peace and safety.* This description of the men of the city corresponds to the usual ideal description : cf. Jud. 18 : 7. *"The people ... that dwell לַבְטָח in security, שׁוֹקֵט וּבֹטָח quiet and secure ... and had no dealings with any man"* "עם בֹּטָח a people secure" (v. 10.)

(1) The word *מתעבר* in this sense of "pass by" is also found in Prov. 20 : 2. "The anger of a king is as the roaring of a lion ; he that passes by—*מתעבר* (passes by him at the time of his anger) sins against his life."

The *katûl* form of these adjectives שָׁלוֹם and אָמֵן corresponds with that of the adjectives בָּטוּחַ and כָּמוֹךְ (Is. 28 : 3) which have almost the same meaning.

(4) In the abstract noun form, אֲמִנָּה : (a) Is. 33 : 6, where it occurs in the old feminine form with final *t* : *Thy times shall be אֲמִנָּה* i. e. Thy time shall be secure, and thou shalt fear no manner of thing.

(b) In Ex. 13 : 12, in the description of how, when Moses lifted up his hand Israel prevailed, and when his hand grew tired and drooped Amalek prevailed, and how Aaron and Hor supported his hands, it goes on to say : *Until the setting of the sun, his hands were אֲמִנָּה* in a secure condition, with no danger of his dropping them again from weariness.

It should be pointed out that this root אָמֵן has the same two meanings as the corresponding root בָּטַח which also indicates (a) to rely upon someone, and (b) to feel confident, in safety.

דָּרַךְ

The powerful and beautiful phrase חֲרָבִי נִפְשִׁינוּ [R.V. *O my soul, march on in strength*; R. V. mg. *O my soul thou hast trodden down strength*] in the Song of Deborah (Jud. 5 : 21) gives little definite meaning owing to the customary sense of the root דָּרַךְ being assumed. ⁽¹⁾

In the opinion of the present writer, there is here preserved in this root דָּרַךְ the meaning which it has in Arabic and Syriac in the form corresponding to the Hebrew Hif'il (أَدْرَكَ) "to reach;" and after the singer has described the overthrow of the enemy, how the river Kishon swept them away, she exclaims with rapture : *Thou, my soul, hast attained power and greatness.* ⁽²⁾

The same sense is preserved in another verse in Judges (20:43), which, in the present writer's opinion, is a remnant of an old song on the destruction of Benjamin : *They inclosed the Benjamites round about, and pursued after him as far as Manoha.* ⁽³⁾ And here, im-

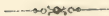
(1) Nowack leaves this part of the verse untranslated, and says : The last section is obviously also corrupt ; for even if we regard חֲרָבִי as jussive, the phrase "tread on, my soul, with might" or "tread under the strong" (Hollmann Bochmann) still gives it no sense in this connexion. How to amend it, with certainty, we do not see.

(2) דָּרַךְ having the meaning of the Arabic عَزَّ as elsewhere in the Old Testament (cf. Jer. 48 : 17 ; Is. 52 : 1 ; Ps. 78 : 61 ; Prov. 31 : 25).

(3) Moore reads *Manoha* instead of *m'nuha* — resting-place — explaining it as a place-name, related to the name Nohah, one of the sons of Benjamin, mentioned in 1 Chr. 8 : 2 ; and in the present writer's opinion, this is the name of the city "Manabath" mentioned in 1 Chr. 8 : 6, where it speaks of Benjamin saying, "These are the heads of fathers' houses of the inhabitants of Geba, and they carried them captive to Manabath."

mediately afterwards, it mentions : "Over against Giba" and *הָרִיכָהוּ* caught up with him, at a place near ⁽¹⁾ Gib'ah, towards the sunrise.

Here the word *הָרִיכָהוּ* occurs in the nif'il, as in Arabic and Syriac ⁽²⁾ and it is used here after the word *הָרִיפָהוּ* (exactly like the expression in the "Song of Moses" Ex. 15: 9 *The enemy said : I will pursue, I will overtake.*



(1) The word *עַל* has also the meaning of the Arabic *عند* "By, at," as the writer hopes to explain elsewhere.

(2) Nowack says : *מִנְחָה הָרִיכָהוּ* defies explanation, for the treading down of the enemy can only be denoted by *הָרַסָהוּ*.

NOUN CLASSES AND POLARITY IN HAMITIC AND THEIR BEARING UPON THE ORIGIN OF THE SEMITES.

BY W. H. WORRELL,

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§1. In the year nineteen hundred and eleven Carl Meinhof published an article *Das Ful in seiner Bedeutung für die Sprachen der Hamiten, Semiten und Bantu* ⁽¹⁾ and, a year or two later, a book entitled *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*. ⁽²⁾ In both of these he expounds his theory of the Hamitic noun classes and of polarity. This theory has received public recognition by at least one Semitic scholar, ⁽³⁾ in so far as it bears upon Semitic grammar.

§2. But there is another side to Meinhof's work, far more important than the mere explanation of curious phenomena in Semitic, which has not up to the present attracted the attention of Semitic scholars, and which it is my purpose to bring to the attention of this distinguished society. I refer to the confirmation which his work gives of the generally accepted Arabian theory of Semitic origins, especially of that theory as elaborated by Noeldeke, placing the ultimate origin of the Semites in northern Africa. ⁽⁴⁾

§3. By Hamites Meinhof means a race of people, originally inhabiting the north of Africa, at a time when it was separated from southern Africa and joined to Europe, which proceeded eastward into Arabia and southward into continental Africa as far as the Cape. The various mixtures of these Hamites with Sudanians ⁽⁵⁾ and Bushmen ⁽⁶⁾ have been traced linguistically by Meinhof and anthropologically by von Luschan. ⁽⁷⁾ This race was closely related to the then south Europeans, ⁽⁸⁾ furnished the dominant element in the mixed peoples resulting from its conquests in Africa and, crossing into Arabia, became the nucleus of another organism and the beginning of a greater chapter in history than it was destined to realize in the land of Ham.

(1) In vol. lxy of the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

(2) Also, in German and English, a more popular work on *The Study of African Languages*. None of these is accessible in Jerusalem.

(3) Brockelmann, in *ZDMG* vol. lxvii.

(4) Linguistically, of course, and without attempting to say to what extent racially also. Cf. note 18.

(5) Large, black, woolly-haired speakers of monosyllabic or agglutinative languages which have word-tone and no gender.

(6) Smaller, yellowish, scant-haired speakers of click languages.

(7) In an appendix to *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*.

(8) The present south Europeans represent a wedge driven in from the east. The racial affinities of Berbers is with north Europeans.

§ 4. The writer attempts to show that these Hamitic languages form a series of gradations, in respect of noun classes and polarity, beginning with Ful in the western Sudan and ending with Bishari in the eastern Nilotic desert, the eastern end being most like Semitic and the western least like it. The western end he further continues by establishing a still more remote connexion with the great Bantu family of central and southern Africa. We may even more confidently extend the eastern end of the series up through Arabic, Canaanitish, Syrian and Babylonian, observing that the southern end of this Semitic series is most like the eastern end of the Hamitic, and the northern end least like it.

§ 5. The conclusion to be drawn from this graded series, beginning in western north Africa and ending in Babylonia, is as irresistible in the present case as it would be if we were dealing with one of the natural sciences. There has been a development from one type into another through a number of intermediates, each of which is a little further from the original than its predecessor. Those members which explain their successors are the more original. Semitic has developed out of Hamitic and not the reverse.

§ 6. The two phenomena on which the classification is based are, as has been said, word classes and polarity. Meinhoff attempts to show that the many noun classes of Bantu⁽¹⁾ are narrowed down in Ful to four: of persons, of things, of large things and of small things. By a process of simplification, more pronounced toward the east, the four classes become two: large things, important things, persons and men, on the one hand, and small things, unimportant things, non-persons and women, on the other.⁽²⁾ Finally the grammatical gender of Semitic is evolved; not, however, without residual traces of the earlier systems.

§ 7. Meinhoff also calls attention for the first time to a phenomenon which he terms polarity. It is found in its most complete form in the more conservative Hamitic languages. Like the physical phenomenon of the same name, it proceeds from a law or principle by which a thing belonging to one of two possible categories is opposed (in thought) to things in the other category, and is transferred to the other category whenever any change is made in it. There are only two classes, (a) and (b). What is not (a) is (b). What is not (b) is (a). If you change (a) it becomes (b). If you change (b) it becomes (a).⁽³⁾

§ 8. One of the most common inflectional necessities is the change to denote the plural. Therefore, to make a noun plural you take it out of its class, (a) or (b), and put it into the remaining and

(1) Supposed to be an intimate amalgamation of pre-Ful with some Sudanian language.

(2) In Bilin, Chamir and Shlih the diminutives are "feminine." In Masai and Nama tree and stone with the "masculine" article are augmentative, with the "feminine" article diminutive. In Beḡawye the accusative of the "masculine" is "feminine." Proper names, even of women, are "masculine," as also the pronoun I, and that important animal, the cow.

(3) When one end of a steel bar or one coating of a Leyden jar is made positive the other will be found to be negative.

opposite class. Where there are only two classes, a "masculine" and a "feminine," the plural of the "masculine" must be "feminine," and of a "feminine" "masculine." The "feminine" ending indicates the plural of a "masculine," the "masculine" of a "feminine."⁽¹⁾

§ 9. Arabic, nearest to Hamitic geographically, is found also to be nearest it in the degree of its retention of these two old principles, and north and east Semitic most remote. In Arabic, while the laws are not, as in Hamitic, fully operative, yet they are to be observed in isolated phenomena some of which I shall now discuss.

§ 10. The numerals from three to ten inclusive are put in the opposite gender to that of the singular of the thing numbered,⁽²⁾ not because of any reason of sex, but because an antithesis was felt to exist between the two. The triad which numbered was felt to be less important than the men which it numbered; and, by polarity, the triad which numbered must be more important than the women which it numbered.

§ 11. The plural of many "masculine" nouns is "feminine." If the thing thought of is important in its primary aspect, it is unimportant in the secondary. So plurals like *بَحْرِيَّ* from *بَحْرِيَّة* *عَلَمَاءَ* from *عَلِيم* which have a feminine ending, and others like *رَجُل* from *رَجُل* which have not, and also tribal names.

§ 12. The plural of many "feminine" nouns is "masculine." If the thing thought of is unimportant in its primary aspect it is important in the secondary. So plurals like *بَيْضَ* from *بَيْضَة*.⁽³⁾ So the generalization of an action as *قَتَلَ* from *قَتْلَة*.⁽⁴⁾

§ 13. When it is desired to intensify an adjective which cannot be put in the measure *أَفْعُلُ* without losing its identity, as e.g. *عَلَام*, it is put into the "other" form and receives the "feminine" ending, becoming *عَلَامَة*. This is even done with forms in which it is not

(1) In Somali this is the rule for every noun which has a collective plural. In Nama the "feminine" singular is also the "masculine" plural.

(2) The period during which the Semites counted only to the limit of their ten digits must have been long; for when they resumed counting and went beyond, the old two-class polarity was inoperative.

(3) It is usual to regard this plural as primary and the singular as a *nomen unitatis*.

(4) It is usual to regard the "masculine" as primary and call the other a *nomen vicis*.

necessary, as e.g. كَرِيم intensive كَرِيمَةٌ⁽¹⁾. Thus we see that in خَبَازَةٌ the ending denotes sex, in عَلَامَةٌ intensity, in بَحَّارَةٌ plurality. The ending in reality is merely the sign of a secondary or derived class. In the first case it cannot be used for the plural because of the possibility of a female baker. But one does not think of female scholars or sailors.

§ 14. The so-called negative غَيْرٌ is not really a negative but an "oppositeive." The universe is divided into هَذَا and غَيْرُ هَذَا and it contains absolutely nothing else besides. The one half is the opposite of the other; and when Sulaimân descended upon مَاءُ غَيْرٌ it was not merely "the absence of water" but "that which is not water." In order to express the absence of a thing without the presence of its opposite the preposition مِنْ must be used; and hence مِنْ غَيْرِ مَاءٍ means "without water."

§ 15. For many years Arabia has been regarded as the cradle of the Semites.⁽²⁾ Noeldeke, in the last edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*,⁽³⁾ still maintains this view, and regards Hamitic Africa as their still remoter place of origin. Grimme does the same.⁽⁴⁾ Attempts have been made to show that they came from Babylonia⁽⁵⁾ or out of the north, or were indigenous to Syria and Palestine. One may bring in the Aramaeans from the Caspian and the Arabs out of Syria into the desert, but it still remains to be shown why Arabic should have sporadic affinities to the systems which are complete in Hamitic. Any biologist, being shown the facts, would say that the sporadic phenomena are, as it were, residual organs, surviving with altered functions from a former age, and explained only by reference to the type from which they have been inherited. They are not germs of a system unelaborated, for they do not grow out of the language consciousness which surrounds them. Not only must Arabia have been the most ancient home of the Semites as such; but they must have had a long previous history, beginning in the western part of north Africa.

(1) Possibly the curious form خَلِيفَةٌ is an honorific intensive of خَلِيفَ.

(2) Renan, *Histoire Générale*, 29; Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, § 42; Semmler, *ZDMG*, xxvii, 397.

(3) Sub voc. *Semitic Languages*.

(4) *Mohammed*, p. 6. f. But his one-sided preference for Abyssinia cannot be accepted.

(5) Guidi, *Della sede primitiva dei populi Semitici*, *RAL*, cclxxvi.

NOTE A.—*The Reciprocal Change of Sin and Shin in Semitic.*

1. In a very large number of instances sin in South Semitic stands for shin in North Semitic. E.g.: Arabic *nafs* = Hebrew *nefesh*. In an equally large number of instances the reverse holds. E.g. Arabic *bishāra* = Hebrew *besōrā*. Two problems are presented by this reciprocal change: (I) How is it possible for each of two sounds to go over into the other. (II) Which of the two sounds is original in a given instance. Both problems are solved by a recognition and application of the principle of polarity.

2. This reciprocal interchange of sin and shin has never been satisfactorily explained. The difficulty is obvious. Although either may change into the other under the influence of some operative tendency, the result will be the total surrender of one or the other; and, even though a contrary tendency may subsequently operate, the result will be a single sound, one or the other of the original sounds. Again, it is impossible to conceive of two opposite tendencies operating at the same time to produce two directly opposite results, for the tendencies would neutralize one another without result.

3. The principle of polarity, dominant in Hamitic and prominent in Semitic, ordains that a thing belonging to one of two possible classes, upon passing over into the other class maintains the conscious contrast between itself and an opposed thing by transferring that thing to what has now become the opposite class; (a) of class (1) is opposed in thought to (b) of class (2). If (a) passes into class (2) then (b) must pass into class (1) to preserve the demanded contrast. Applying this principle to the problem in hand: there were two original sounds, sin and shin. A tendency became operative to change sin into shin or else to change shin into sin. At the same time by polarity the remaining sound was transferred into the opposite class, and became the opposite sound.

4. It remains to show which of the two sounds was original in a given word, which of the changes is phonetic and which polaric. It is phonetically possible for either sound to pass into the other; but there is some presumption in favor of sin becoming shin rather than the reverse. This presumption is strengthened by consideration of the fact that Arabic *thalāth* must have passed through a form *salās* (cf. Ethiopic) before becoming *shālosh*. In other words *thalāth* first joined *nafs* and both of them then received a shin. At the same time Arabic *bishāra* became Hebrew *besōrā* by polarity. The Arabic therefore contains the original values; sin became shin by phonetic change; and shin became sin by polarity.

NOTE B.—Plurals with بنات to Singulars with ابن

§ 1. The jackal is called in Arabic ابْنُ آوَى in the plural بناتُ آوَى. Similarly a male camel that has entered upon his third year is called ابْنُ لبُون in the plural بناتُ لبُون. A single star of the constellation Ursa is called ابْنُ نَعَش in the plural بناتُ نَعَش. A kind of bad mushroom is called in the plural بناتُ أَوْبَر, limping horses بناتُ أَعْوَج, good stallion camels بناتُ ذَاعِر, and the two last take the verb of the third person plural even though they are masculine. The بناتُ is used in all these cases "for the feminization of the group"; and, in the case of أَوْبَر. أَعْوَج. because they are of the form أَفْعَلُ (*Lisān al-Arab*; *Hava Arab.-Engl. Dict.*) So much for native sources.⁽¹⁾

§ 2. All of these plurals are original, and are used because, for some reason or another, the usual plurals are felt to be impossible. In some cases the singulars are back-formations, put in the masculine by the principle of polarity in order that they may contrast with the plurals. The words with which بناتُ and ابْنُ are thus compounded are all in the nature of proper names: ⁽²⁾ daughters of Waw-Waw, daughters of Downy-Hair, daughters of Lane-Foot, daughters of Smolder-Fire, daughters of Drink-Milk, daughters of Ursa. This is proved by the absence of the article from all of them! They are felt to be neither singulars nor plurals. The plural is then formed in one way and the singular in the opposite way. Even the modern Arabic *wāwī* (jackal) is felt by natives to have no convenient plural, most of them, when asked, hesitating between *wāwīn*, and *wāwīya* and knowing nothing of the formation with بناتُ

(1) "When ابْنُ is applied to that which is not a human being, to an irrational being, it has for its plural بناتُ: thus the plural of ابْنُ مَخَاضٍ (a young male camel in his second year) is بناتُ مَخَاضٍ etc." LANE, ابن

(2) LANE, آوَى

§ 3. Without weakening the case for the existence here of polarity, it may be contended that the *ابْنُ* formations are primary rather than the *بَنَاتُ* formations, especially in view of the Hebrew *ben baqar*, which has no plural, and Assyrian *mārê nîni*, which has no singular—except of course the regular ones. But it must be noted that neither *baqar* nor *nîni* is quite so personal as the Arabic examples; and of course there is no polarity, as far as examples permit of observation. Arabic apparently favored the operation of polarity as it wished to avoid combinations with *بنى* which sounded like tribal names; Hebrew avoided the same combination, for the same reason, but did not resort to polarity; Assyrian, because it employed *bît* instead of *mārê* in tribal names, did not need to avoid using the latter and so did not resort to polarity.

§ 4. The expressions *بَنَاتُ لَبُونٍ* for male camels that have entered upon their third year, and *بَنَاتُ دَاعِرٍ* for "stallion camels," are so conspicuously contradictory of real gender as to leave no doubt of the presence here of polarity.



TWO ANCIENT HEBREW WEIGHTS.

SAMUEL RAFFAELI,

(Jerusalem.)

The writer has in his possession two small stones, almost alike in colour, shape and material; they are round in form with a domed top, but they differ in weight and in the writing inscribed on them. They undoubtedly belong to a very early period, and, judging from their size and weight, were probably used for weighing precious metal or other valuable materials.

One of these weights is inscribed with the letters (in archaic Hebrew script) פִּים, *P-I-M*; and the other כֶּסֶף, *K-S-F*. The first one weighs a little more than 119 grains, while the other is almost 155 in weight. What are these weights?

In 1902, Prof. G.A. Barton obtained in Jerusalem a small piece of metal; on one side was written לִזְבִּירוֹ יֵאֵר and on the other פִּים, *P-I-M*. It weighed a little more than 117 grains.⁽¹⁾ In 1907 Mr. R.A.S. Macalister found at Gaza a stone similar to the first of the two in my possession, and bearing the same inscription. Its weight is about 112 grains.⁽²⁾ Since my own specimen is more than 119 grains we may assume that the maximum weight of this particular kind is more than 119 grains, and that a well-preserved specimen may be as much as 125 grains.

After the discovery of the second example, the word *P-I-M* still remained unexplained. My own specimen I obtained in 1914, and in a subsequent investigation came to the conclusion that this word *P-I-M* was to be found in I. Sam. 13, 21: וְלֹאִתְּסוּהָ הָהָה הַפְּצִירָה : פִּים לְמַחֲרֹשֶׁת. I suggested that the *P-I-M* was a tax or payment from the Israelites to the Philistines in return for sharpening their mattocks and other implements (*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, April 1914); and this interpretation of the word has been embodied in the new translation of the Bible issued by the Jewish Publication Society of America (Philadelphia 1917).

Hitherto no weights have been found bearing the inscription "Shekel"; but such most probably exist and will ultimately be discovered. As for the *Bogaf* (Gen. 24, 22; Ex. 38, 26), small stones with the round domed shape, made of red marble, have been brought to light bearing the inscription כֶּסֶף : Prof. C.C. Torrey of Yale University, when in Jerusalem in the spring of 1901, secured a specimen weighing a little more than 90 grains;⁽³⁾ Mr. R.A.S. Macalister found another at Gezer, with the same inscription, weighing about

(1) *P.S.B.A.* 1902.(2) *P. E. F. Quarterly Statement* 1907, p. 266.(3) *P. S. B.* 1, 1901.

49 grains:⁽¹⁾ and Prof. Gustav Dalman secured yet a third from a fellow at Shafat of 102 grains weight.⁽²⁾ We may, therefore, assume that the maximum weight of the *Bega* is more than 102 grains. This accords with the biblical tradition of Ex.38,26, that the *Bega* is the half of the "Holy" shekel.

The writer, in his *Coins of the Jews* (Jerusalem, 1913) has described Half-Shekels weighing from 100 to 105 grains.⁽³⁾ There, also, will be found discussed the standard of the Talent, the Maneh and the Shekel, of both the "Holy" and the "Heavy" variety. We know that the *Bega* is the half of the Holy Shekel; and the *Pim* appears to be the half of the Heavy Shekel. The Heavy Shekel weighed over 900,000 grains; the Maneh was one sixtieth of a Talent, and a Shekel one sixtieth of a Maneh; therefore the Heavy Shekel weighs about 250 grains. In spite of the fact that the heaviest *Pim* hitherto found weighs only 119 grains, it is not improbable that if one were found in a perfect state of preservation it would weigh about 125 grains. We may, therefore, fairly conclude that a *Pim* is the half of the Heavy Shekel.

The reading of the second stone has given rise to much discussion. Other examples have been found: one by Mr. H.E. Clark in 1891 near Anata (the biblical Anathoth) weighing 134 grains;⁽⁴⁾ others by Dr. Bliss and Mr. Macalister during the excavations at Tell Zakariya, weighing respectively 145, 154, and 157 grains; another by Prof. Barton, in Jerusalem, in 1902, weighing 153 grains; while the one in my possession weighs 155 grains. We can assume that the average weight of this stone is 156 grains.

The interpretation of the inscription on this weight has been complicated by the discovery of a small spindle-shaped weight (purchased by Dr. Chaplin in Samaria in 1820 and now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; there is a reproduction in *H.D.B.* vol. 4, p.904), inscribed, according to the normally accepted reading, on the one side with רבעשל and on the other with רבעננ.⁽⁵⁾ Neither conveys any meaning. Of the latter, the fourth and sixth letters are not distinct; and at the time when the stone was discovered the last letter could be read פ and not ג. But even so, what does a quarter of a *nesef* mean? Lidzbarski (*Ephem.* I p.13) explains the characters read של as unsuccessful efforts of the workman at writing נצה, compelling him to start afresh on the other side. Lidzbarski could give no satisfactory explanation of נצה. A connexion with the Arabic *nusf* "half," has been proposed, but this would afford but a dubious sense. The writer suggests that the correct reading is not really נצה

(1) *P. E. F. Quarterly Statement* 1904, p. 209.

(2) *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins.* Bd, xxix, p. 92 ff.

(3) *Ep.* 65-68.

(4) *Weights of ancient Palestine* E. J. Pilhter, London, 1912.

(5) *Ibid.*

but קכ. There are certain verses in the Bible which suggest that the *Kesef* was a distinct kind of weight like a Shekel or *Beqa'*: thus Abimelech gave Abraham a thousand *kesef* (Gen. 20,16), and Joseph was sold to the Ishmaelites for twenty *kesef* (Gen. 37,28).

The writer has explained elsewhere (*op. cit. sup.*) that Darius Hystaspes received the Maneh standard, i.e. 7,800 grains⁽¹⁾ (troy), from the Babylonians; the Babylonian Shekel, being one fiftieth part of the Maneh, is 156 grains, and this was regarded as the "light" Persian Shekel. It was on this standard that the *Kesef* weight was based.



(1) *Coins of the Jews*, p. 28.



NOTE SUR UNE MONNAIE DE BRONZE DE BAR COCHBA.

A. DECLOEDT

(Jerusalem)

Le musée de Sainte-Anne possède une monnaie de bronze de Bar Cochba qui semble extrêmement rare et je serais désireux de savoir si elle n'a pas sa semblable dans vos collections particulières.

En voici la description :

Au droit : שמעון נשיא ישראל "Simon prince d'Israël," en légende circulaire autour d'une couronne renfermant une palme. Grènetis.

Au revers : ש.ב. לרח"י "L'an II de la délivrance d'Israël," en légende circulaire. Lyre à quatre cordes. Les shins sont anguleux et le graveur Juif a écrit "ישראל" pour Israë! "ישראל" faute qui se rencontre fréquemment sur les monnaies de Bar Cochba.—Ce bronze mesure 22 millimètres et pèse 6 grammes. Il a été acheté en 1909 aux paysans de Bittir qui fouillaient alors en tous sens, mais trop superficiellement et sans ordre, le sommet de la montagne appelée encore aujourd'hui 'Khibet el Yahoud, où s'élevait jadis la forteresse de Bar Cochba.

Les monnaies de Bar Cochba sont nombreuses. Elles ont été frappées les unes sur des flans neufs, les autres sur des bronzes ou des deniers romains. Elles peuvent se diviser en trois classes : 1.) celles qui ne sont pas datées et qui présentent invariablement, au droit, le nom de שמעון "Simon," ; au revers, la légende "לחרות ירושלם" "La délivrance de Jérusalem." — 2.) Celles de la première année de la rédemption d'Israël! "שנת חרות לנאכלת ישראל" qui présentent, au droit, les noms d'Eléazar le prêtre, de Jérusalem, de Simon prince d'Israël. 3.) Enfin celles de l'an II de la délivrance d'Israël "ש.ב. לחרות ישראל" qui ne présentent, au droit, que le nom de שמעון "Simon," écrit en toutes lettres ou en abrégé. Seul—et c'est là ce qui fait son intérêt et lui donne une valeur exceptionnelle—le bronze de Ste Anne présente, au droit, non pas le seul nom de שמעון "Simon" mais le nom de Simon accompagné du titre "נשיא ישראל" "Prince d'Israël" ; au revers, "L'an II de la délivrance d'Israël."

Dans deux articles de la Zeitschrift für Numismatik (année 1873 et 1877) Merzbacher publiait un bronze faisant partie de la collection Wigan et portant, au droit, une palme dans une couronne avec la légende "שמעון נשיא" "Simon prince,, ; au revers, une lyre à cinq cordes avec la portion de légende "ישראל" "Israël,,. Cet auteur proposait ingénieusement de compléter la légende du revers par l'addition des lettres "ש.ב. לדר" "L'an II de la délivrance,, insinuant par là que sur les monnaies de l'an II aussi bien que sur celles de l'an I ou gravait le titre de "נשיא" prince ; par suite que les monnaies portant les légendes "Simon, prince d'Israël. Première année de la rédemption d'Israël,, devaient être classées non à la première révolte sous Vespasien mais à la seconde sous Hadrien. Ce n'était là cependant qu'une supposition. Madden, qui les attribuait à un Simon Nasi de la première révolte, déclara qu'il ne souscrivait à la proposition de Merzbacher que si on lui apportait non pas une supposition mais une preuve solide fondée sur un exemplaire bien conservé et parfaitement lisible : "But this suggestion cannot be accepted without the positive proof afforded by a wellpreserved and legible specimen." En attendant il continua d'attribuer cette monnaie à la première révolte. Or en 1892 L. Hamburger publiait dans la belle étude qu'il a consacrée aux monnaies des révoltes Juives un bronze dont le revers répondait de tous points à celui de l'exemplaire de Merzbacher et portait: "ש.ב. לדר ישראל" "L'an II de la délivrance d'Israël. "Or si la comparaison entre les deux exemplaires autorisait à admettre l'opinion de Merzbacher, ce n'était pas encore", la preuve solide, fondée sur un exemplaire bien conservé et parfaitement lisible que Madden réclamait, car le bronze publié par Hamburger était hybride et au "lieu de présenter au droit comme celui de Merzbacher la légende "שמעון נשיא ישראל" "Simon, prince d'Israël" il portait simplement "לחרות ירושלם" "La délivrance de Jérusalem"—Cette preuve est apportée par le bronze du médaillier de Ste Anne. Ce bronze est bien conservé, il est parfaitement lisible et a des légendes complètes: au droit, "שמעון נשיא ישראל" "Simon prince d'Israël,, ; au revers "ש.ב. לדר ישראל" "L'an II de la délivrance d'Israël,,.

J'en ai dit assez, semble-t-il, pour montrer l'intérêt que présente cette monnaie au point de vue de la Numismatique Judaïque. J'ai ajouté qu'elle était extrêmement rare. Elle ne se trouve en effet ni au Département de Médailles de la Bibliothèque Nationale, comme j'ai pu m'en convaincre moi-même en 1914 ; ni au British Museum puisque le catalogue, si complet cependant, des monnaies juives publié par M. Hill en 1914, ne le mentionne pas. Monsieur Rafaele qui en 1913 publia en langue hébraïque un ouvrage sur les monnaies juives ne la signale pas non plus. Enfin lorsque, en 1912, je la publiai dans la Revue Numismatique, un numismate allemand, Mr Carl Mayer, n'ayant jamais rencontré ce type de monnaie et confondant les numéros de la planche avec ceux du corps de l'article, crut à une mauvaise lecture de ma part. Il reconnut son erreur quand, sur sa demande, je lui eus envoyé empreinte et mou-

lage ; dans une lettre qu'il m'adressa le 3 mars 1914 il s'offrit même à acquérir pour sa collection personnelle le bronze de Ste. Anne. Vous devinez la réponse. Ainsi ce bronze du médaillier de Ste Anne semble non seulement très rare mais encore, du moins à ma connaissance, unique.

Et maintenant quelles conclusions tirer ? Celles-là même que proposait Merzbacher, il y a quarante ans : (1) "Sur les monnaies de l'an II aussi bien que sur celles de l'an I ou gravait le titre de "Nasi,, ; (2) les monnaies portant les légendes : "Simon, prince d'Israël ; Première année de la Rédemption d'Israël," doivent être attribuées non à la première révolte sous Vespasien, mais à la seconde, sous Hadrien.

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„ „ 1913, p. 404 ; et 1914, pp. 244, 245.



THE AMORITE NAME JERUSALEM.

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The earliest known writing of the name of the city of Jerusalem is to be found in the letters of Abdi-Hiba, governor of the city, to Amenophis IV, about 1400 B.C., in which *U-ru-sa-lim* is written in the Babylonian script, the *lingua franca* of that era. Of the extra-Biblical forms of the name the next in point of antiquity is that found in an Assyrian inscription of Sennacherib (705-681 B.C.) in which *Ur-sa-li-im-mu* is written. In a Nabataean inscription of one bearing a Jewish name, Nathaniah, the Aramaic form, *Urshalum* (ארשלים) is found. There are also preserved a Mandaic form *Urshalēm* (אורשלים), a Syriac *'Urislēm*, and an Arabic, which is quoted by Yakut from a pre-Islamic poet, *'Ursalimu* (أورسليم).⁽¹⁾ The six writings, from six different quarters, all point to *'Ur* or *'Uru* as being the first element of the name.

The consonantal text of the Old Testament gives ירושלם, and in several late passages ירושלים. The latter appears also upon coins, perhaps of the time of Simon 142-135 B.C. These consonantal forms have been vocalized *Yerushalayim*. The Septuagint transliteration Ἱερουσαλημ shows that in the late Hebrew the name was actually pronounced something like Jerusalem instead of Yerushalayim. Another early Greek form is found in a passage of Soti, a pupil of Aristotle, which is quoted by Josephus. Here the name is written Ἱερουσαλημη.⁽²⁾

The explanation of the Hebrew form of the name has occasioned considerable difficulty in all periods. The Midrash *Bereshith Rabba*, 89, explains how Abraham, having called the place *Jireh* יראה Gen. 22:14, and Shem (meaning Melchizedek) having called it *Shalem*, the Almighty, who was unwilling to disappoint either, gave it both names, *Yireh-Shalem*. Jerome in his *Onomastica* explained the name as meaning ὄρασις εἰρήνης. Modern etymologists have explained the name as meaning "possession of peace," "foundation of peace," "the foundation of security," "Shalem founds," "Shalem casts the lot," "he casts a perfect or peaceful, secure lot," etc.⁽³⁾ After the discovery of *Uru-salim* in the Amorite letters, written in the Babylonian script, many scholars looked upon this as containing the original form of the name, and especially as a similar pronunciation has been preserved in the forms quoted in Assyrian, Aramaic, Syriac, Mandaic, and Arabic.

Several decades ago, when scholars followed the trend of the pan-Babylonists, and looked upon the Canaanite culture and re-

(1) See Smith *Jerusalem* 1, p. 252 f.

(2) See Smith *ibid.* 1, p. 260.

(3) See Smith *ibid.* 1, p. 258 f.

ligion as importations from Babylonia, *Uru* the first element of the name was regarded as Sumerian, meaning "city," and the second as Semitic; the full name *Uru-salim* meaning "city of Salem," "city of peace," "place of safety," "the city of peace," etc. ⁽¹⁾ Haupt considered that the dialectical Sumerian *eri* for *uri* passed into Hebrew as *'ir* (עיר) "city;" from this ע disappeared, and the initial element *Jeru* was derived.

The Aramaic, Syriac, Mandaic and Arabic forms of the name do not bear out Haupt's contention; it follows that the proposed etymology for *'ir* "city" is not to be taken seriously. Moreover, since the evidence for the influence of Babylonia upon Canaan, except for the use of the language and script which were employed in the second millennium B.C. throughout Western Asia and Egypt as the *lingua franca*, is comparatively insignificant, as the writer and others have contended, ⁽²⁾ it follows that the proposal to find in the name *Uru-salim* a Sumerian and a Semitic element is, to say the least, precarious. Hitherto, it has seemed as if such place names as Nebo, Beth 'Anoth, Bit NIN-IB, Bethlehem, etc., showed influences from this quarter; but even these, the writer feels he has conclusively shown, contain the names of West Semitic deities. ⁽³⁾

In short, we have in Palestine a very ancient culture indigenous to the land known to the ancient Babylonians as Amurru, which extended from the borders of Babylonia to the Mediterranean. This was considerably influenced by Egypt, but very little by Babylonia prior to the exile. In two monographs, *Amurru the Home of the Northern Semites*, and *The Empire of the Amorites*, which followed the writer's discovery that the name of the god *Amur(ru)* (אמר) was written in Aramaic 'Awuru or 'Uru (אור), the widespread worship of this deity is fully set forth. The early Semites who moved from Amurru (Mesopotamia and Syria) into Babylonia, especially in the period prior to 2000 B.C., carried the worship of this deity with them. Many West Semitic names in the early cuneiform literature are found compounded with that of this deity. The names of at least four of the ten antediluvian rulers of Babylonia contain the name 'Uru, as: 'Αλωρος (אל-אור), 'Αλαπαρος (אל-אור), 'Αμλλαρος (על-אור), and Μεγαλαρος (על-אור). Subsequent to 2000 B. C., when the Amorites lost their dominant position, the deity Amurru or 'Uru ceased to occupy ⁽⁴⁾ a prominent place among the deities of Babylonia as becomes evident from a study of the nomenclature of that land.

(1) See Sayce *Academy*, Feb. 7, 1891; Haupt *Polychrome Bible*, Isaiah, Ed. notes, p. 100; Nestle *ZAPV* 57, 155; Zimmern *KAT3* p. 475.

(2) See Clay "Light on the Old Testament from Babel," 17 ff; Vincent *Canaan d'après l'exploration recente*, pp. 341, 439; Nowack *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1908, No. 26. Clay *Amurru the Home of the Northern Semites*, p. 27.

(3) See *Empire of the Amorites*, p. 169, 178, 180, f.

(4) For a full discussion of the influence of this deity upon the nomenclature of Babylonia, see *Empire of the Amorites*.

The contention that this deity came from the land of the Western Semites being correct, it would seem that traces of the worship should be found in the nomenclature of the Old Testament, as well as preserved in place names, ancient and modern, in these West lands.

Among the personal names of the Old Testament are found Ur, Uri, Uriel, Urijah, and Shedeur. The Septuagint transliterations of these names show that the element is 'Ur, and not 'Or "light."

The name 'Ur (אור), the father of one of David's heroes (1 Ch. 11:35), is perhaps abbreviated, containing one element of the original name, that of the deity. 'Uri (אורי) of the time of Moses (Ex. 31:2), appears to be a similar name, with what some scholars call the "*kose* suffix," like Mordecai. The name 'Uriah (אוריה), belonging to the Hittite in the time of David (2 Sam. 11:3), may be Hittite; but since we have many examples of non-Semites bearing Semitic names, it is not impossible that this name is Semitic and similar to the following. 'Urijah (אוריה), the name of a priest, time of Ahaz, (2 Kings 16:13), means 'Uru is Jāwah. Such syncretistic formations, identifying one god with another, are very common, especially among peoples whose religion was extensively influenced by other religions. The nomenclature of Babylonia, for example, contains many such names. There are also many examples among the names of deities as Ashtar-Chemosh, Hadad-Rimmon, 'Attar-'Ate, Itur-Mer, Jāwah-Shalom, etc. The name 'Uriel (אוראל) "'Uru is God", of the tribe of Levi (1 Ch. 6:24), and Shedeur (שדעור) "Shaddai is 'Uru", time of Moses, also contain the name of the deity. How many more personal names of the Old Testament originally contained that of the deity 'Uru, but have been handed down in an altered or disguised form, it is impossible to say. That names were changed on religious grounds is well known. Fortunately in a number of instances both the original and the altered forms have been preserved, as Jerubbaal and Jerubbesheth, Meribbaal and Mephibosheth, Beeliada and Eliada. Compare also the place names Beth-e! and Beth-aven.

The name Jerusalem seems to be an example of this process. After David's time, when the city became the great centre for the worship of Jāwah, it is easy to understand how the name of this ancient Amorite city, which contained the name of the Amorite god 'Uru, became obnoxious to the Hebrews. The dropping of the initial א in this name (see below), left ו initial, but this, as is well known, usually, when initial, became י in Hebrew. The fact is we have several examples in Aramaic and Punic inscriptions of the dropping of the initial א in this deity's name. It is now admitted that אור in the stele inscription which Zakir of Hamath and La'ash dedicated to this deity, is the same as El 'Uru⁽¹⁾.

(1) See Clay *Amuena* p. 154 ff.

Recently Lidzbarski published an Aramaic letter of the time of Ashurbanipal in which פורר = Pir'-Uru occurs (ZA 31). Cf. the names ורוֹן and ורסן in Punic inscriptions from Algiers and Thugga; also two other names ורסן and ורירו⁽¹⁾. If this explanation of the name Jerusalem is correct it becomes senseless to attempt to explain the difficult element *Jeru* in Jerusalem as meaning "vision", "fear," "possession," "foundation", "found", "casts the lot," etc. The whole name means rather something like "Uru is appeased".⁽²⁾

The name or epithet 'Ariel, used by Isaiah for Jerusalem (Is. 29:1), has been translated "the lion of God," or "the hearth of God," etc. It is generally agreed that אֵרִיֶּל, found in an inscription from Byblus, belonging to the fourth or fifth century B.C., is defectively written for אֵרִיֶּלֶךְ; and that this name is the same as *Uru-milki*, found in the Amarna letters.⁽³⁾ The present writer further contends that it contains the name of the deity 'Uru.⁽⁴⁾ The name אֵרִיֶּל for the same reason could mean "'Uru is God". This seems reasonable in the light of the fact that the name Jerusalem contains the name 'Uru, and that probably the city was dedicated to that deity (see below). It is interesting to observe that Cheyne regarded 'Uriel as the proper reading, and considered that it was used by the prophet to make a paronomasia with *Uru-salim* (*Encl. Biblica*). It is easy to understand how such a name meaning "'Uru is God" would have been introduced by the old residents after the occupation of the city by the Hebrews.

The evidence which has been preserved in the Old Testament concerning the altering of names makes reasonable the identification of Salem with Jerusalem, which has been held for centuries. Uru-salem may have been preserved in an old manuscript of the fourteenth chapter of Genesis and perhaps also of the seventy-sixth Psalm. Moreover, prior to the introduction of Jerusalem the abbreviated Salem, doubtless, was more acceptable to these Hebrews who were familiar with the original meaning.

Eighteen miles to the northwest of Jerusalem are two towns, at present called Beit 'Ur el Fôkâ, and Beit 'Ur et Tahtâ. In the Old Testament the names of the towns are written בֵּית הַחֹרֶן עֶלְיוֹן and בֵּית הַחֹרֶן תַּחְתּוֹן. These names are translated "house of the hole (or hollow), the upper", "house of the hole (or hollow), the lower." The Septuagint transliterates the name Βεθωρα, Βαθωρα, Βαθωρων. Although the modern name in Arabic has preserved an initial 'ain it seems in the light of the present discussion, that the name was probably Bêth 'Uru, "the house of Uru", a name like Bêth Shemesh, Bêth Anoth, Beit Dejun (Dagan), Beit Lahm (Lahmu), etc. Moreover,

(1) See Clay *Amurru* p. 160.

(2) See Clay *ibid* p. 178.

(3) Cooke *North Semitic Inscriptions* p. 20.

(4) *Amurru* p. 167.

it is not unreasonable to suggest that the late Hebrew writers intentionally disguised the name. The proximity of the city to Jerusalem, being in its territory, suggests at least some possible connections with Bit NIN-IB of the Amarna letters.

In a syllabary in the Yale Babylonian collection the writer found the following formula:

Ur-ta | IB | u-ra-shu | sha ^dNIN-IB shu-ma

which means that the sign *IB*, called *urashu*, is to be read *ur-ta* in the deity's name ^d*NIN-IB*.⁽¹⁾ In other words it is now ascertained that *NIN-IB* is a Sumerian ideographic writing for the West Semitic *Ba'alat Urtu*.⁽²⁾ "lady or goddess Urtu." Since the Amarna letters inform us that the shrine of the goddess was in the territory of Jerusalem, one cannot help but be impressed with the idea, especially in view of the name *Uru-salem*, that in the early period of the history of this district not only the worship of the god 'Uru figured prominently in this vicinity but also that of his consort 'Urtu or 'Urtu.

In spite of the fact that the Amorite or Jebusite inhabitants of Jerusalem were spared after David captured the city and that they continued to live here, no information is offered in the Old Testament to enable us to determine what was done with the Amorite sanctuary and where it was located; moreover, no light is offered us concerning the patron deity of the city. It seems the only reasonable conclusion to suppose that the religious zeal of the later Hebrews caused the systematic eradication of all traces of the former worship from the pages of the Old Testament.

Efforts have been made by scholars to determine the *genius loci* of the place. Shalem or Shulman, as a probable title of Ninib, was regarded by Zimmern as the deity (*KAT*³ 474 f.). Since the names Melki-Zedek, king of Salem, time of Abraham, Adoni-Zedek, king of Jerusalem, time of Joshua (Jos. 10:1), Zadok, who was priest at the time of David, contained the name of the deity Šadeq, it has been inferred that he was the patron god of the city. Naturally this deity may have been worshipped here, but since, however, the name of the city is compounded with that of Uru, and the temple of Urtu (*Bit-NIN-IB*) was in the territory of the city, it is not unreasonable to assume that Uru and Urtu were the chief deities of this locality. This being true, 'Ariel or 'Uriel, with the meaning "Uru is God", was appropriately substituted by Isaiah for the name Jerusalem in his address to the city, which, doubtless, had continued to worship that god.

(1) See Clay *Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection*.

(2) *Empire of the Amorites* p. 73 ff.

QUELQUES OBSERVATIONS RELATIVES
A L'INSCRIPTION JUIVE DECOUVERTE A AIN DOUK ⁽¹⁾.
NAHUM SLOUSCH.

(Jerusalem.)

Le R.P. Vincent a consacré une magistrale étude⁽²⁾ a l'inscription Hébréo araméenne qui provient d'un ancien Sanctuaire Juif à Aïn-Douk. Cette dernière offre beaucoup de points de rapprochement avec l'inscription provenant de la synagogue de Kafr Kenna, dont voici le texte.

דוכר לטב יוסי בר
חנחום בר בוטה ובנוי
דעברין הרה טבלה
תהי להין ברכתא
אמן

L'écriture des deux inscriptions appartient à la même époque étant donné la différence très nette qui existe entre la lettre, ח et ה, surtout si nous tenons compte de la forme des lettres sur les épitaphes que le P. Abel avait déchiffré sur les tombeaux juifs de Châfat (qui pourraient bien émaner du premier Siècle). En revanche, la lettre פ accuse une forme plus arcaïque.

Quant à la langue de cette inscription elle rappelle parfaitement celle du Talmud Jérusalemite et surtout celle de la liturgie Judéo-araméenne (la prière du Kaddish, celle de יקום פורקן etc.)

Qu'il me soit permis d'apporter quelques contributions à la savante interprétation que nous devons au P. Vincent :

Voici, d'ailleurs, le texte complet de l'inscription.

ד [כיר לטב
בנימין פינס (?)
בר יוסה
ד [כירין למב כל טן
ד [מתחוק ויהב או
ד [הב בהרן אחרה
ק [רישה בן דהב בן
כס [ר בן כל מקמה
ת [היא [להן [נ חוקקין
בהרן אחרה קדישה
אמן

(1) V. le *Sidour*, le livre des prières Juives, section du Sabbath.

(2) Revue Biblique 1919 p. 530 etc.

Traduction et commentaires :

1. Memoire ou bonne part (Vincent).

2. **בִּנְיָמִין** Benjamin, la première lettre indique la tendance d'introduire des autres lectionis dans les textes hebreux tendance, qui se manifeste depuis les premiers siècles de l'ère chrétienne. **וְיָדָנוּ** de l'inscription de rabbi Youdan de Jaffa, etc.

(-)**בִּנְיָמִין** Le nom du frère du premier ou de son père avec l'omission du **בִּן** fils nous paraît certain. A noter la mention de José fils de Tanhum fils de Buta et de ses fils par l'inscription de Kafr Kenna. L'épigraphie No. 1 de Sha'fat a également **בִּנְיָמִין** le, après le **פ**. Quant à la difformité **בִּנְיָמִין** je renvoie aux monnaies de Simon le Macchabée ou l'on lit à plusieurs reprises **בִּנְיָמִין** au lieu de **בִּנְיָמִין** ¹ cependant la leçon **בִּנְיָמִין** proposée par M. Clermont Ganneau est très tentante.

3. Fils du José. A noter que l'inscription de Kafr Kenna a également une liste de trois générations

4. Qui soient en heureuse memoire chacun de ceux qui. ²

5. Quiconque sera (ou sera) vaillant et fera un don, **וְיָדָנוּ** est un terme qui n'est plus usité dans les textes de la synagogue. Mais il est fréquent dans le livre de Nehémie surtout en ce qui concerne la construction de Mur de Jérusalem, par exemple **עַל יַד הַחוֹק** (Nehémie III passim) ou **וְיָדָנוּ דְּהַמָּה הַזֶּה הַחוֹק** (Ibid. V. 16).

6. Qui a donné pour ce lieu je lis **הַב** (ר) Le terme **יָדָנוּ** est fréquent dans le Talmud de Jérusalem. cf. Berachot VII, II **יָדָנוּ מִן** **יָדָנוּ בְּלֹם** etc.

L'ensemble se lit ainsi : Quiconque fera don ou a donné pour ce lieu.

7. Saint; soit en or, soit en (argent) soit en tout objet de valeur.

בִּן ... בִּין soit...soit... **בִּן ... בִּין** est la tournure mishnaïque **בִּן ... בִּין** L'absence de la lettre indiquerait une prononciation **בִּן** ou une date plus ancienne. Cette lecture est d'ailleurs confirmée par le texte de Jonas IV, 10 **בִּן לֵילָה הַזֶּה וּבִין לֵילָה אַחֵר**.

וְיָדָנוּ objet de valeur est un terme fréquent dans le Talmud de Jérusalem. cf. V. Nedarim XI. 42° ou nous rencontrons, d'ailleurs, presque la même formule **רַב לֵיהּ מְקַמְטָנָה** (qui lui donne beaucoup de valeurs).

(1) Parallèlement, des lettres se retrouvent, d'ailleurs dans plusieurs textes déplaçant provenant des synagogues de la Galilée.

(2) A noter l'analogie avec le texte de la prière ou on lit. **כָּל מֵאֵן דְּעִכְכִּין** etc.

Le Midrash Rabba a souvent כקמא ou כקמא (Cf. Berechit 73,12 Shemot 30,12.)

Au commencement de la ligne 8 les restes, de la lettre כ sont presque certaines, seulement la ressemblait plutôt à un י (plus large que les autres dans le même texte. Il s'agirait d'une erreur du graveur, la lettre כ de la l. 2 étant très archaïque rappelle le précédent. On s'attendrait d'après de nombreux contextes de voir venir après l'or, l'argent, puis tout objet de valeur.⁽¹⁾

9. Que leur soit une part de possession, comme le traduit le P. Vincent ou bien que ce soit un réconfort pour eux :

היה להם חלק בזה cette formule est à rapprocher de celle de l'inscription de Kair Kenna et de la prière recitée, on en lit כחלק בזה - leurs la כ finale de היה comme d'ailleurs l'emploi du terme חלק et surtout les ה finales (au lieu de la lettre כ usitée par les textes écrits) indiquerait une époque rabbinique fort ancienne.

היה קדש Lieu Saint. Formule qui se retrouve dans la prière du Kaddish, mais qui est généralement usitée en hébreu קדש קדש. Quoiqu'il en soit, ce terme comme le texte tout entier nous permet de classer cette inscription parmi les textes relatifs aux synagogues de la Galilée. Le lieu Saint d'Aïn Douk serait donc un sanctuaire Juif traditionnel qui se rattache aux premiers siècles de l'ère chrétienne.

Rien d'ailleurs, ne s'oppose à l'ingénieuse dissertation du P. Vincent qui tend à retrouver sur l'emplacement de la Synagogue d'Aïn Douk les traces d'un sanctuaire biblique fort ancien.

L'inscription offre en outre un intérêt tout spécial au point de vue de la liturgie Juive, parce qu'elle permet d'attribuer à une origine palestinienne très ancienne certaines parties de la liturgie qui sont écrites en Judéo-araméen, telle que le קדש, le קדש etc

1. Je n'ai pas pu voir l'interprétation de M. Clerment Ganneau mais je constate que le dernier No. de la revue du Palestine Exploration Fund propose la même explication, pour ce qui est de ce passage.

A JERUSALEM PROCESSIONAL

J. P. PETERS

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Working on the Psalms over thirty years, I have been more and more impressed with the amount of local colour in them, and the failure of scribes and commentators to note this from lack of personal familiarity with Palestine. My attention was first called to this in connexion with Ps. 89. Verse 13 reads :

"North and south, Thou hast created them :
Tabor and Hermon rejoice in Thy name".

To any one who has travelled in northern Galilee, and had Tabor and Hermon as his landmarks of south and north, this breathes the atmosphere of that country. None could have written it but a Galilæan. So far as I know, however, no commentator has noticed this. Prof Briggs in his commentary in the "International Critical Commentary" series (II. 257) says :—"Tabor and Hermon, the chief mountain peaks of the Holy Land, Tabor commanding the great plain of Es-draelon, and Hermon, the giant of Lebanon, commanding the greater part of the entire land, representatives therefore of the mountains." This is to miss the local force of the allusion entirely. It led Briggs to a false dating of this part of the Psalm, and a false reference of it. He says (233) : "The Psalm indicates a period of peace and quietness in which the public worship of Yahweh in the Temple was enjoyed by Israel, and this not until the troubled times of the Restoration were over, some time subsequent to Nehemiah, when peace and prosperity were enjoyed under the Persian rule of Artaxerxes II (458-404 B.C.)." Equally vivid are the local allusions in several of the Psalms of the collection entitled "Of the Sons of Korah" (42-49), such as the mention of the land of Jordan and the roaring of its fountain beneath Hermon by Tel Kadi (42); and the river on which the Temple stood (46). A study of the Korah Psalms on the ground forced me to the conclusion that they could only be ascribed to psalmists of the temple of Dan, which I set forth in an article in the Briggs memorial volume.

With this brief introduction, I wish to present what I think I may describe as a new discovery. Vv. 6-8 of Ps. 84 have proved a stumbling block. There is no translation of them which makes real sense, and after taking most unjustifiable liberties with the text, and giving to individual words meanings which they have nowhere else, commentators have still left the passage quite unintelligible to the ordinary reader. So the Revised Version (American) reads :

"Blessed is the man whose strength is in thee ;
In whose heart are the highways to Zion.
Passing through the valley of weeping
They make it a place of springs ;
Yea, the early rain covereth it with blessings.
They go from strength to strength ;
Every one of them appeareth before God in Zion."

Prof. Briggs, in his volume in the International Commentary, taking somewhat greater liberties with the text and omitting the first half of v. 6 altogether, reads:—

"The highways are in the minds of those who pass on in the vale of weeping. He maketh it a place of springs; yea, the early rain clotheth it with blessings.

They go on from battlement to battlement in order to appear before God, Yahweh in Zion, Yahweh the God of Hosts."

Absolutely literally, with one slight change of text⁽¹⁾, supported by the Septuagint version, this passage reads:

"Happy the man whose strength is in Thee. Causeways in the midst of them⁽²⁾ they have passed over. In the valley of weeping the fountain⁽³⁾ that they make. Also the pool⁽⁴⁾ the leader⁽⁵⁾ encircleth⁽⁶⁾.

They go from rampart to rampart. Is seen the God of gods in Zion."

The first clause is a liturgical phrase to be chanted or sung. The remaining phrases are rubrical and describe or prescribe accurately the course of a procession from the western hill, overlooking the Temple area, across the causeway or bridge between the two hills, connecting them, down the lower Tyropoeon valley, past the so-called fountain of Siloam, made⁽⁷⁾ by carrying the waters of the Gihon spring into the Tyropoeon valley.

Then the leader, bending to the right, must swing around the pool of Siloam in a circle, which brings the procession to the southernmost end of the hill of Ophel, and its first scarp. Up this hill they go, from scarp to scarp, where once its various ramparts stood, until the procession reaches the southern gate of the Temple, and appears to God in Zion. The road exactly as here designated exists to-day, and I have traced it step by step, following the directions of this Psalm; and it exists to-day following in its details the rubrics of this Psalm, (except only that it does not reach the south gate of the Temple, since there is none) because it is the route ordained by the topography, now as then.

(1) עברי (7) to עברו (or possibly עבר), and connected with the preceding verse (6), as the metre manifestly requires.

(2) בלבנם in the midst of or between them; i.e. the causeway or bridge between the two hills, the western hill and Zion.

(3) מעין The very name applied to-day in Jerusalem to the point of issue of the water of the Virgin spring through the tunnel in the Tyropoeon Valley, because of the intermittent gush of water, which causes it to be regarded as a fountain, not a pool.

(4) Birket, as in the Hebrew consonant Text. The name applied to-day to the lower pool of Siloam; or perhaps a plural ברכות, covering both the upper pool, which catches the water of the fountain, and the lower and larger pool, now a garden bed, which formerly received the drainage of the valley.

(5) מורה from ירה, teacher or leader. The translation *early rain* is a pure invention without any support.

(6) עטה means to encircle or enwrap as with a cloak. It has absolutely no other meaning in Hebrew.

(7) The word "make" or "made," שיתורו (yod) in the text, suggests the peculiarity of this fountain, as one made by men, not by nature.

Now read the Psalm with the topography in view. The ceremony commenced on the western hill, about where the great Jewish synagogues now stand, where the valley separating the two hills is at its narrowest and the western hill rises sharply, so that one looks down thence into the Haram-esh-Shereef, the old Temple area, across the Tyropoeon. Here was sung the first stanza, as the first sacrifice was offered:—

2. "How beloved Thine abode, LORD of Hosts!
3. I have longed, yea fainted for the courts of the LORD,
With heart and body I raise the joy cry to the God of my life.
4. The very birds have found a home,
And the swallow a nest where she put her young,
Thine altars, LORD of Hosts,
My king and my God.
5. (Refrain) Happy they that inhabit Thine house,
That always sing Thy praise!"

SELAH.

It is a vivid and beautiful picture of what one sees even to-day as one looks down from that high point into the Temple court beneath and across the valley. Then the procession starts with rhythmic clapping of hands and stamping of staves, as all chant or intone "Happy he whose strength is in Thee", precisely as one may see religious processions marching in Jerusalem to-day, iterating and reiterating some short phrase or phrases, the sound now almost dying away, now swelling into a shout, as new voices join in, or something arouses new zeal or energy. The procession crosses the bridge or causeway connecting the two hills,⁽¹⁾ probably at Robinson's arch just below the Haram area, the natural point for a causeway or bridge, because here the valley is at its narrowest, and then follows the road to the right down the valley just below the walls of David's City, into and through the valley of weeping⁽²⁾, and past the fountain⁽³⁾ which has been made or is being made there. There the leader is to bend to the right, as the road does now, and fetch a circuit about the Pool of Siloam.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Perhaps as early as Hezekiah's time the city had spread over on to the western hill, occupying its highest part, roughly from a line drawn east from the Jaffa Gate along the southern line of the valley running down into the Tyropoeon, and bounded on the south by about the line of the present wall. This was connected with the eastern city by a causeway or bridge, as in the Herodian city, occupying about the same position.

(2) The excavations of the Assumptionists on the eastern side of the western hill above the Siloam fountain and pool have shown that in the earlier times, and presumably until some time not long before the Christian era, this area was occupied by graves and tombs. Hence probably the name valley of weeping, as similarly of the valley of weepers near Bethel (Jud. 2 : 1).

(3) This fountain is peculiar in that it is made by the tunnel through Ophel, and does not spring out of the ground naturally. The tunnel is generally supposed to have been cut in Hezekiah's time, the close of the 8th century. The Hebrew text reads *that is made or set*; the Greek, *was made or set*. Apparently it was not so old at this time of composition of our Psalm that the remembrance of its construction was forgotten.

(4) The water from the tunnel, which discharges intermittently, is caught in a small pool, the outlet of which is carried beneath, not into the Birket or large pool, thus reaching the valley below. The large pool, like the other *birkets* about Jerusalem, simply caught and impounded the water flowing down the valley. To-day no water flows down the valley, the bed of the *birket* is gardens, but the water from the tunnel is carried underneath, not into it. It is much larger than the small pool or tank at the mouth of the tunnel, and extends further to the west, so that the road makes a circuit about it.

So the procession finds itself at the foot of the high rock which constitutes the southern end of Ophel. This rock is scarped and was evidently fortified and battlemented, the lowest rampart of the old city of David. The hill goes up almost like steps, as a model of the rock levels shows. Indeed this hill is peculiar in its succession of knolls of which are still clearly marked the knoll where stands the Dome of the Rock, beyond this the Baris or Antonia, and beyond this Bezetha. At a point approximately above the Virgin's Spring is what seems once to have been another high knoll, the southern edge of which still presents a steep surface towards the south, suggesting a battlement or rampart similar to that at the extreme southern point of the hill. Here it is supposed once stood David's citadel, on the rock summit cut down with such vast toil in the Maccabaeian period to prevent it from dominating or rivalling the Temple. From this the road would have dipped down to a portion of the hill of lower level, crossing which it again ascended to the ramparts of Zion or the Temple enclosure, and to-day this part of the ascent is more gradual. The ascent of the eastern hill to the Temple court was then very literally a going *from rampart to rampart*. It will be observed that this road would have led the procession to the south gate of the Temple, the regular entrance in Herod's time, and presumably also in the earlier period when David's city lay to the south of the Temple. That gate reached, the sanctuary and the altar before it would become visible to the leaders of the procession, and "the God of gods is seen in Zion". Then follows the prayer cry, and presumably sacrifice before the threshold :

"LORD God of Hosts, hear my prayer ;
Hearken, God of Jacob. SELAH"

The third stanza (10-13), completing the liturgy, gives us glimpses of certain of the ceremonies and forms of the ritual within the Temple ; the prostration of the worshippers with forehead to the ground, like so many threshold stones (הַמְּחֹפֶה, v. 11), and the ritual purification (בִּרְמִים, v. 12) before the great sacrificial feast, part of the obligation to fulfil exactly the ritual laws, the fulfilment of which brings favourable answer and blessing from God. It reads :—⁽¹⁾

10. "Behold, O God, our shield,
And regard the face of Thine anointed, (2)
11. For better a day in Thy courts than an army, (3)
I had rather be the threshold in God's house,

(1) For the general method of such a processional ritual, with sacrifice at various stages, ending with the great sacrifice and sacrificial feast at the close, cf. 2, Sam 6:12-19. I think that we have a liturgy intended for similar use in Pss. 42-43, of which Prof. Briggs says (II. 225) : "Ps. 84 resembles 42-43, and probably had the same author."

(2) מְשִׁיחַ, evidence that it was a hymn for the royal sacrifice, and therefore pre-exilic.

(3) Hebrew אֶלֶף, *thousand*, that is a band of 1000 men, a regiment.

12. Than a fortress (1) in the city of the godless,
For sun and shield is the LORD of Hosts
Favour and honour the LORD giveth,
And refuseth no good to them that walk in cleanness,
13. (Refrain) LORD of Hosts,
Happy he who trusteth in Thee."

The last stanza helps to fix the date. It evidently belongs to the old days of battle, when warrior kings held their own in Zion by force of arms, when the Temple was the royal shrine, and sacrifices were offered for and in the name of the King, God's anointed. Such sacrifices were regarded as equally necessary to the king's success against his heathen or godless enemies with his armies. Its similarity to Ps. 42-43, like which it is ascribed to the Sons of Korah, suggests that this Psalm also was originally a processional liturgy of the temple of Dan, afterwards adopted into the Jerusalem Psalter, but with considerable changes to adapt it to its new use. So in general God (אלהים) was changed to LORD (יהוה), but above all the second stanza was purged entirely of its original local references, for which were substituted rubrical directions for the new ritual, while the original refrain of this stanza or part of it was made the marching chorus to be repeated at intervals throughout the procession. The date of this Psalm in its present shape, it would appear from these considerations, must have been somewhere between the fall of Samaria (721 B.C.), or slightly earlier, at which time the literature of Israel began to be taken over and adopted in Judah, and the capture and destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, approximately a century and a half later.

It may be asked why this Psalm underwent so much change while we have the companion liturgy, 42, 43, in almost if not quite its original form as a Psalm of Dan. We have in the collection 42-49, apparently, a group of or selection from the old Dan Psalter, taken over together and preserved almost intact, even to the old use of Elohim. Such changes as were made, apparently, outside of some refrains and liturgical phrases, were of a literary character. Other Psalms of this Psalter did not have the same history. Not included in the selection above referred to, they yet found their way to Jerusalem and into use in the Temple, undergoing considerable changes in the process, until at last, with a few other Psalms from the northern kingdom, they were gathered together, copied and added to the already existing collections of Psalms of the Sons of Korah and of Asaph to form the third book of Psalms.

Interesting evidence of the method in which this was done is furnished by two notes in Psalm 88. Vs. 9 ends: "Finished (כלא) I do not go on" ("go out or go forth"), which, seeming impossible, has been translated: "I am shut up and I cannot come forth" (R.V.), or by some similar phrase, and supposed to refer to some imprisonment like that of Jeremiah in the pit. This quite spoils the Psalm. The last verse, 19, reads as follows:—"Thou hast put far from me lover and friend, mine acquaintance darkness", which

(1) דור cf. Ass. *duru*, wall, fortress.

with all the doctoring given it by translators and commentators remains quite unintelligible. The concluding words of both verses are notes by the scribe who was copying them. "Finished, I go not on";⁽¹⁾ that is, the tablet or manuscript which he was copying stopped short at this point, leaving the Psalm unfinished.

After the word "acquaintance" in v. 19 the scribe could decipher nothing further. He therefore wrote at this point "darkness" (כְּחֹשֶׁךְ), i.e. unintelligible, or illegible. The two fragments (that they are fragments is clear among other things from the failure of the whole to get anywhere liturgically, as well as from the lack of development of the thought) were placed in juxtaposition because, I suppose, of their general resemblance to one another, and more particularly because of the striking resemblance of the closing verses of each. That these are in fact two Psalm fragments combined is testified to further by the double heading, unique in the entire Psalter, describing one part as "a song set to music of the Sons of Korah, to be led on maḥalath, to make penitence" (לְזִמְרָה) and the other as a "maskil of Heman the Ezrahite."



(1) Perhaps **סֵנֶן** should be changed to **סֵנֶי**, "it does not go on", **סֵנֶן** being due to an attempt to make sense by connecting this clause with the preceding.

CONTRIBUTION À L'HISTOIRE DU VERBE HEBREU.

ISRAEL EITAN

(Jerusalem).

(Nippa'el ou nif'al intensif.)

On sait que la forme verbale "Nif'al" avait à l'origine le sens d'une action réfléchie de même que le "Nitpa'el." Ce n'est que dans la suite des temps que le "Nif'al," changeant de sens, finit par remplacer le passif du "qal" (= ar. فَعِّلَ), tombé en désuétude probablement à cause de son identité complète en hébreu avec la forme passive de l'Intensif au parfait (עָזַב, נָטַשׁ) du Causatif à l'Imparfait (יָקַח, יָרָק). Quoi qu'il en soit, l'antiquité de notre langue connaissait deux formes réflexives : le "hitpa'el" ou réflexif avec "tave" et le "nif'al" ou réflexif avec "nounge."

Il est curieux de noter en passant que le même changement d'acception originelle, qui atteignit en hébreu le réflexif avec "nounge," affecta en araméen le réflexif avec "tave."

On serait donc en bon droit de s'étonner de l'énorme différence qui semble s'être manifestée dans la destinée morphologique de ces deux formes. En effet, le réflexif avec "tave," à prendre en considération les différentes langues sémitiques, peut affecter toutes les quatre formes principales du verbe : simple, intensive, conative (ou forme d'influence) et causative. Notre "Nitpa'el" habituel dérive de l'Intensif, comme le prouve le "dagesh fort" de la deuxième radicale, הִתְקַטֵּל vient de קָטַל. Il en est de même en

"arabe" pour la forme V ou تَفَعَّلَ. Mais ici nous rencontrons aussi,

très fréquemment, le même réflexif de la forme simple (= ⁽¹⁾ أَفْعَلَ ou f.

VIII.) ainsi que du Conatif (= تَفَاعَلَ ou f. VI). En araméen, nous le trouvons dérivé du "qal" (הִתְקַטֵּל) ainsi que de l'Intensif (הִתְקַטֵּל) et en syriaque—également du Causatif (= ettaqtal). Même en hébreu, nous avons conservé quelques exemples, isolés dans la Bible, du réflexif avec "tave" du *qal* : וַיִּתְקַבְּרוּ הַחֲבֵרִים (Juges 20); ou bien des formes plus anciennes, comme תִּגְלָלְתִּי (Osée II, 3), תַּחֲרָה (Jer. I, 2, 5), מִתְחַרָּה (ibid. 22, 15), provenant des racines

גָּלַל, חָרַה avec le "tave" réflexif. La forme X arabe (أَتَفَعَّلَ) elle aussi n'est autre chose que le réflexif avec "tave" d'un ancien Causatif se retrouvant dans quelques langues sémitiques et dont la caractéristique est "sin" (minéen) ou "shin" (assyri.), Causatif dont plusieurs exemples pénétrèrent dans l'hébreu post-biblique sous l'influence des langues araméennes (שָׁחַר, שָׁכַח etc.)

(1) Même métathèse en assyrien et, comme le prouve la stèle de Méša, dans le dialecte moabite : הַלְחָחִים vient du "qal" comme לָחַם, en hébreu. En éthiopien point de métathèse, mais "taqatla,"

Or il en va tout autrement du réflexif avec "noune." Celui-ci ne régnerait que sur une aire morphologique très restreinte. Certes, il se retrouve en arabe et en⁽¹⁾ assyrien. Mais il est bien unanimement admis par les philologues de la grammaire comparée des langues sémitiques que ce réflexif est tout entier l'apanage du verbe simple seulement, ne pouvant se dériver morphologiquement que du "qal,"⁽²⁾ même dans le cas où son acception essentielle est tirée de l'*intensif* ou du causatif : נִכְבֵּר est dérivé de כָּבֵד, malgré le sens essentiel qui vient de כָּבֵד ; נִשְׁמֵר est dérivé de שָׁמַר, malgré son acception tirée de הִשְׁמִיר.⁽³⁾

Ce phénomène est certainement fait pour étonner le chercheur et demande des explications. Pourquoi donc le réflexif avec "noune" n'aurait-il été usité qu'au qal, c.à.d. sous la forme "nif'al" seulement, tandis que son compagnon réflexif avec "tave" s'appliquait à toutes les quatre formes principales du verbe ? Or, c'est là justement le but du présent essai, de montrer qu'en réalité l'usage du réflexif avec "noune" portait autrefois sur une aire morphologique plus étendue que nous n'avons pensé, notamment aussi sur l'*Intensif* et sur le *Conatif*. Cette assertion peut se confirmer par plusieurs restes conservés dans la Bible.

En effet, examinons attentivement la liste des exemples suivants :

A.—1. אָרוּם (Is. 33, 10); 2. תְּשׁוּמָה⁽⁴⁾ (Eccl. 7, 16); 3. הִכְנִי (Is. 55, 14);

4. הִכְנִי (Nomb. 21, 27); 5. יִכְנֶנּוּ (Ps. 59, 5).

B.—1. הִנְשָׂא (Nomb. 24, 7); 2. וַיִּנְשֵׂא⁽⁴⁾ (II. Chr. 32, 23); 3. יִנְשֵׂא (Dan. 11, 14);⁽⁵⁾

4. תִּכְסֶּה⁽⁵⁾ (Prov. 26, 26); 5. נִכְפֵּר (Deut. 21, 8); 6. נִיכְסֵר (Ezéch. 123, 48)

7. הִכְנֶה (Lév. 13, 55-6).

Les deux exemples נִכְפֵּר, נִיכְסֵר ont d'abord attiré l'attention de nos anciens⁽⁶⁾ grammairiens qui décidèrent de les rattacher à une forme verbale composée "nitpa'el," résultée d'une superposition du "nif'al" au "hitpa'el" dont le "tave" se serait assimilé à la radicale: donc נִכְפֵּר=נִכְפֵּר, נִיכְסֵר=נִיכְסֵר. De la même façon on continua à expliquer les autres exemples précités comme "hitpa'el avec assimilation du "tave": donc תִּכְסֶּה=תִּכְסֶּה, הִכְנֶה=הִכְנֶה etc. L'erreur se propageant ainsi de génération en génération acquit droit de cité, et l'on finit par la consacrer en une loi grammaticale attribuant

1 En éthiopien cette forme ne s'est conservée que dans les verbes quadrilitères.

2 Brockelm : Semit. Sprachwiss. p. 121—122.

3 Brockelm : Vergleich. Gramm. d. sem. Spr., p. 253.

4 Autre version וַיִּנְשֵׂא

5 Certains corrigent : מִכְסֶּה (Vulg. : Qui operit.)

6 Voy., par ex., Profiat Douran Hallévi : מַעֲשֵׂה-אִפֶּס : p. 122-3, Vienne 5625.

au "tave du hitpa'el" la faculté de s'assimiler⁽¹⁾ à la 1ère radicale נ ou ז (d'après נִשְׁמַע et נִשְׁמַע , on devrait ajouter aussi ז et ז). C'est cette règle qui empêcha jusqu'à présent de reconnaître le vrai caractère des formes grammaticales ci-dessus mentionnées dans les listes A et B.

Or, en réalité, cette prétendue règle ne peut se baser sur rien. Il n'y a que le "nouve" qui a cette faculté caractéristique de s'assimiler très fréquemment, toujours dans le "nif'al," et dans les noms même à des occasions assez bien déterminées. Quant au "tave," nous ne lui connaissons guère ce caractère de s'assimiler que dans le Réflexif, et ceci seulement devant une 1ère rad. ה ou son emphatique הּ , ce qui est bien naturel; peut-être aussi devant une 1ère rad. ד , autre dentale si parente du ה , mais ce point n'exclurait pas la discussion.⁽²⁾ En tous cas, on ne saurait attribuer au "tave" cette faculté ailleurs que devant les trois dentales. La meilleure preuve à l'appui de cette thèse, c'est que presque tous les exemples ci-dessus cités ont dans la Bible leur "hitpa'el" complet avec "tave" non-assimilé : יִתְחַשֵּׁה (Dan. 11, 36); יִתְחַשֵּׁה (Is. 59, 16; Ps. 143,3); אִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה (Is. 63, 5; Dan. 8,27); יִתְחַשֵּׁה (Prov. 24,3); יִתְחַשֵּׁה (Num. 23, 24); תִּתְחַשֵּׁה (Ezéch. 26, 15); תִּתְחַשֵּׁה (Num. 16, 3); תִּתְחַשֵּׁה (I.Chr. 29, 11; I.Reg. 1,5); תִּתְחַשֵּׁה (Ez. 17,14; Prov. 30, 32); וַיִּתְחַשֵּׁה (II. Reg. 19, 1; Is. 37, 1); וַיִּתְחַשֵּׁה (Gen. 24, 65); יִתְחַשֵּׁה (Is. 59, 6; Jon. 3, 8); יִתְחַשֵּׁה (I.Sam. 3, 14).

Il est bien difficile d'admettre que les mêmes verbes auraient eu leur "hitpa'el" tantôt avec "tave", tantôt sans "tave", fluctuation trop invraisemblable. Il serait beaucoup plus logique d'admettre que dans les exemples sans "tave," ce n'est point avec un "tave" assimilé que nous avons affaire, mais avec un "nouve" assimilé, comme d'ordinaire. Comme exemple spécialement bien fait pour corroborer notre assertion, on pourrait citer הִשְׁמַע : d'après la loi bien connue, en présence d'une 1ère rad. *sifflante* le "tave" du "hitpa'el" subit toujours la *métathèse*; si ce n'est pas le cas ici, c'est que nous ne sommes point en présence d'un⁽³⁾ "hitpa'el."

Très important aussi, sous ce rapport, l'exemple אִרְוַח où il n'y a même pas d'assimilation, mais élargissement de la voyelle de la particule pronominale. phénomène constant chez le "nif'al" devant

1 Ges.-Kautsch : Hebr. Gramm., p. 148, éd. 27.

2 Car, d'une part, nous avons un exemple très sûr מִתְדַּפְּקִים (Jug. 19, 22) sans assimilation; d'autre part, des formes comme מִדְּבַר (מִדְּבַר?), יִרְבֹּא (Job. 34,25), sont douteuses. Restent אִרְוַח (Is. 14, 44), יִרְבֹּא (Job. 5, 1).

3 C'est pourquoi nous ne pouvons nous ranger de l'avis de Gesenius (Dictionn.), ou de Strack (Gramm. p. 75) qui considèrent הִזְכּוּ (Is. 1, 16) comme "hitpa'el" de זָכַר . A notre sens, ce serait le "nif'al" de זָכַר . Si l'on tient à la racine זָכַר , il faudra reconnaître ici également un "nif'al intensif" (voy. plus loin); הִזְכּוּ serait = זָכַר (הִזְכּוּ).

une 1^{ère} rad. non-apte à recevoir le "dagesh." Ici l'idée du "hitpa'el" ne vient même pas à la tête de l'observateur sans principe grammatical préconçu; tant nous sommes habitués à rencontrer le réflexif des verbes avec 1^{ère} sans que le "tave" tombe : מְרַחֵם (Prov. 22, 23) הַרְחֵם, הַרְחֵם etc. etc., pour ne citer que quelques exemples bibliques.

Enfin, ce sont les exemples נוֹסְרִינְכֶּפֶר qui pourront nous révéler avec plus de certitude encore le vrai caractère morphologique de tous ces verbes ci-dessus mentionnés dans la liste. En écartant comme inexacte l'hypothèse d'un "tave" assimilé ou tombé et en nous rappelant que le "nitpa'el" est une forme très postérieure qui se développa au temps de la Mishna, — nous reconnaitrons clairement, au "nounge" de ces deux verbes, la forme "nif'al" et, à la vocalisation de la racine, notamment au "dagesh" de la 2^e rad., la forme *intensive* (Pi'el). Nous sommes donc en présence d'une forme verbale inconnue : c'est le "nif'al" *dérivé* du "piel," ou, morphologiquement parlant, le *réflexif-intensif* avec "nounge." Cette forme est morphologiquement parallèle à notre "hitpa'el" habituel qui, lui, n'est que le *réflexif-intensif* avec "tave."

Tous les autres exemples ci-dessus mentionnés, tous à l'imparfait avec "dagesh fort" dans les 1^{ère} et 2^e rad., s'expliquent également de la façon la plus naturelle comme "nif'al" intensif : le premier dagesh complète le "nounge" réflexif, tombant à l'imparfait *sans exception* : le second indique le "pi'el," — et point n'est besoin d'inventer un "tave" s'assimilant *exceptionnellement*.

Toutefois, il nous reste encore à aplanir une apparente difficulté concernant la vocalisation des deux verbes נוֹסְרִינְכֶּפֶר : le "nounge" étant présent, vu le parfait, et aucune autre lettre n'étant tombée, que vient faire le "dagesh" dans la 1^{ère} rad. ?

Eh bien ! nous avons affaire ici avec une vocalisation ou ponctuation "par analogie". Souvent la langue abandonne une forme spéciale à une espèce grammaticale plus ou moins restreinte, pour se régler sur un modèle plus général. L'on sait, par ex., que le "nounge" du "nif'al" parfait, 3^e p., devant une 1^{ère} rad. vocalisée avec accent, comme dans les verbes *creux* et *geminés*, est ponctué ^{T=a} (vocalisation *originelle*) : נִסְרַח, נִסְרַח. Pourtant, déjà dans la Bible nous trouvons des formes comme נִסְרַח, נִסְרַח ; quant à l'époque post-biblique, le "nounge" du nif'al dans ces sortes de verbes est toujours vocalisé avec un "i" : נִסְרַח, נִסְרַח au lieu de נִסְרַח, נִסְרַח. C'est que la langue a imité ici le "nif'al" de la grande majorité des autres verbes, dont la marque caractéristique au parfait est "ni" (niqtal, nitqad). Or, un phénomène analogique tout pareil aurait affecté aussi les verbes נוֹסְרִינְכֶּפֶר : le *nounge* aurait dû recevoir ici un "sheva mobile", comme cela se passe toujours immédiatement avant une syllabe non-accentuée (נִסְרַח, נִסְרַח) ; mais, sous l'influence du "nif'al" ordinaire, lui aussi a été vocalisé "ni." Donc, au lieu de נוֹסְרִינְכֶּפֶר, nous avons obtenu נוֹסְרִינְכֶּפֶר. Mais ce

"i" par lui-même, comme voyelle brève non fermée par un "sheva quiescent," a forcément entraîné le redoublement de la consonne suivante, c.à.d. le "dagesh fort" dans la 1^{ère} rad., comme dans נמול etc, et nous avons obtenu נוסר-נכר-נוסר-נכר-נוסר-נכר. Donc נוסר-נכר-נוסר-נכר-נוסר-נכר. Et c'est ainsi que le *réflexif-intensif* avec "nounge" reçut la forme définitive de "nippa'el" ou "niqqattel" (נקטל).

Ce phénomène d'apparition fortuite d'un "dagesh" rien que pour raison phonétique, sans remplacer une lettre ni accentuer une nuance grammaticale,— ce phénomène n'est point isolé. Il se produisit également pour toute une série de restes bibliques de l'ancien passif du "qal," correspondant au فاعل arabe, sans redoublement de la 2^{ème} rad. Or, en hébreu, rien que pour cause phonétique (ou bref du passif), ce redoublement se produisit et il en résulta la forme identique en tout au passif du "pi'el." Cet ancien passif ("pou'al du qal") est encore représenté dans la Bible par des exemples assez nombreux: לקח, שרר, זכה, ילך, עבר etc.

Quant au verbe ⁽¹⁾ הִכַּם il ne serait donc pas un "hotpa'el" ou hitpa'e passif (הִכַּם) d'après Gesenius et autres, mais bien un *nippa'el passif*: הִכַּם = הִכַּם-הִכַּם et non pas הִכַּם-הִכַּם.

De même que l'arabe a conservé le passif du réfl. simple avec "nounge" (فَاعِل), l'hébreu l'a conservé de ce réfl. *intensif*. L'hébreu donc, comme l'arabe, avait une forme passive pour les deux réfl. avec "tave" et avec "nounge."

Nous avons rangé nos douze exemples archaïques ci-dessus en deux groupes, A et B. Le groupe B compren des verbes prouvant l'existence du réfl. avec "nounge" formé de l'intensif ou pi'el ordinaire. Mais le groupe A ne contient que des exemples d'une ancienne forme (III^e arabe), le "Po'el", caractérisée par un ô après la 1^{ère} rad. à tous les temps et remplaçant le pi'el dans les verbes creux et géminés. Cette forme, appelée par les linguistes Conatif ou forme d'influence et conservée même en arabe vulgaire (فَاعِل), est morte chez nous complètement dans la conjugaison du verbe régulier ou sain, ne laissant que des restes isolés dans la Bible, comme ⁽²⁾ מִשִּׁפְטִי (Job 9, 15),

1) Voy. Lévi. 13, 55-6 : "אֲדָרִי הִכַּם אֶת הַנֶּנֶע... אֲדָרִי הִכַּם אֶת־וְ" Ce verbe n'est point au parfait (Gesenius), mais à l'infin du passif-impersonnel avec complém. direct, comme dans ces propositions: " בְּיוֹם הַמּוֹל אֶת יִצְחָק " (Gen. 21, 8), ou bien: יוֹם הַלֵּרֶת אֶת פְּרִיעָה (Gen. 40, 20).

2) D'après Wellhausen, il faut lire dans Yoph. 3, 15 également מִשִּׁפְטִיךָ au lieu de מִשִּׁפְטִי.

מלושני (Ps. 21, 5), יסער = יסער (Os. 13, 3), ששתי = שוסיתי (Is. 10, 13), יורעתי⁽¹⁾ (1 Sam 21, 3).

Comme résultat de tout ce qui précède, nous pouvons donc conclure que le réflexif avec "nounge" s'appliquait autrefois non seulement à la forme simple, comme "nif'al," mais aussi à l'*Intensif* et au *Conatif*. A l'*Intensif*, il reçut la forme *nippa'el*; au *Conatif* il devait donc avoir (au parfait) la forme "*nippo'el*."

(1) Inutile de corriger avec Gesenius (Dict) נוערתי ou הוערתי. Le texte est exact et s'explique parfaitement par la racine correspondante en arabe ودع signifiant: laisser en partant ceux qui restent, quitter, faire des adieux (وادع) (Voy. Dict. Wahrmond p. 1170).

A REVISION OF EARLY HEBREW CHRONOLOGY

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FOR centuries the field of early Hebrew chronology has been the hunting ground of the scholarly ecclesiastic and of the dilettante. Even the extraordinary progress made in our knowledge of the ancient East during the past century has, to a superficial glance, left it almost untouched. It is true that the once standard systems of Ussher—1921 B. C. for the Call of Abram, 1491 for the Exodus, and 1296 for the Song of Deborah—and Hale—2088 for the Call of Abram and 1658 for the Exodus—have been discarded, but the many divergent schemes which conservative scholars propose, ranging from 2250 to 1950 for Abram's migration to the west, and from 1350 to 1200 for the Exodus, are still more repugnant to the Biblical tradition than the former were to our present knowledge of ancient history. Some of these schemes allow an entire millennium to elapse between Abram and Moses. Critical scholars usually show a commendable caution by avoiding these tangled problems, the easier for them since many have doubted whether there were any measure whatsoever of historicity in the pre-Mosaic traditions of Israel. As long as the alternative seemed to lie between the contemporaneity of Abram with Hammurabi and rejection of his historicity along with that of Genesis XIV, no serious student could be blamed for grasping the second horn of the dilemma, especially since a number of circumstances seemed to tell decidedly against the conservative position.

The archaeological investigations pursued in Egypt, Mesopotamia and Palestine began about 1870 to cast direct light upon the early records of the Hexateuch. With the discoveries in Anatolia and Arabia, especially the Peninsula of Sinai, the illumining of Israel's horizon is complete. Yet even Tell-el-Amarna and Boghaz-keui have raised more problems than they could solve, and the excavations in

Palestine, from which so much was hoped in this direction, have hitherto only complicated the matter by introducing new, chronologically elusive factors, while at the same time apparently supporting the evidence from other sources against the traditional Biblical date for the Exodus, 480 years before the construction of the temple.

Nor has the critical study of the Old Testament, valuable though its results have been, materially improved our position. The results of documentary analysis were placed on a secure basis by Wellhausen's work forty years ago, and have since become more and more firmly established, positively by the latest archaeological discoveries, and negatively by the failure of the unmethodical supercriticism of Eerdmans, Dahse, Wiener, and a scattered group of followers. These men, with the exception of Eerdmans, profess to be orthodox in their views, but their textual somersaults and subjective distortions of the Biblical narrative bewilder by their freedom as well as by their lack of method. It is to be feared that the good old conservative of the Victorian era, who had at least a sound classical training, would be much more at home in the works of Driver and Skinner than in the writings of Naville, whose archaeological artillery does more damage to the batteries of his allies than to those of his antagonists. However, useful as the analysis of the Hexateuch is for the proper appreciation of the relative historical value of our documents, it seldom has a direct bearing upon the fundamental historical and chronological problems. The most important case is the reconstruction of J's version of Judah's conquest of the south.

The combination of historical and critical methods in Eduard Meyer's great work, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme* (1905), following the lines mapped out by his epoch-making paper, "Kritik der Berichte über die Eroberung Palaestinas" (ZATW¹ 1881,

¹ Note the following abbreviations: AAA = *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*; AE = Max Müller, *Asien und Europa nach den altägyptischen Denkmälern*; AJSJL = *American Journal of Semitic Languages*; AR = Breasted, *Ancient Records*; CT = *Cuneiform Texts from the British Museum*; EA = Knudtzon-Weber-Ebeling, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*; JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*; JBL = *Journal of Biblical Literature*; JEA = *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*; MVAG = *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*; OLZ = *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*; RA = *Revue d'Assyriologie*; ZATW = *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*; ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

117—146), while estimating the relative historical value of our sources more accurately than anyone else had succeeded in doing, brought few positive results. There was still no link between sacred and profane history, and since the oldest Biblical narratives were so intermingled with romantic and obviously legendary material Meyer, as a careful historian, felt obliged to deny their historicity almost entirely. But are we justified in rejecting traditions completely because of legendary coloring, or in denying historical worth to documents because they incorporate mythical episodes? The study of the process of myth-making in the ancient Orient by Winckler and his school has shown that oral tradition inevitably implies the accretion of folkloristic elements, as illustrated by the early historical reminiscences of every Levantine people, and by the myths which gathered around every notable monarch or sage, from Sargon of Akkad and Imhotep to Abīqar and Alexander. Clearly, if we could remove the folkloristic shell, we would find important nuclei of truth in these traditions, which the popular tradition often preserved with the most remarkable tenacity. This necessary demarcation between history and saga is being made possible by more systematic collections of folkloristic materials from the ancient Orient. We now find that these stories repeat certain stereotyped motives, common to all southwestern Asia and the adjoining portions of the Mediterranean basin. Many stories turn up, with slight variations, in nearly every ancient literature and mythology. Owing to association with cosmogony or with heroic saga they were frequently incorporated by the scribe into his collections of the historical traditions of his people from the dim period lying between the Creation and the beginning of the official annals. Typical examples of stories of this class in the Old Testament are the legends of the antediluvian patriarchs, the Flood, Babel, the postdiluvian patriarchs, Jacob and Esau, Joseph,¹ and Samson.² The advancement of the folkloristic study of

¹ For the origin and character of the Joseph Story, which is found with slight variations in all the eastern Mediterranean basin and southwestern Asia, see my article, "Historical and Mythical Elements in the Story of Joseph," *JBL* 37 (1918), 111—143. Since this article was written I have found much additional evidence, and a number of new parallels, of no less intimate character.

² The best treatment of the Samson Story is by Burney *Judges*, pp. 391—408. While Samson reflects an actual historical hero, his adventures have clearly been adapted to the Heracles pattern, and in many respects closely resemble the

the Old Testament may be referred almost entirely to Gunkel¹ and his pupils, especially Hans Schmidt² and Gressmann.³ Recently the great name of Sir James Frazer has been added to the still short list of workers in the field.

The recognition of these folkloristic elements in our material, and the consequent sifting of our historical data, obviously has a great effect in stabilizing our conceptions of early Hebrew history. The scribes were not logopoeists, or compilers of invented facts; they conscientiously passed on the documents, oral and written, which came to their hand. Their undeveloped ideas of intellectual honesty were aided by an exaggerated notion of the sacredness of the material which they gathered and copied, and the fear of violating some tabu by inaccuracy. Being human they made mistakes and erroneous combinations,⁴ but we may safely credit them with a point of view

exploits of Gilgames, as well as those of Heracles. In spite of his name, which means literally "solar" he is not directly solar, though certain of his adventures, as well as his association with Beth Shemesh, the city of the sun, point in that direction. His mythical side connects him rather with the genii of fecundity, like the Babylonian Lugalmarda, who appears in the Bible as Nimrod, and Sumuqan, both of whom are considered as the offspring of the sungod by a mortal woman (see JAOS 40, 307—335). Jud. XIII: 6, 9 shows transparently that Samson was thought to be the child of an angel (*i. e.* originally of a god) by a mortal woman, like the primordial heroes of Gen. VI. His name may point to the pre-Mosaic conception that he was the son of Šamš, the sun. The name of the historical Samson is unknown, nor can there be a connection with Shammah of II Sam. XXIII: 11, or with Shamgar, both of whom slew Philistines *en masse*; the *tertium comparationis*, which brought about the fusion of the historical Samson with the mythical, may be the fact that the former was nicknamed Šamšōn (whence Šimšōn, by Philippi's Law). The schematic form of the legend is characterized by the fact that the Samson pericope assigns exactly seven adventures to the hero.

¹ Note especially his books, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit; Genesis; Das Märchen im Alten Testament*, Tübingen, 1917.

² Cf. his *Jona*, and for his methods especially his *Volkserzählungen aus Palästina*.

³ Cf. Gressmann's *Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie und Mose und seine Zeit*, Göttingen, 1913.

⁴ The most serious errors are due to learned combinations and assumptions from imperfect knowledge, still the most prolific source of mistakes on the part of scholars. A very characteristic blunder is the combination which gave us the Hamite theory of Babylonian origins. The compiler of Gen. X identified the Kaššu who ruled Babylonia from 1742 to 1166, and the Dynasty of Kūš (Burkitt, *Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. 21, pp. 236 ff.) which begins the list of post-diluvian kingdoms in the official Babylonian chronology, with the Nubian Ek'āš,

similar to that exhibited by Egyptian and Mesopotamian scribes, whose praiseworthy respect for accuracy we are coming more and more to esteem. Naturally the possibility of error in those days of manuscript and teaching by rote was much greater than it is today.

Until very recently the work of Biblical scholars has been handicapped by the fact that, although there was apparently an abundance of historical material in the cuneiform and the hieroglyphic inscriptions, the doctors disagreed to such an extent that it often seemed to the more timorous or more remote as if there were no security at all in this vast and treacherous edifice. Now the differences are lessening to such an extent that there is hardly ever any room for serious disagreement in the reading of royal or place names, and even the vexed subject of ancient chronology is nearing a final settlement.¹ The dates given by Breasted for the kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty are for the most part astronomically fixed, and those for the Nineteenth are confirmed by an indirect synchronism

later *Ekôš*, Amarna *Kâši*, and Heb. *Kûš*. Accordingly, the Babylonian hero, Nimrod, becomes an Ethiopian, and with Eduard Meyer a Libyan, because one of the Libyan ancestors of Shishak was called *Nmrt*.

¹ Practically all Egyptologists accept the clear astronomical evidence of the Sothis dates for the Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasties; the divergent views of a few belonging to the older school, such as Petrie and Lieblein, are not to be taken seriously, since the astronomical evidence is now confirmed by an increasing mass of collateral material. Back to B. C. 2000 Egyptian chronology is exact almost for every decade; the difference of about ten years between the dates given by Meyer and Breasted for the Nineteenth Dynasty is being settled in favor of the latter; see the following note. Babylonian chronology is established with the same margin of error back to about 2500 B. C., thanks to the brilliant discovery of Pater Kugler of a list of the relations between the changes of Venus and the moon, accurately dated in the reign of 'Ammi-çadûqa (1978—1957). Weidner's attempt to reduce this date by 168 years because of his new Assyrian lists of kings and a new astronomical combination is certainly wrong from the chronological side, where he has made a great many serious errors, as I shall prove elsewhere; his astronomical theory has not been published yet, but is evidently wrong, as his almost invariably are where they differ from Kugler's. The latter has the enviable merit of being at once a competent astronomer and an Assyriologist of no mean ability. The chronology of the third millennium has no astronomical support, but may be fixed back to the thirtieth century, thanks to a careful examination of the material in the light of my synchronism between Menes and Narâm-Šin; see JEA 6, 89—98, and 7, 80—86. Since the second article was written, new material has accumulated.

with Babylonia through the Hittite monarchs.¹ We may, therefore, make a new effort to solve the principal questions of early Hebrew chronology, and, in the main, I venture to say, a definitive one. We propose to fix approximately the dates of the Song of Deborah, the Entrance into Canaan, the Exodus, and the period of Abram.

The Song of Deborah is generally recognized as the oldest monument of Hebrew literature, a literary conception of unusual merit, though a torso, and an historical document of prime importance. A thorough study of it, prolonged through years, has convinced me that its textual state is excellent.² While the LXX differs radically from MT in many of the later books, here there is hardly a disagreement. Moreover, the number of glosses, though respectable, seems to be much smaller than often suspected and to have very little bearing on the historical content of the poem. In a careful study of ancient Oriental metres, I have been struck with the similarity of form and metre between the Song of Deborah and some Egyptian poems from the Middle Egyptian period as well as the two splendid Old Babylonian hymns to the goddesses Agušaya and Bēliti (time of Hammurabi). When read consecutively and freed from a few obvious and for the most part generally admitted glosses, the Song of Deborah appears as a very regular and rather elaborate metrical composition, belonging with these categories of pure Semitic verse.³ The later

¹ The Hittite monarch Hattusilis II. writes to the regents for the young son of the Kassean Kadašman-Turgu, who must be Kadašman-Elil II., mentioning the new treaty with Egypt. The treaty was signed, as we know from Egyptian sources, in the twenty-first year of Rameses II., or B. C. 1271; according to my chronology, based on entirely independent considerations, Kadašman-Elil ascended the throne in 1272, a figure agreeing to the year.

² A number of *hapax legomena*, previously unexplained, and consequently emended by most scholars, have yielded to a methodical exegesis, assisted by the resources of comparative philology, as I shall show elsewhere. By far the most thorough and stimulating treatment of the Song of Deborah is that given by Haupt, in the Wellhausen *Festschrift*, pp. 191—226. After his penetrating analysis there is not much to be done, even though one may differ radically in the restoration of the metrical form. To Burney we owe the important discovery of the scheme of "climactic parallelism," though his philological study is highly unsatisfactory, and he is too ready to emend.

³ I hope to treat the relation between Egyptian and Akkadian poetry of the classical period, on the one hand, and early Hebrew verse on the other, in a special study. The principle of repetition of balanced clauses, called climactic parallelism by Burney, is found, though in a slightly more artificial form, in the beautiful Egyptian poem, "The Dialogue between the Soul and the Body."

Hebrew verse-forms are different, and resemble late Assyro-Babylonian poetry more, though superior to the latter in metrical form, since in translation from Sumerian the requirements of prosody were naturally sacrificed to the demands of literalness. Some of the Hebrew verse from the intervening age, such as the Lament of David over Jonathan, presents intermediate forms of great interest. As a result of the metrical analysis we may have full confidence in the accuracy of the text of the Song of Deborah, and pass without apprehension to its historical exploitation.

Jud. V: 6 the poet relates that before the rise of Deborah the country was oppressed by Shamgar of Beth-Anath,¹ a fortified town in northern Galilee,² mentioned in the Egyptian lists of Palestinian cities,³ and the Books of Joshua and Judges, where it appears (Jud. I: 33) along with Beth-Shemesh⁴ as a Canaanite fortress which

¹ Shamgar ben-Anath does not mean "Shamgar son of Anath," but "Shamgar of the place called Beth-Anath." Anath was a goddess, and though one might suppose that the hero Shamgar was regarded as son of the goddess of war and love, like Gilgames and Aeneas, by a mortal father, it is better to assume that we have here a wide-spread Assyrian and Aramaic idiom (cf. Ungnad, *OLZ* 9, 224—226), according to which a member of a tribe was son of the eponymous ancestor of the tribe, often naturally his real ancestor, while the tribe itself was called "house," *i. e.* "family" (cf. *ôhl*, "tent" = *ahl*, "family" = *âlu*, "town") of the eponymous parent. Thus in Assyrian *mâr*, in an Aramean name especially, is equivalent to *ša bît*: *Ba'sa mâr Rûhûbi* king of Ammon is Baasha of Beth-Rehob, just as Hadadezer ben-Rehob is Hadadezer of Beth-Rehob; *Ya'ua mâr Humrî* is Jehu of Beth-Omri, *i. e.* of Samaria, built by Omri; in many other cases the inscriptions themselves alternate in their usage, as with *Aramê mâr Gûsî* = *Aramê ša bît-Gûsî*, who is called Bar Gôš in the Zakir Stele.

² That Beth-Anath was in northern Galilee is clear from the fact that it lay in Naphtali, on the Israelite border, but the identification with modern 'Ainîtha a small village west-northwest of Lake Hûle by some fifteen kilometres in a straight line is impossible. The name is found elsewhere in Syria, probably representing an Aram. 'Ainâthâ, "springs," and only remotely resembling Beth-Anath.

³ Beth-Anath is found as Bait-'Anat in the Egyptian lists of towns conquered in Palestine from the time of Thutmosis III. to that of Shishak. In a list of Rameses II. (Müller, *Egyptological Researches*, Vol. II, p. 96) we have in succession Yeno'am, *Qmhm*, Ullazi (*Yn-r-ḫ*), Tyre, Ūsô (*Yw-ḫw*), Beth-Anath. In view of this order; it may not be too venturesome to suggest Tell-Belât, an important mound about fifteen km. southwest of 'Ainîtha, and twenty-five southeast of Tyre, by the air line.

⁴ The identification of Beth-Shemesh of Naphtali with Hirbet Šemsîn, southwest of the Sea of Galilee, is exceedingly improbable; the town was doubtless in northern Galilee, but I have no identification to offer.

the tribe of Naphtali was unable to reduce. As seen long ago, Shamgar is not a Semitic name, but Hittite,¹ thus belonging to the same race which we find occupying the towns of Galilee in the Amarna period. Jud. III: 31. Shamgar is said to have slain six hundred Philistines with an ox-goad. The latter circumstance is folkloristic, and belongs in the same cycle of tales as those which grew up around the legendary figure of Samson, in the Judæan district of Beth-Shemesh, but the tradition that Shamgar defeated the Philistines is certainly correct, with the more clearness that Shamgar is not an Israelite hero, but a Canaanite one, and therefore we may expect his achievement to be minimized rather than exalted. His incorporation in the list of Israelite heroes evidently came late, as may be inferred from the fact that he has no saga attached to his name; the fact that the reference to him is inserted just before the prose account of the struggle with Sisera shows that he owes his inclusion to a misunderstanding of the allusion to him in the Song of Deborah. Despite his oppression, however, the Hebrews kept a friendly recollection of the Canaanite champion who had helped ward off the terrible barbarian irruption.

We now discover what may appear at first sight a remarkable anomaly: if the Philistines were already known in Palestine in the time of Shamgar, how does it happen that they appear nowhere in the Song of Deborah, but that the tribe of Dan, later driven out of the Lowlands by the pressure of the Philistines, still occupies the sea-coast, without a hint of apprehension:

Why does Dan abide in ships?

From the inscriptions of Rameses III. (1198—1167) it is certain that the first great invasion of Syria and the Delta by the "Sea-peoples" took place in the eighth year (1190) and was successfully repulsed. Since nothing more is heard of the Sea-peoples during the active life of the Pharaoh, it is evident that they were unable to break the vigorous resistance of the great king's arm, so the career of Shamgar must fall soon after 1190, and the Song of Deborah toward the end of the reign of Rameses III., about 1175. The successful Philistine

¹ About the middle of the ninth century the Assyrian inscriptions mention Sangara, king of Carchemish; since the Assyrians always wrote a final vowel, whether they pronounced it or not, and pronounced *s* as *š* and conversely, while *n* and *m* were not distinguished before *g* and *q*, we must pronounce *Šan(m)gar*.

irruption may have taken place immediately after the Pharaoh's death, or shortly before, when harem intrigues were sapping the strength of the empire, and the king was apparently in his dotage. A detailed examination of the history of the Philistine irruption will make the sequence of events easier to understand.

The first reference to the northern inroads is found in Rameses's account of the Libyan campaign of the fifth year,¹ which mentions the incursions of Philistine² and Sicilian³ barks. The movement

¹ AR IV, 24.

² The Philistines are now generally, following Amos, derived from Caphtor, which may be Crete, but may also, like the Eg. *Kftyw*, be a general term for the Egean region. The Egyptian word is not really a proper name, but is an adjectival formation, like *hftyc*, "enemies," *yentyc*, "foes" (erroneously, as I shall show elsewhere, "Troglodytes"), *štyw*, "archers," *mntyc*, etc., and means properly "opponents." It is, however, more than likely that it is a kind of popular etymology, explaining the foreign word *Kaptâr* or *Kaftâr*. Wainwright's arguments in his monograph, "The Keftiu-People of the Egyptian Monuments" (AAA 6, 24—83, 1913) against the identification of the land of the *Kftyw* with Crete are convincing; the term had a wider connotation, and his location of it in eastern Cilicia is nebulous. Dilettantes have long thought of combining the Philistines with the Pelasgians; while long opposed, I have now adopted this theory, for the following reasons. It is improbable that so important a people as the Philistines should leave no trace behind in the Egean region. The home of the Pelasgians seems to have been Thessaly and Epirus, where the district of Pelasgiotis and Pelasgian Dodona (II. II, 233) commemorated their former presence. The Odyssey mentions Pelasgians in Crete, and the earliest historians, Hecataeus and Herodotus, find traces of them all over Hellenic lands, which they were believed to have occupied before the Hellenic immigration. Despite Eduard Meyer's caveat (GA I, 23, 767 ff.), these traditions must be essentially correct. The name *Pelešet*, *Pelištî* goes back unquestionably to an original *Pelašt*, reflected in Assy. *Palastu*, *Pilistû*, both of which reproduce a *Pelišt*. Now the names of the Sea-peoples nearly all have the gentile termination *sh*, sometimes omitted. Thus we have *Kškš* while the Assyrians have *Kškî* (written *Kaskî*), and the Boghaz-keui texts have *Qaşqaš*, *Qaşga*, *Gaşga*, Greek Kiskisos in Cataonia; *Turša*, Heb. *Tarshish*, the Tyrsenians or Etruscans; *Krkš* (cf. Kirkesion, Gergesa, Gergashites); *Wšš*, *Aqawiš* (not the Achaeans), etc. Affixing this gentile ending, we have *Pelaštîš* or *Pelaštš*. Final *tš* and *dž* after a consonant can hardly be distinguished, so the Greeks, to whom a *štš* was incompatible, pronounced *Pelaşg-oi*, just as the Italians rendered the Punic *Qarṭḥadšoh*, "New-town," by *Carthago*. The Italians made a similar change in getting an *Etrusc*, *Tusc* from *Turšîš*, where *š-š* has become *sc*. In the same way *Wšš* has become *Fázos* (Hall), for **Wask-os*.

³ The Eg. *ṯ-k-rʿ*, or *ṯ-k-k-rʿ*, conventionally read Zakar, certainly refers to the Sicilians, or Sikel, Gr. Sikeloi, Lat. Siculi. The identification with the Teucrians or Trojans, frequently proposed, is phonetically impossible. On the other hand, the Teucrian Gergithes, who appear in Troas, Mysia, Miletus, Cyprus, etc. (cf. Meyer, GA³ 739), are perhaps the same as the *Krkš* and Gergashites

began earlier; it is probable that the Mashwash, who appear as the leaders of the Libyan invasion in the reign of Meyneptah (cir. 1220) represent an earlier stage of the northern migrations, as the *sh*-ending denotes the gentile suffix in many of the names of the Sea-peoples.¹ Shortly before the year 1190 the northern hordes, driven from their homes by the Indo-European inundation which brought the Achaeans into the Polopomnesus² and the Phrygians into Asia Minor, swept in a great wave over the ruin of the Hittite Empire into Armenia and Syria. The Muski (Assyr. writing *Muški*) or Moschians and their allies, the Tabal and the Kashkash (Assyr.

(see preceding note). It should be observed in this connection that in most of the Anatolian languages there was no clear distinction between the voiced and voiceless stops, so *k* and *g* are here practically interchangeable. Moreover, since the Greeks possessed no *sh*, they might reproduce it by a *θ*, especially before the nominative ending *ς*. In syllabic orthography *f* regularly was pronounced *si* (סי) as in *T^h-rw* = Roman Sile, and *T^h-r^h-y-n* = Heb. פָּרִיץ, "coat of mail", so *T^h-k^h-r^h* may be read *Siker* or *Sikel*. In this case, the Sicilians of Dor were an Italian people, since there can be no question that the Sicilians were Indo-Europeans, speaking an Italic language, inscriptions in which have been recovered. Thucydides says that there were Sicilians still in Italy in his day, a statement corroborated by later Roman historians, and that they crossed into Sicily three hundred years before the arrival of the first Greek colonists (Ξηγη ἐγγὺς τριακόσια πρὶν Ἑλλήνας εἰς Σικελίαν ἐλθεῖν, Thuc. VI : 2). As the traditional date for the latter event was about 735 B. C. this would mean that the Oscan migration which was responsible for the movement of the Sicilians, according to Thucydides, took place in the eleventh century. However, these dates are evidently only approximate, and we may safely place the Sicilian migration about 1200, when the first appearance of the Sicilians on the Egyptian coast seems to have occurred. All the Mediterranean peoples were so accustomed to sea-faring that wholesale migrations seem to have been carried out as readily by the sea route as by the land. It is very interesting to establish the presence of an Italian people in Palestine as early as the twelfth century B. C.

¹ See note 18. Northern Africa was certainly in this period colonized by peoples from the northern coasts of the Mediterranean. Meyneptah states that the Mašwaš, who are certainly not the Berber Maxyes, modern Mazigh, as generally assumed, invaded the land of Tehenu, or Marmarica, and made it the basis for further operations against Egypt. In the same inscription are listed the northern peoples who were allied with the Mašwaš (Breasted, AR III, 241 ff.) the Aqawaiš (sic) Turša, Luka, Šardina, Šklš.

² It is extremely doubtful whether the Achaean migration represented a gradual influx of Hellenic tribes, beginning perhaps before the middle of the second millennium, or whether it took place in a single movement, toward the close of the thirteenth century, two or three centuries before the Dorian migration. It is now fashionable among Egean archaeologists to place the Trojan war just before a Hellenic migration, whatever its ethnic nature may have been.

writing *Kaski*¹ occupied Alsi (Eg. 'r'-s'; see below) in northwestern Mesopotamia or southwestern Armenia, as stated also in the inscriptions of Tiglathpileser I., and, as stated only in the Egyptian records, northern Syria, including the cities of Carchemish, Arvad, Qatna (modern Homs),² and established a temporary center in central

¹ There can be no doubt that the statement in the prism of Tiglathpileser, I, 62 ff., that the Muškê had occupied the districts of Alzi and Puruhunzi in southwestern Armenia fifty years before his time, or about 1170, refers to the same movement described by Rameses III (AR IV, 37 f.), since Alsi figures in both narratives. The peoples mentioned by the Assyrians are those with whom they came into direct contact, while the Egyptian accounts evidently give only the names of such as reached southern Syria, viz., the Philistines or Pelasgians, the Sicilians, Sagalassians, Wšš (Axians?), and Dainôna (the proper spelling, as appear from the Eg. *D'-y-n-yw-n'* of this passage, and the Amarna Danûna). Fifty is a round number, and the relation between the Assyrian and Egyptian chronology in this century is unfortunately not precisely certain. The Phrygian Moschians, to whom king Midas is reckoned by Sargon III. in the eighth century, were naturally the last of the invaders, who drove the Anatolians before them, but made no attempt themselves to follow the latter into southern Syria. Before them came the Kaškaš and the Urumi, who were according to Tiglathpileser, II, 100 ff., Hittite peoples, thus agreeing with the Egyptian inscriptions and the geographical indications, who occupied cities of Subartu, the Assyrian name for Mitanni. While the Cataonians thus pushed into Mitanni, their westerly neighbors, the Sagalassians, Axians, and Dainôna, pushed west of them into Syria. It may be remarked that the Dainôna can have nothing to do with the Greek Danaans, *Danawoi*, but may have been a nation of Cilician or Pamphylian pirates, against whose raids Kilammu of Ya'di, on the Gulf of Alexandretta, was forced to secure Assyrian help about 825 B. C. In the Amarna period Abimilki of Tyre reports that the king of Danuna had died, evidently to the satisfaction of the Tyrian. The Dôdanîm of Gen. X, mentioned with the Kittim are evidently these same Danônîm (as we should perhaps read the Hebrew name, called Rôdanîm in Chronicles), who seem to have given their name later, presumably by right of conquest, to a part of Cyprus, called Yadanar or Yadanar in the Assyrian texts, i. e., *î-Danan*, a Phoenician term meaning "Island of the Danan," corresponding to the Hebrew *îyê-Kittîyîm*, "Isles of the Kittians." It hardly seems possible that the Philistines and Sicilians took the land-route. The fact that people with feather head-dress appear in chariots on the monuments of Rameses III., depicting the war with the Sea-peoples, does not prove anything, since we know from other sources that the Lycians, the men of the Phaestos disk, and an Anatolian folk defeated by Semacherib all wear the same head-gear.

² From general geographical considerations, Winckler, Knudtzon, and Ebeling have reached the conclusion that Qatna was located near Homs, ancient Emesa (EA 1107 ff.), but none of them seem to have observed that Qatna is identical in name with modern Qatîneh, northeast of *bahret Qatîneh*, the Lake of Enies, on the railroad from Homs to Ba'albek. Perhaps ancient Qatna was situated at Tell Halaf, six to eight km. east of modern Homs. The Egyptians write the name Qate; the current spelling Qode is wrong.

Syria (Amîru) for further operations. Meanwhile Rameses had defeated the allied fleets of the Philistines and the Sicilians in a naval battle,¹ and was able to turn his attention to the land invaders, who were defeated in Šahi, that is, somewhere in the southern part of Syria, presumably on the coastal plain. Despite the repulse of the northerners, some remnants probably succeeded in winning a foothold in the country or settled later in small groups. Sisera of Harosheth may have been Egean by race, since his name is not Semitic, and the phrase *הרשת הנגיים* can hardly be rendered otherwise than "Harosheth of the northern hordes".²

From the Song of Deborah it is evident that the Israelite occupation of Palestine was not too recent an event. The success of Shamgar is a distinct set-back for Israel, which had already begun to flourish through the peaceful means of commerce:

In the days of Shamgar ben-Anath the caravans ceased.

After Shamgar's successful stand, presumably in connection with a Canaanite coalition, stiffened by the aid of Egyptian mercenaries, against the Philistines, he maintained his ascendancy over Galilee, like a mediaeval robber-knight, by keeping a small army of retainers, supported by the robbery of caravans and by exactions levied from the villages. In the same way Zatatna or Sutatna³ of Akko, in the Amarna age, had terrorized western and southern Galilee, as far as

¹ Cf. page 11, note 1.

² I will show later that *Gôyîm* in Gen. XIV. refers to the northern hordes, as observed first by Sayce. This explanation of *Harōšet hag-gôyîm*, which is undoubtedly correct, is due to Garstang. Harosheth is in name clearly identical with the modern Hârithîya, in the narrows of the Kishon, close to the railway from Haifâ to 'Afûle; *th* for *sh* is a common linguistic back-formation in words taken over from Assyrian and Hebrew into Aramaic and Arabic (*Athûr* for *Āšûr*, etc.), a process due to the fact that the frequent etymological correspondence between these sounds set up an involuntary mental association. I am inclined to think that the correct form of the word is Hârîšat, etymologically identical with Ar. *harîseh*, "enclosure, sheep-fold" (also the meaning of the place-name Hazor) and changed in later Hebrew to *Harōšet* by popular etymology. That Tell 'Amr is a Canaanite site seems to be proved by the fact that Phythian-Adams has picked up "Cypriote" potsherds from the side of the mound.

³ The cuneiform writing Šutatna here stands for Sutatna. While the northern Mesopotamian records are fairly consistent in following the Assyrian practice of exchanging the values of the sibilants, the Amarna correspondence from Palestine is hopelessly irregular, sometimes adopting the Babylonian values, sometimes the Assyrian.

Megiddo; a letter is extant from the Babylonian king, complaining because the men of Zatatna had waylaid his messengers at Hannathon in western Galilee. Just as Zatatna had escaped by professing allegiance to the Pharaoh and sending gifts, accompanied, no doubt, by bribes in the right place, so Shamgar was able to harmonize a nominal subjection to the commands of the Pharaoh with a total disregard for the rights of the Pharaoh's servants, though it is possible that Shamgar was considered as the local Egyptian governor, whose legitimate prey the Israelites were.

After the fall of Shamgar, the hegemony of Galilee passed to Sisera of Harosheth,¹ in the narrows of the Kishon, southeast of Akko.² By this time the Israelites were sufficiently galled by the raids of Shamgar to resent bitterly the prospect of a new tyrant, perhaps himself a member of the hated Egean race. Accordingly, under the leadership of Deborah, modern Debûrieh,³ at the foot of Tabor,

¹ It has been suggested that the *Kftyc* name which Wainwright, AAA 6, 32, note 1, gives as *B-n-sa-si-ra*, from Müller's article, MVAG 1900, 9, is to be combined with the Sisera of Judges and identified with the Benê Sisera of Ezra II:53. The suggestion is very ingenious, but unfortunately does not harmonize with the Egyptian writing, which is actually *B-n-ḏ'-sy-r'*; *Sisera* would be *ṯ'-ḏ'-r'*. However, it is probable enough that Sisera belonged to the *Kftyc*, who correspond to the Sea-people in general (cf. page 9, note 2).

² Cf. page 12, note 2.

³ For the identity of the Deborah of Jud. V with the city of *Dbrt* in Issachar, modern Debûrieh (not Debûriyeh) see especially Haupt in the Wellhausen *Festschrift*, p. 201. There can be no question that the term *אם ישראל* means "metropolis in Israel", as this was a regular Hebrew idiom. How very unclear the role which she has been supposed to play is may be seen from Grant's recent article AJSJL 36, 295 ff. As noted by several scholars, the idea that there was a woman called Deborah is based upon the tradition of Rebecca's nurse Deborah, who was said to be buried under the oak called *allôn bakûṭ*, below Bethel, while Deborah the prophetess is referred to a residence under the *tômer* tree (palm?) between Bethel and Ramah. The latter is purely mythical, and, as her name, "bee", shows, corresponds to the nurse of Zeus, Melissa, "bee," who according to one form of the myth (Preller⁵ 133) was, with her sister, the she-goat Amalthea, daughter of a Cretan king Melisseus. She and her sister nursed the infant Zeus with milk and honey, the food of the gods (cf. with Roscher, the *ארץ זבת חלב ודבש*), and Melissa later became the first priestess of the Magna Mater. I have elsewhere showed that the name *Ribqah*, Rebecca, is probably the same word as Assyr. *riqibtu*, for **ribiqtu*, "clod, soil" from *rabâqu*, "break clods, cultivate ground," and that Rebecca is thus the earth-mother who gives birth to the bull-god, Jacob, just as Zeus and Dionysus are sons of the earth-mothers, Rhea and Semele. It is evident that her nurse Deborah, i. e., her priestess, and nurse of her son Jacob, belongs in the same category as the Cretan Melissa.

probably the leading town of Issachar at that time, the clans and tribes of the districts around the Plain of Esdraelon, who were most threatened by the new robber, rushed to arms, and attacked Sisera in the Kishon Valley. As so poetically described in the Song, a sudden storm joined its forces to the Israelite army, and Sisera was utterly routed, his chariots and horses being rendered useless in the muddy plain, or swept away by the Kishon, swelling rapidly from a sluggish stream to a mighty torrent.

Soon afterwards the Philistines and Sicilians settled definitely in Palestine, but at first were too few in numbers, and too busy consolidating their new territories to molest the Israelites much, though they drove the tribe of Dan from the region of Joppa into the hills, whence part of the tribe, cramped for room, migrated to the north, and extended the bounds of Israel by the occupation of the fertile district of Laish, modern Tell-el-Qādi. About 1115 (fifth year of Rameses XII.) the Egyptian envoy Wen-Amōn stopped at Dor on his way to Phoenicia, and found the Sikel chief *Bdr* (vocalization uncertain) in quiet and recognized control of the town. The Hebrew traditions make the oppression of the Israelites by the Philistines begin at about the same time, to infer from the numbers preserved, which must naturally be taken *cum grano salis*. Jud. XIII: 1, they are said to have oppressed Israel forty years (*i. e.* about a generation) before Samson's career, and XVI: 31 the latter is stated to have "judged Israel" twenty years more. Then, as we are led by the fragmentary account to infer, the Philistines resumed their raids, and about 1050 succeeded in winning the upper hand by defeating Israel, and capturing the palladium of Yahweh. This would make the beginning of the first oppression lie about $1050 + x$ (Eli's judgeship) $+ 20 (\pm) + 40 (\pm) = 1110 + x$.

While we must place the Conquest a reasonable length of time before the first Philistine irruption and the career of Shamgar, we certainly cannot depend on the Hebrew numbers, which place the date of this event $146 \text{ years} + x$ (lifetime of Joshua and the elders) before Shamgar, and $166 + x$ before the fall of Sisera. It is not impossible that the lengths of the oppressions of Chushanrishathaim¹

¹ The name *Kušan-riš'atay im* means literally "Chushan of the double wickedness." Kušan was an Aramean tribe of the Syrian desert, mentioned in Habakkuk III along with Midian (this poem is an extremely archaic fragment, perhaps

and Eglon, eight and eighteen years respectively, are right, but as we have no reason for considering them as consecutive, they cannot be made the basis of a reckoning. Happily, however, the Egyptian inscriptions again come to our rescue, enabling us to fix a *terminus ad quem* and *terminus a quo* quite independent of the Hebrew numbers. The former is established at 1225 by the famous stele of Meyneptah, celebrating his victory over the Libyans in 1220, and mentioning his previous conquests and victories in Palestine. During the long senility of Rameses the Great, Palestine had slipped from the Pharaoh's grasp, and even the coastal plain had ceased paying tribute. Accordingly, the Pharaoh Meyneptah, already growing old, was obliged to march up the sea-coast, capturing Ascalon and Gezer, and defeating Israel.¹

The *terminus a quo* of the Exodus, which took place about forty, or since this number is usually equivalent to a generation, more nearly thirty years before the Conquest, is fixed by the mention of the construction of the towns of Rameses (*i. e.* Pey-Ra'meses) and Pithom (*i. e.* Pey-Tûm) by the Hebrew gangs under the Egyptian *corvée*. As these towns were built by Rameses II., the Exodus must be placed after his accession in 1292. Can we reach a conclusion more exact than this? I believe it is possible, thanks to a lucky chance. Ex. XII: 40f. the Exodus is said to have occurred just 430 years after the entrance of the Hebrews into Egypt. The number 430 is not cyclic, nor can it well be explained as a scribal computation, like the number 480 for the period between the Exodus

nearly as old as the Song of Deborah). The idea that this marauding tribe, whose atrocities seem to have made it as proverbial as the "thrice-wretched" Nicanor, was a king of Mesopotamia is based on a later misunderstanding of the ending *ayim*, which also appears in *Aram-naharayim*. There is no room in the Mesopotamian history of this period for such a great conqueror.

¹ There is no reason to assume that Meyneptah defeated an Israelitish host in a pitched battle; it is far more likely that he dispersed an encampment of the Danites in the Plain of Sharon. The statement, "Their seed has become nonexistent," does not mean that their grain-fields were devastated, as Spiegelberg thought for a time (Rameses III. uses the same expression regarding the Sea-peoples, who had no fields of grain), but simply that the males are slain; the next line says that "Syria has become like a widow for Egypt." — Since the males were all killed, the posterity of the captured women would belong to the Egyptians who enslaved them.

and the construction of the Temple.¹ Since we can hardly believe that the Hebrews, most of the time in a condition of serfdom, kept an accurate account of the time on their own account, we may suppose that the number is based upon an Egyptian era of some sort.

We are fortunate enough to be able to point to exactly such an era, in use at precisely the Ramessid period, and in northeastern Egypt to boot—the era of Tanis. This era is found on the so called Four Hundred Year Stele, discovered by Mariette at Tanis.² Rameses II. sent one of his most important officials, Seti, among other things governor of the fortress of Sile ("Zaru") on the northeastern frontier, to Tanis in order to dedicate a stele to the god Set in honour of his father, Seti I., evidently at the very beginning of his reign, though this has, on insufficient grounds, been doubted. The inscription is dated on the fourth day of the twelfth month of the four hundredth year of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, A-pahte-Set Nebtey. Since the name of this king is compounded with the name of the god Set, of Tanis, whom the Hyksos adopted as their patron, substituting his name for that of Rê in their

¹ The number 480 is equivalent to twelve generations of forty years each. It is further exactly equal to the summation of the regnal years given in the Book of Kings for all the kings of Judah from the beginning of a cycle in the fourth year of Solomon to the destruction of the Temple by the Chaldeans. We are dealing with precisely the same system as that employed by the Babylonian chronologers to adjust their chronology. The historiographers of Sargon III. counted up the years of the dynasties listed in the official tablets from Sargon I., whose illustrious name the Assyrian adopted, and whose half-fabulous exploits he consciously emulated. The real interval between them was about 2300 years, but by this time a number of contemporaneous dynasties, such as these of the Sea Lands and Larsa, which alone lasted about 450 years, were included in the list of successive dynasties, just as in Egypt, so the total interval was brought up to very nearly 3000 years. Since this was the length of a world-month in the Mesopotamian astrological system (this fact I will prove elsewhere; suffice it to say that the old Mesopotamian world year of 36,000 common years, based on 360 days of a century each, is preserved in the Harranian world year of 36,525 common years, or a Julian year of days a century long), the inscriptions of Sargon say that the West-land had last been subdued a lunar cycle before him, naturally by Sargon I., whose conquest of the West figures so prominently in the omnia. The interval of 3000 years was now generally accepted, so when the archaeologist king Nabonidus, nearly two hundred years later, wishes to date Naram-Sin, son of Sargon, he adds 200 years, obtaining 3200. This is the simple solution of the two vexed chronological questions.

² Cf. Breasted, AR III, 226—228.

throne-names, we evidently have here the era of the Hyksos occupation and rebuilding of Tanis, which, along with its twin-city, Avaris, remained their focus in Egypt. The Hyksos era then falls 1692 B. C., or a few years later, approximately 1690; their rule lasted about 110 years, coming to a close with the victory of the Theban monarch Amosis (Almâsey) about 1580, a few years before the final capture of Avaris.

We have excellent reasons for combining the Hebrew entrance into Goshen¹ with the Hyksos invasion. Num. XIII: 22 we have the explicit statement that Tanis was built seven years after Hebron, which had clearly been one of the last stations of the Hyksos army before its conquest of Lower Egypt. In view of the intimate connection between Abram and Hebron, as well as the tradition of his journey to Egypt, later modified by contamination with the saga of Abimelech, and displaced by the saga of Jacob, we cannot doubt that this allusion is a stray fragment of the Hebrew historical traditions; the number seven is folkloristic, and not to be taken seriously. The story of Abram's descent into Egypt is the saga connected with the chieftain, whose historicity can no longer be denied,² while the story of the entrance of the Benê Ya'qob, the clan of the Hebrew people to which Abram belonged, is the saga of the people; Jacob is the eponymous ancestor of his tribe, who received divine honors as the bull-god.³ That the Benê Ya'qob played an important part in the Hyksos confederation is certain from the name Ya'qob-har of one of the Hyksos dynasts, whose scarabs are found along with those of 'Anat-har ('Anat is the

¹ While the name Goshen appears in the LXX as *Gesem*, perhaps following good tradition, Naville's Egyptian district of *Gsmw* is wholly erroneous; we must naturally read *Ššmw*, as pointed out recently by Gardiner. The name has, accordingly, not been found yet.

² Quite aside from the non-folkloristic character of most of the stories connected with his name, in which he differs so radically from Isaac and Jacob, and the fact that there is absolutely no evidence for his divine or eponymous nature, is the fact that the name has recently been discovered by Ungnad and Lutz on tablets from the First Dynasty of Babylon, cir. 2000—1950 B. C. The most interesting fact is that both forms, *Abamram*, i. e. "Exalted as to father" (cf. JBL 37, 133, note 21) and *Abaraḥam* = **Abam-raham* are found, thus confirming the Hebrew tradition that he had two names, though naturally disproving the late haggadic etymologies given in Genesis.

³ Cf. JBL 37, 117.

Canaanite goddess of war, worshiped at Beth-Anath in Galilee). This explains the Hebrew traditions of a favorable reception by a friendly king, who settled them in the finest part of the land, whose vizier was a member of their own race.¹ I venture to suggest that the 110 years of Joseph's life, though curiously identical with the stereotyped life-time of an Egyptian sage, are a reminiscence of the 110 years during which the Hyksos held sway in Egypt, before the rise of the king who "knew not Joseph."

If the Israelite era is identical with the Hyksos era of Tanis, we must place the Exodus not less than thirty years after the beginning of Rameses II.'s reign, or after B. C. 1262, at approximately 1260. Placing the Conquest approximately a generation later, it falls about 1230, which is perhaps as close to accuracy as we will ever get.

The account of the Conquest given in the Book of Joshua is highly colored, to be sure, but is not so much altered and embellished as generally believed now. The material given in the Amarna Tablets, the Egyptian inscriptions, the variant account of J, and scattered references elsewhere enable us to correct the one-sided narrative in Joshua. For some centuries before the Conquest, probably from the time of Abram, the central highlands and the arid outskirts of Palestine had been occupied by Hebrew, *i. e.* Aramean, tribes, which appear to be gaining ground in the Amarna correspondence, especially in the letters from Jerusalem. According to Gen. XLVIII: 22, explained by XXXIV, the Benê Ya'qob had occupied Shechem, which we find in the possession of the Hebrews in the Amarna Letters. These settled Hebrews had doubtless adopted the *šfāt Kēnū'an* before the invasion of Joshua, giving up their original Aramaic dialect.² The conquest of Palestine by the Israelites would

¹ For the Egyptian background of the story of Joseph see especially JBL 37, 128 ff., where I have pointed out some previously unnoticed elements in the Egyptian part of the pericope.

² Since the consistent Hebrew tradition as preserved in the Old Testament makes Hebrew equivalent to Aramean, or rather Aramean Bedouin (ארמי אבר) and connects the patriarchal stories with the Arameans, we cannot doubt that the 'Abir or Hebrews belong to the same group as the Aḥlāmē (*aḥlām* is the collective from *ḥilīm*, "friend, confederate," as in Arabic) later split into the two main branches of the Aramu and the Kašdu, or Chaldeans. We can trace the encroachments of the Hebrews or Arameans for a thousand years, from the reign of Rim-Sin to their final settlement in Syria and Mesopotamia in the twelfth century, just as the Arabs first appear clearly in history 1500 years before their

doubtless have proved much more difficult if the Hebrews already in the country had not joined the newcomers, and adopted the Yahwist creed along with the name Israel. It is clear that there were no serious conflicts between the two Hebrew branches, since none are mentioned, and the highland of Ephraim is assumed in the accounts of the Conquest to have been occupied at once by Joshua, without a word regarding resistance. In the same way the Arab historians say nothing about the relation between the Arabs already in Palestine¹ and the Muslim invaders. The older stratum of Hebrews is, as pointed out by Weinheimer, sharply distinguished from the Israelites proper in the passages I. Sam. XIII: 6-7, XIV: 21, from which it follows that certain sections of the Hebrew people, living under Philistine domination, and probably still semi-nomadic, like the modern Bedawin in the region of Caesarea, had not been fused with Israel. In the Book of Joshua all traditions disagreeing with the official priestly version of the Conquest have been suppressed, precisely as the official Muslim historiographers endeavored to eliminate all pre-Islamic traditions contrary to the orthodox theory.

The followers of Moses were partly Egyptianized Hebrews of the Benê Ya'qob, partly Nubian and Egyptian converts to Yahwism,²

final settlement. The mixing of peoples explains why we have Aramaic words and forms even in pre-exilic Hebrew, forms such as *ndr*, "vow" (Aram.) besides *n̄zr*, "consecrate" (Canaanite-Hebrew), both from original *ndr*, "vow." It is certain that the people of Palestine and Syria, with exception of the Hittite, Indo-Iranian, and Horite (Mitannian) ruling classes, spoke Hebrew, which we know from their proper names and the Canaanite glosses in the Amarna letters. The Amorite proper names, found in profusion from the middle of the third millennium down to past the middle of the second in the cuneiform inscriptions of Babylonia, Assyria, Hana, and Cappadocia, are unquestionably Hebrew; the name Abamram or Abaraham is certainly not Babylonian, as Ungnad supposed, but Amorite or Aramean. I have tried to show, JEA 6, 92 f., that the Syrian place-names of the thirtieth century B. C. were already Hebrew, thus supporting Clay's contention that Syria was Amorite from before the dawn of history. As Borchardt has recently pointed out (MVAG 22, 342) Athothis, the second Pharaoh of the First Dynasty, invaded Syria (about 2900, according to my chronology), and in the royal tombs of this dynasty the conquered people are represented as the same conventional Amorite type which we find on the monuments fifteen centuries later.

¹ For the Arabs in Palestine before Islam cf. Krauss, ZDMG 70, 325 ff.

² The Aaronids very often wear Egyptian names: Moses = (Ra'-)môse; Hophni = *H̄fn̄*; Phinehas = Penhâse, a common type of name among Egyptian slaves of foreign extraction, meaning "the Nubian;" Merari = *Mrry* (*Mrrw*); Hur = *Hr*. The Aaronid priesthood, to judge from the names, was composed of Egyptians,

and in part Hebrew-Aramean tribes, such as the Kenites and Kenizzites, who joined him after the Exodus. At Kadesh the Yahwists divided into two groups. The more important one, under Joshua—perhaps still under Moses's leadership—, skirted the Dead Sea, discouraged, we may suppose, by the failure of the first tentative against the hill-country of Judah, and after conquering the Amorite states beyond Jordan adopted the tribal name Israel, "God fights." The second group, under Caleb, calling itself *Yehūdāh*,¹ undaunted by the initial failure, occupied Judah from the south. The central line of fortresses, Jerusalem-Gezer, was not incorporated into the Hebrew heritage until the time of the Kingdom. The merit of having seen that the account of conquest of the south given by J in Num. XIV: 40-45, XXI: 1-3, Jud. I is a unit, and gives a consistent narrative, older than the form in Joshua, belongs mainly to Eduard Meyer and Steuernagel.

We have already reached a tentative date for Abram at *cir.* 1700 B. C. Fortunately we can prove this view of the chronological situation from wholly independent considerations, especially the historical background of Gen. XIV. The fourteenth chapter of Genesis has long been a bone of contention among scholars, conservatives usually

though I hardly believe now that Jethro was an Egyptian (JBL 37, 140), Egyptianized Hebrews, and Nubians. It is very conceivable that Petepre, priest of the sun at Heliopolis, was really the father-in-law of Moses instead of Joseph as suggested by Haupt; at all events Moses is known to have had at least two, wives, one a Kenite, Zipporah, daughter of Jethro, and the other a Nubian (*Kūšīt*). Moreover, Mosaism still preserves the most indubitable signs of its Egyptian cradle (JBL 37, 141 f.), and Aaron's name is probably Egyptian. On the other hand, Levi is not an Egyptian name, but the eponymous ancestor of the guild of Levites, or temple-attendants (*Revue d'Assyr.* 16, 184). The "mixed multitude", which is said to have accompanied Moses in the Exodus, evidently consisted of slaves of every race, who seized their chance to escape from Egypt along with the Hebrew migration. Moses' religion of freedom and justice naturally appealed to slaves with peculiar force.

¹ *Yehūdāh* is properly a collective noun referring to the community of Yahwists, as seen first by Haupt (ZDMG 63, 513); it is derived from **yehūdēh*, on the analogy of *yafāh*: *yafēh*. **Yehūdēh* may be a *pu'al* form, for **yehuddēh*, from *hdy*, lead, used in Arabic of religious guidance; *muhtadūna* means in the Qur'ān "those who are divinely guided", and *hūdā* is "divine guidance, gospel". It is also possible to compare Ar. *haddā*, "present, offer", and *'ahdā*, "present, dedicate (sacrificial victim)"; the "Kenite" inscription No. 345 I would read *Mšh-B'lt yhd (yuhaddi) l-B'lt*, "Mašah-Ba'alat dedicates (this) to Ba'alat". In the latter case *Yehūdāh* would mean properly "the consecrated people".

accepting its entire historicity, and the left wing regarding it as a propagandist leaflet from the fifth century, designed to strengthen the hands of the patriotic supporters of Zerubbabel.¹ Since the document does not belong to any of the sources, J, E, D, P, it is evidently a later addition, from the close of the sixth century, a conclusion required, moreover, by its strongly archaizing character, which introduces us to the priestly learning of post-exilic Judaism. There are some serious errors in archaizing, the clearest of which is Dan in place of the older Laish (Eg. *R'-wy-s'*). Besides the folkloristic elements represented by the Rephaim, which elsewhere in the Old Testament are the shades of the dead, and the enchanted submarine cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, there are motives from saga, such as the three eponymous confederates of Abram, the phenomenal victory of Abram's little band over the mighty host of the eastern kings, and the priestly story of Melchizedek, a clever bit of didactics.² Yet hyperscepticism seems uncalled for. The names of the eastern monarchs will appear later as genuine, and, though the names Bera (ברע) of Sodom and Birsha (ברשע) of Gomorrah are obviously artificial formations from the verbs רעע and רשע, "be evil, wicked,"³ the names Shinab (שנאב = the god of the moon⁴ is father) of Admah,

¹ See especially Haupt, OLZ 18, 70 ff., and Asmussen, ZATW 34, 36 ff.

² As generally recognized, the story was intended to promote the payment of tithes to the priests in Jerusalem. The name מלכיצק means literally "legitimate king" (Haupt), the *î* being *hireq compaginis*, and not the pronominal suffix, and thus corresponds exactly in meaning to Assyrian *Šarru-kēnu* (*kēnu* corresponds precisely to *gaddiq*, and *kittu* to *gedaḳāh*), the name of three Mesopotamian kings, two of whom were usurpers. There can be very little doubt that the legend according to which Melchizedek was eternal, reincarnating himself in certain great prophets and priests of later ages, is much older than the Christian era, and elsewhere I have shown that the true prototype of Elias, Enoch, Melchizedek, etc., in the role of eternally recurrent helper of mankind is the Babylonian Atrahasis. There is some reason to suppose that Sargon of Assyria wished to have men believe that he was a reincarnation of his great predecessor (cf. page 16, note 1) and this Sargon legend may well have had some influence in the creation of the story of Melchizedek.

³ It may be observed that in modern Syrian Arabic, humorous or contemptuous words are often formed from others by changing the first letter to *b*, as *bartām* from *hartām*, "snout." Naturally, the formation may be purely modern.

⁴ The original Semitic form of the moon-god's name is *Šin* (so first Haupt), as in South Arabian and Babylonian. In northern Mesopotamia we have the usual interchange of the sibilants, and the form becomes *Sin*, as shown by the Hebrew and Aramean transcription with ס. Here also belongs *Sin-uballiṣ* or

and Shemeber, or perhaps Shemabbir (שמאבר = the god Shem¹ is mighty) of Zeboim are genuine, and very interesting. The words *ער בלע מלך זער* are corrupted from *ער מלך בלע זער*, "And Bela king of Zoar", just as in Jos. X: 3, *ורביר מלך עגלון* is a mistake for *ורביר מלך דביר*, "And Eglon king of Debir", which explains the mention of Debir in v. 38f. Just as Eglon is a good personal name; borne by a king of Moab, so the name Bela was borne by the first king of Edom.²

What shall we say of the four eastern kings, of Chedorlaomer (כדרר לעמר) of Elam, of Arioch (ארייך) of Ellasar, Tidal (תדעל) of Hordes (גורס) and Amraphel (אמרפל) of Shinar (שנער)? The latter has hitherto been identified with Hammurabi of Babylon, despite the fact that only two consonants of the five are the same. Nor is the case better with the actual Amorite pronunciation of the name, which we now know to have been 'Ammu-rawiḥ,³ since here the

Sanballat, whose name thus goes back to Assyrian influence rather than to Kuthean, as commonly assumed. For a number of writings of the Babylonian form of the name cf. Eisler, *Die keilitischen Weihinschriften der Hyksoszeit*, p. 67, whose remarks on this subject are sounder than usual; add *שנך*, Sin-iddin, a common name in the Neo-Babylonian period (Pap. Eleph., 18. 2. 19). The name perhaps meant originally "the shiner," connected with Ar. *sn̄y*, "shine."

¹ The "Name of God" was hypostatized among the Semites; it is almost certain that the patriarch Shem was originally a deity. Cf. also the Syrian Symbetylos, the *Esembet'el* of the Elephantine documents, which means literally "name of the house of god." The Phoenician divine name *Ešmān* corresponds etymologically to an **Ešmān*, an adjectival formation from *ešm*, name, Heb. *šem*, since *ā*, which became *ō* in Hebrew, went on to become *ū* in Phoenician.

² Bela' ben-Be'or is evidently identical with Bil'am ben-Be'or, the prophet, from Pethor (Assyr. Pitru) in Beth Eden (ארץ בני עמי must be read עין בני עמי) an Aramaic district in northern Syria and the adjoining part of Mesopotamia. It has long been known that the first group of Edomite rulers was purely Aramaic in race. The Moabite Stone shows similarly that the dialect of Moab was properly Aramaic, even though Hebrew was the literary language.

³ It may be considered now that this spelling of the name, first pointed out by Luckenbill, is absolutely certain. The name is written variously, *Hammurabi*, *Hammurawai*, *Ammurabi*, *Hammurabil*; Clay's objection (*Empire of the Amorites*, p. 113, note 4) to Luckenbill's theory on the ground that the form with *b* suggests that *PI* be read *pi* instead of the usual *wi* is weakened by such doublets as *Lulluwi*, *Lullubi*; *Arbum*, *Arwum*. Haupt saw long ago that Assyr. *b* had a tendency to be pronounced as *v*. The convincing evidence is furnished by the fact that the Babylonian translation of the name, *Kimtu rapaštum*, "the clan is wide," requires the reading 'Ammu-rawiḥ; in South Arabian the causative *hrwḥ* is frequently employed (c. g., Halévy 349) in precisely the sense of "extending the bounds of the tribe." Cf. also Heb. Rehāb-am (Rehoboam), "He has extended the tribe."

similarity is even less. Formerly Arioch was identified with Warad-Sin of Larsa, whose name was punningly read Eri-Aku. Now we know, not only that this reading is nonsense, but that he died thirty years before Hammurabi ascended the throne as a mere youth. Furthermore, most of the rulers of Elam, which was then a dependancy of Babylonia, are known for this period, and there is no room for Chedorlaomer among them. We may, as sober historians, breathe a sigh of relief at the passing of this mirage, since the date of Hammurabi is now astronomically fixed,¹ and this date is 2123–2180 B. C., or more than nine hundred years before the date which we have fixed for the Exodus.

Happily, however, we are not left to consider the merits of an *argumentum e silentio*, since there is now evidence at hand for an entirely new historical setting, which no one has so far perceived. In a Babylonian text from the Arsacid period, published originally by Pinches,² and last treated by Jeremias,³ occur the names of Kudur-Lagamal,⁴ that is, Kutur-Lagamar,⁵ of Elam, Tukulti-Bêlit-ilâni⁶ son of Arad-Ekua,⁷ and Tudhula son of Gazza[?]. It was seen by

¹ Cf. page 5, note 1, above.

² *Journal of the Victoria Institute*, 29, 56 ff.

³ MVAG 21 (Hommel, *Festschrift*) 69 ff.

⁴ Written *KU-KU-KU-(KU)-MAL*, a sort of a rebus found elsewhere in this late tablet. The solution is Kudur-laḫamal (*KU-KU* = *laḫamu*, Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 375). Hüsing, *Quellen zur Geschichte Elams*, p. 22, note 1 states, though without proof, that *KU-KU-MAL* in this name = *Lagamal*, but his further suggested identification of Kudur-Lagamal with *LA-AN-KU-KU*, an Elamite ruler of the 23rd century, is naturally out of the question. The writing *Lagamal* is the regular Babylonian form of the Elamite *Lagamar*, found, for example, in the name of the king Šilhina-hamru-Lagamar, of the twelfth century; the writing *Lagamal* is also found in the Elamite texts, as in *Délégation en Perse*, III, 49. The native Elamite pronunciation of the name was apparently Laghamar, agreeing with Hebrew לעמר.

⁵ *Kudur* appears in Elamite as *Kutir* or *Kutur*; the Elamites, like other Caucasian peoples, did not distinguish clearly between voiced and voiceless stops.

⁶ The name is written *BAD-MAX-ilâni*, but Jeremias's *Dur-mah-ilâni* is impossible. According to Meissner, 1919, *BAD-MAX* had the value *tukulti*, which might also belong to *BAD*, "protection," alone. Since *MAX* alternates with *Bêlit-ilâni*, I have no hesitation in reading the name *Tukulti-Bêlit-ilâni*, "My help is the lady of the gods," a common type of name about the middle of the second millennium. *Bêlit-ili*, later *Bêlit-ilâni*, was one of the most popular deities about 2000 B. C.

⁷ Also written in our text, erroneously, *Arad-e-a-ku*. *Ekua* was the name of the chapel of Maruduk in the temple Esagila, in Babylon, so our man may have been a Babylonian rebel against the Kossean dynasty.

Pinches that the first name, though not fully understood, was identical with Chedorlaomer, and that the last was Tidal,¹ but the similarity between Arad-Ekua and Arioch, though accidental, proved misleading. The nature of the text has been partially elucidated by Jeremias. It is a moralizing essay, very much in the style of the Jewish prophetic historians. Whenever the Babylonians sin against their gods they suffer a foreign invasion, but the Nemesis which overtakes them deals even more severely with the impious invader. The three oppressors mentioned above meet violent deaths by assassination as the divine penalty for having violated the sacred soil of the gods by their atrocities. Pinches at first wished to read the name [Hammu[rabi] in one of the broken lines at the beginning of the tablet, but it is now certain that the historical situation presented is such as to forbid assignment to this period. Moreover, the fact that Babylonia is called Karduniaš proves conclusively that we are dealing with the Kossean period (B. C. 1742—1166).² The reason why these conquerors are not mentioned elsewhere is simply that they belong in the great dark period of Mesopotamian history, from 1900 to 1500. Unfortunately, the name of the Kossean king reigning at the time is not given in the extant remains of our document. We might be tempted to identify the Amraphel of Genesis with the contemporary Babylonian monarch, who would then be one of the five or six missing rulers from the period 1625-1450, from which at present we have only three or four names. However, there is now every reason to believe that the land of Shinar at this epoch is not Babylonia but central Mesopotamia, between the Euphrates and the Tigris, Babylonia on the south, and Mount Masius³ on the north. The early Mitannian(?) name Shanghar, which the Babylonians wrote *Šanhar*, having no *gh* (ğ), the Hebrews *Šin'ar*, for *Šan'ar* by Philippi's

¹ Cf. also Sayce, in Garstang's *Land of the Hittites*, p. 324, note 4. Sayce correctly combined the Ummân-manda with the *gôyim*, and further identified the name *Tudhula* with the Hittite royal name *Dudhalia*, which is, however, extremely doubtful. Sayce's suggestion that *Tantalus* is eventually the same name is conceivable, but nebulous.

² For my chronology cf. page 5, note 1.

³ Mt. Masius, Assy. Kašari, Sum. Hašur (see *AJSL* 35, 179) was the southern boundary of the district of Kutmuḫ, in Assyrian times. It is not until the eighth century that we find the name Kutmuḫ becoming restricted to the district west of the Euphrates, called Commagene by the classical writers.

Law, and the Egyptians *Sngr*, also having no *gh*, survives in the town and mountain-range of Sinjâr, for Aramaic Singârâ = Roman Singara—*gh* was impossible for the Aramaic mouth after a consonant. Modern Sinjar is located at the apex of a rectangle whose adjoining vertices coincide with the sites of ancient Calah and Hana (Ana). It is true that in the Cypriote correspondence with Egypt in the Amarna letters, Šanhar refers to Mitanni, and that later Shinar is used in the Old Testament for Babylonia proper, but the Egyptian inscriptions and the Boghazkeui tablets show that Shanghar is distinct from either,¹ and lies in central Mesopotamia. The only district of Mesopotamia not mentioned in the lists containing the name of Shanghar is Hana, so I would suggest that as an independent state Shanghar centered in the district of Hana, and that, accordingly, its capital was Tirqa, chief city of Hana, just below the mouth of the Hâbûr.²

The kingdom of Hana is known to have flourished before the reign of Hammurabi,³ under an Amorite dynasty, two of whose kings, 'Ammiba'il and Išarlim, are known. Under Hammurabi it became a part of the Babylonian Empire. After the downfall of the First Dynasty of Babylon, we find the great Assyrian monarch Šamsi-Adad III. (cir. 1850),⁴ who claims in his inscriptions to rule the land "between the Tigris and the Euphrates," building a temple of the god Dagon at Tirqa. Later it fell into the hands of the Kossean monarchs, at least one of whom, Kaštiliaš I. (1704—1682) is known to have ruled over Hana. Somewhat later, but not later than 1500, we find Hana a powerful state, whose king, Tukulti-Mer, son of Ilušaba, left inscriptions found at Sippar and Assur. In the inscriptions of Thutmosis III. we find about 1475 that Sngr is still an independent state, mentioned between Mitanni and Assyria, along with Babylon, Arrapha and Lulluwa (*Rw-n-rw*). While Tukulti-Mer

¹ See especially EA 1082 and AE 279.

² For Hana and Tirqa see especially Clay, *Empire of the Amorites*, pp. 111ff.

³ The name of the town Dûr-Išarlim is mentioned in a date formula of Hammurabi from Hana; the Babylonian monarch had different date formulas in Hana from those employed in Babylonia, just as we find the Cappadocians using their own system for dating at this time.

⁴ So far as I can see, as a result of a revision of the Assyrian chronology on the basis of the new lists published by Weidner, this is the only possible date for the great *šar kiššati*, or king of the world.

may be placed in the 16th century, it is more likely that he was the king of Hana who carried off the statues of Maruduk and Šarpānit from Babylon to Hana (Hani), later recovered by Agum II. (cir. 1625). Accordingly, we may place him about 1650, his father Ilušaba, also king of Hana, about 1660, leaving space for a ruler or two after Kaštiliaš. From the Elamite inscriptions we know that Untaš-GAL,¹ son of Humbanummena, invaded Babylonia and carried away the statue of the god Immeriya, "the protection of Kaštiliaš," so it is evident that the Kossean power received a severe set-back before the death of Kaštiliaš, and probable that Hana recovered its autonomy at this time, cir. 1690. The natural date for the Kudur-Lagamar episode is then between the reigns of Untaš-GAL and Tukulti-Mer, while Elam was strong, Babylonia was weak, and Shanghar had not yet attained its later power. The name *Amraphel* has not yet been found, but we may conjecture that it represents an *Amurru-ippal* (the god Amurru—one of the chief gods of the Amorites of Hana—will respond, or will reward), though *Immer-ippal*, *Immer-apla-(iddin)*, or the like are also plausible forms. We can hardly expect so happy a guess as that made by some of the first Assyriologists, who suggested that Chedorlaomer must correspond to an Elamite Kudur-Lagamar, an idea which has turned out to be correct.

I believe we may further explain Arioch of Ellasar. The combination of Ellasar with the provincial Babylonian town of Larsa is for this period impossible; were it theoretically possible, the difference between the names would be phonetically very difficult. I would therefore propose the identification of Ellasar with Alsiya or Alsi in northern Mesopotamia, reading אלסי instead of אלסר. The form of

¹ Hüsing's reading *Untaš-Humban* is very improbable; in place of *GAL* we must read an Elamite word for "great." Nor is Hüsing's date for Untaš-GAL, in the thirteenth century, possible; we must adopt Eduard Meyer's, given GA³ § 462. In *Quellen der Geschichte Elams*, pp. 18 ff., Hüsing has erroneously identified Kiten-Hutran with Kiten-hutrutaš; Hutran is a divine name, not a hypocoristicon, as shown by a comparison of the royal names Hutran-tepti and Tepti-Humban. His list on p. 19 would make a king who was reigning in 1237 rule forty years before one who was on the throne at some time between 1245 and 1237! It is not accidental that the names of the dynasty of Ike-halki are closely related to the royal names from before 1900, and not at all with those of the fourteenth and following centuries. As Kuk-Našur was contemporary with 'Amničadūqa, our group will fall in the eighteenth century or after, just where it is fixed by the synchronism between Untaš-GAL and Kaštiliaš I.

the name is made certain by the variant writings *Alše* (pronounced *Else*) in the treaty between Subbiluliuma of *Ḫatte* and *Mattiua*za of *Mitanni*, *Alzi* in the inscriptions of *Tiglathpileser I.*, *Alzia* in a Hittite geographical list from *Boghaz-keui*, and '*r'-s*' in the Egyptian lists.¹ As in the geographical list *Alzia* is placed between *Sanḫar* and *Papahli*, while in the *Mattiua*za treaty it appears, along with *Assyria*, as a state benefiting territorially by the fall of *Mitanni*, it is to be located, where we find it in the texts of *Tiglathpileser*, in the region of *Diarbekr* and *Mardin*. At all events, it was a small *Mitannian* state, which may have been much more important at an earlier period, and have been essentially equivalent to later *Mitanni*, whose center appears to have been in this same region. It can hardly be accidental that the name *Arioch* exhibits the same formation as the *Mitannian* names *Ari-Tešub* and *Arišen*, in which *ar* means "give, gift". It is possible that *Arioch* is the equivalent of an *Ari-Aku*, "Gift of the god *Aku*," which is then the *Mitannian* name of the moon-god; in the *Cappadocian* tablets we have the name *Akuu*, certainly a hypocoristicon, like *Assyrian Nābū'a* for names containing *Nābū* as the first element of a theophorous compound.

An interesting side-light upon this era of great migrations and ethnographic readjustment is thrown by the name of *Tidal*, king of *Hordes*, corresponding to the *Tudhula* of our document, and perhaps also to the Hittite royal name *Dudḫalia*, as pointed out by *Sayce*. We are informed that *Kudur-Lagamar* levied as auxiliaries the hordes of the northern barbarians, the *Ummān-manda*, a term, meaning literally "much people," which is used later for the hordes of the *Cimmerians* and *Scythians*, and while it is not explicitly stated that *Tudhula* was their king, in the extant fragments, it is very probable, as *Sayce* has already observed. The fourteenth chapter of *Genesis*

¹ Egyptologists have hitherto assumed that *Eg. 'šy* and '*r'-s*' were identical, the former being the old Egyptian form of *Alašiya-Eliša*, the latter the recent form, or rather the transliteration of the cuneiform writing into syllabic orthography (*Müller*). However, the impossibility of this view is shown by passages where they both occur together, as in *Müller, Egyptological Researches*, II, pp. 91 ff., where '*šy* and '*r'-s*' are given separately in a list of the countries containing mineral resources from the time of *Rameses II.* In several places '*r'-s*' is clearly on the continent, a fact which is one of *Wainwright's* main arguments for his continental theory of *Alašiya*. With this distinction between *Alziya* and *Alašiya* we can consider that the latter is certainly *Cyprus*, in accord with the appellation *Alasiotas* of the *Cyprian Apollo*.

thus throws important light on the first emergence of the Indo-Iranians in history, for these northern hordes can be none other. Two generations before, their pressure from the rear seems to have forced the Kasseans from the Zagros mountains into Babylonia, where they founded the Third Dynasty in 1742. Their later movements were hitherto completely obscure, but now we gain an idea of the processes of infiltration and conquest which finally led to the foundation of a new state in the 16th century, called Mitanni, whose ruling nobility, or *marīannu* (an Indo-Iranian word) were of Indo-Iranian stock, speaking an older form of Sanskrit¹ and supporting a dynasty whose kings bear Sanskrit names.

The historical situation now appears to be as follows. About 1675 Kudur-Lagamar of Elam, imitating the example of his predecessor, Untaš-GAL, overran Babylonia, and captured Babylon, thanks to the potent aid of his warlike barbarian auxiliaries. With their help, moreover, he was able to subdue the rest of Mesopotamia, and impressing the armies of the newly conquered states into his service, to make a formidable raid on Syria and Palestine, now almost certainly under Hyksos control. The Biblical tradition represents the eastern host as taking the Transjordanic route, contrary to the nearly universal practice of Mesopotamian armies in later times. If we can accept this view of the situation, which is as doubtful as the reliability of our source, we may suppose that the Elamite wished to strike directly at the center of the Hyksos Empire in northern Egypt, without fighting his way through the well-fortified coastal zones. At this point, however, we lose solid ground, and begin to flounder in a morass of speculations.

It is very doubtful just what the real role played by Abram was. It is possible to suppose that he was, as an important *amīr*, perhaps the head of the Benê Ya'qob, and certainly in alliance with the chiefs of the Hyksos city of Hebron, the leader of the resistance offered by the Hyksos in southern Palestine, and that he really

¹ It is now a commonplace of scholarship that the names of the reigning dynasty of Mitanni, as well as many of the names of Syro-Palestinian rulers of the Amarna age are Indo-Iranian; the opposition of Clark, *AJSL* 33, 261 ff., strengthens the theory by its weakness. The discovery of several Indo-Iranian divine names, Indra, Varuna, Mitra, and the Naśatya, in a treaty with Mitanni from Hattē, has been recently corroborated by the remarkable find, made independently by Jensen and Hrozný, of a number of Sanskrit numerals in the inscriptions.

defeated the enemy by his efforts. It should be observed in this connection that Abram's covenant with the Hittites at Hebron perhaps refers to the Hyksos, since it is steadily becoming more probable that the ruling element in the mixed hordes of the latter was Hittite. The greatest proof for this is the fact that the names of the six Hyksos kings are all non-Semitic, and at least one, *Hayan*, is later worn by a predecessor of the Hittite Kilammu of Sam'al. About 1925 the Hittites conquered Babylon, led by their king Mursilis I., as appears from the chronicles from Boghaz-keui recently published. Later their power seems to have been restricted to Asia Minor, at least so far as the kingdom of Hatti was concerned; the Hyksos were perhaps primarily a north-Syrian branch of the Hittite people. The new discoveries do not favor an extension of the Hyksos Empire under Hayan over the whole of Western Asia, and, though he was undoubtedly an important ruler, his basalt lion, found near Baghdad, may have been transported thither from Syria in ancient times.

While the object of our paper is primarily chronological rather than historical, it may be well to allude to the question of the provenance of Abram. As I have pointed out JBL 37 (1918), 133—136, it is hardly possible that the prototype of Ur of the Chaldees was really the city of Ur in southern Babylonia. Nor is Clay's recent suggestion, Mari, though better than his previous view, combining Ur with the town of Amurru near Sippar, tenable, for philological reasons alone. I still believe that the best light on the true ethnic and geographical background of the Hebrew traditions is furnished by the list of the postdiluvian patriarchs, where Eber represents the Aramean nomads, or 'Abir,¹ vouched for by the Babylonian texts from the 22nd century on, and Serug is a tribe,

¹ Practically all scholars have finally adopted the view that the Habiru are the Hebrews. Philologically there is no objection, since 'Abir would have to be written this way in cuneiform, and 'Abir, again, is the only natural source for Hebrew 'Ibr, since intransitive verbs and adjectives of the *fū'il* form have a strong tendency in all the Semitic languages to become *fī'l* byumlaut. Since the Habiru appear so widely in cuneiform sources as a nomadic people (cf. JBL 37, 135 f.) there is no objection historically. We must, it is true, distinguish between an Elamite or Kossean people called *Ha-bir-u* (see Hüsing, *op. laud.* p. 94 f.) and the *Ha-bi-ru*, who are mentioned repeatedly in the Larsa tablets, according to Miss Grice. Luckenbill has recently advanced the view that the writing *Habbiru*, alternating with *SA-GAZ* in the Boghaz-keui texts, in a single

later a town near Harrân (Assyr. Sarugi), as is also apparently Nahor, while Terah appears as a personal name in the Safaitic inscriptions, perhaps meaning "ibex", and is probably in Genesis a tribal name. Also Reu and Selah are perhaps tribal names, though possibly mythical heroes like Methuselah and the shepherd Tammuz. Arphaxad is almost certainly equivalent to the district of Arrapachitis, south-east of Assyria proper, which appears as early as the time of Hammurabi (cir. 2100), and is frequently mentioned in the course of the next millennium, in the form Arraphum, Arrapha.¹ On the borders of the district of Arraphum² lay the important city of Arbela, mentioned repeatedly in the tablets of the Ur Dynasty (2474—2357) as Urbillum, and somewhat later as Urbel. The Assyrian explanation as *Arba-ilu*, "four-god," is simply a popular etymology to explain a non-Semitic proper-name. Arbela still exists as the provincial town of Erbil, preserving the same name and site after nearly 4500 years of recorded existence. I would then suggest that Urbel in Arraphum or *Arpah-šadê, "Arpah of the hills," may be the historical prototype of Ūr-Kašdim. It may then be, that Abram and his tribe, the Benê Ya'qob, were forced to migrate, first to western Mesopotamia, and then to Palestine under pressure from

passage, however, proves that *ḥabbiru* is a *fa'ʿil* form, equivalent to *ḥabbīlu*, "bandit", a synonym of *ḥabbatu* = *SA-GAZ* (see *Am. Journ. of Theol.* **22**, 37, note 1; *AJSL* **36**, 244 f.). This is unquestionably plausible, but the one occurrence of the writing *Ḥabbiru*, among so many *Ḥabiru*, merely explains why *SA-GAZ* was taken as an ideogram for *Ḥabiru*; *Ḥābīru* was contemptuously equated to *ḥabbīlu*, "bandit". It is unnecessary to add that the word *ḥabbīru* is unknown, as well as the stem *ḥabīru*, in Assyrian. In the light of such transpositions as 'Arabah = 'Abarah, etc. there can be no serious doubt that Haupt's explanation of the word "Hebrew" as a transposed doublet of "Arab" is correct. One form, 'Abir, was employed of themselves, in the sense of "nomad", by the Arameans, and disappears in the eleventh century as an ethnic term; the other, 'Arib, later 'Arab, was used in the same sense by the Arabs, first mentioned in the ninth century in the annals of Shalmaneser III.

¹ Cf. *JBL* **37**, 135, 138, note 28.

² In a letter to the writer Olmstead has pointed out that in Assyrian times Arbela and Arrapachitis formed separate provinces. This is quite true, but the early boundaries may have been different, as is so often the case (*e. g.* with Kutnuh, above), and a triumphal inscription of an early Mesopotamian monarch, perhaps of Sanhar (De Genouillac, *Rev. d'Assyr.* **7**, 151 ff.) indicates strongly that Urbel (so the name is written) was then the capital of the independent state of Arraphum, still autonomous in the fifteenth century, as we learn from the Egyptian inscriptions.

the Indo-Iranian hordes, which clearly grew intense by the end of the 18th century.

Our chronological results, which will be stated and defended more elaborately elsewhere, may be tabulated as follows:

Accession of Hammurabi in Babylon	B. C. 2123
Twelfth Dyn. in Egypt	1996
Hittite Invasion of Babylonia; Fall of First Dyn.	c. 1925
Assyrian Empire of Šamši-Adad III.	c. 1850
Thirteenth Dyn. in Egypt; Decline of Empire	1783
Kossean Conquest of Babylonia; Third Dyn.	1742
Hyksos Occupation of Hebron; Abram in Palestine	c. 1700
Hyksos Occupation of Egypt; the Benê Ya'qob in Egypt	c. 1690
Invasion of West by Kudur-Lagamar of Elam	c. 1675
Conquest of Mesopotamia by Tukultî-Mer of Hana	c. 1650
Overthrow of Hyksos Power; Eighteenth Dyn. in Egypt	1580
Invasion of Asia by Thutmosis III.	1490
Amarna Age; Amenophis III. and IV. in Egypt	1400—1350
Birth of Moses	c. 1300
Accession of Rameses II., Pharaoh of the Oppression	1292
Exodus of the Hebrews under Moses from Egypt	c. 1260
Invasion of Palestine by Israel	c. 1230
Defeat of Israel by Meyneptah	c. 1225
First Repulse of Philistines	1190
Song of Deborah	c. 1175
Conquest of Coastal Plain by Philistines	c. 1170
Visit of Wen-Amôn to Dor	c. 1115
Death of Eli and Loss of Ark to Philistines	c. 1050

Since the foregoing paper was written, new material has come to hand. Here may be noted two important articles, Böhl's "Die Könige von Genesis 14," ZATW 36, 65—73, and Langdon's "The Habiru and the Hebrews," *Expository Times*, 1920, 324—329. Böhl identifies Tidal with the Hittite king Tudhaliya (II.), who reigned 1250 B. C., and so completely misunderstands the historical situation. He places Shinar and Ellasar correctly in Upper Mesopotamia, without connecting them with Hana and Alsî. Langdon points out that Winckler's Habbiri was a mistake for Habiri, which appears in the cuneiform text as now published. Accordingly the last philological objection to their identification with the Hebrews is removed.

HEBREW MUSIC WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE MUSICAL INTONATIONS IN THE RECITAL OF THE PENTATEUCH

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TO what extent can the Jews be said to retain their primitive national music? This question has been frequently investigated and variously answered, but never in the light of all the evidence. The music of only a section of the different Jewish centres has been examined, and—what is the most serious omission—insufficient attention has been given to the music of the Jews of the East, where, after all, Jewish music originated.

The Exile reduced the nation to scattered fragments which have never again become reunited, and only occasionally come into temporary contact. They have had to keep guard over their culture against the encroachments of outside influences. Sometimes they have been compelled to compromise and suffer the intrusion of foreign elements, but this never passed beyond definite limits: if there was a danger of this limit being passed the national spirit rebelled and rejected the alien admixture.

The course of the Exile saw the growth of more or less isolated centres of Jewish culture: in the East—Babylon, Persia, the Yemen, Syria, and Upper Morocco; in Europe—Spain, Italy, Greece, Germany, Poland and Lithuania. In each case this culture, including music, developed along lines determined by conditions of life and environment. Of these centres, those of Spain and Greece came to an end more than 400 years ago; while of those which still exist, the Syrian has been influenced by the Spanish, and the Polish-Lettish by the German. From Persia branched out the Bocharan and Daghestani Jews and the Aramaic-speaking Jews of Lesser Persia; from

Babylon a branch spread to India; and from the Polish-Lettish centre branches have spread throughout both hemispheres. The isolation of some centres has been all but complete, notably the Yemenite; and the Persian has been touched only in slightest degree by the Babylonian, the Moroccan by the Spanish, and the Italian by the Spanish. These details are important; for if we find the characteristic musical motifs of individual centres, which have never come into contact with others, to be identical, or the basic elements to be akin in essentials, we can conclude that they still preserve the same music which was theirs before the Destruction of the Temple.

We leave out of account the music which arose after the Talmud period, the products of the last eleven hundred years, the music of the *Piyyutin*—the traditional hymns for various festivals; the hazzanite music—the creations of the synagogue precentors for various prayers; the music of secular Jewish folk-songs in Hebrew and other languages—Spanish, Arabic and German; and the Hasidist music, in all of which we find admixture of elements peculiar to the music of the surrounding Gentiles. We are concerned mainly with the musical intonations, inflexions, motifs, in the singing of the Pentateuch.

This is the oldest part of Hebrew music. These intonations, we know, were sung by the aid of the accents added to the text by the *Nakdanim*, the punctuators, of the School of Rabbis at Tiberias—accents which Ben Asher¹ was the first to explain. But these Tiberian accents are only the finished product: they are only an adaptation of the old Greek prosody accents, the Byzantine line and point accents of the 8th or 9th centuries. The names and shapes of these accents arose out of a much older system, common in the East and in Greece, according to which the leader of the music indicated, by raising or lowering hand or finger, the rise or fall of the voice—the system known as *Cheironomia*². Long before the invention of the shapes of the accents, they were given names, descriptive of the hand or finger movements, though the names varied in different centres; thus we find the names given by Ben Asher different from the names in the Babylonian accentual system, while both differ from the modern nomenclature; and even now there are differences between the names in

¹ *Dikduke T'amim* of Ben Asher: ed. Baer and Strack. Leipzig 1879, pp. 17—27.

² Mentioned in *Berach.* 62*b*: Said R. Nachman bar Yishak . . . the finger of the right hand to show thereby the accents of the Pentateuch.

the Spanish, Italian and German Systems. (Thus *yethibh*—*qadma*; *de li*—*tifha*; *hirpa*—*rebbia*; *sinmor*—*zarqa*; *shere-seghol*—*segholta*; *nag-da*—*legarme*; *shofar*—*munah*, *qadma*—*pashta* etc.)

The writer considers that the introduction of the accents into the Bible was a gradual process extending over some centuries. Originally there were only three accents: *kadma*, *athnah* and *sof-pasuk*, marking the beginning, middle and end of the verse. The same three we find among other ancient peoples: *udata*, *scarita* and *anudata* among the Hindus; *acute*, *circumflex* and *grave* among the Greeks, and *shesht*, *kurr* and *butu* among the Armenians. Among them all the shapes are identical ' ^ ' 1.

Already in the first century of the Christian era the Greeks began to feel the need of reading-signs and musical indications. The result was a system of ten accents: three with a musical significance—*tonoi*, viz. *oxeia* acute, *bareia* grave, *perispōmene* circumflex; two with a time value—*chronoi*, viz. *makra* long, *bracheia* short; two with dynamic value, the *pneumata*, viz. *daseia* spiritus asper and *psile* spiritus lenis; and three, the *pathe* with conjunctive or disjunctive value, *apostrophos*, *hyphen*, and *hypodiastole*. These, on examination, will be found to correspond to the Hebrew accents, not only in their musical, tonal significance, but also in their dynamic and their temporal value. The Greek accents were added to in the 5th and 6th centuries, and improved by the Byzantines in the 8th century. Then, or soon afterwards, arose the existing system of accentuation of the Hebrew text of the Bible. The Jewish scholars in their anxiety to preserve the correct reading and interpretation of the Bible made use of this Greek system as the best which existed, and most suited to their purpose.

1 These three accents seem to be referred to in the *Tract Sofrim*, section 13, where it says: "But in the Song of David which is in Samuel and in the Psalms, the careful writer arranged the verses with keys, with *athnah* and *sof pasuk*." There is a variant reading "with keys, *letters* and *sof*." A reason can be given for this variant: in the Babylonian system of accentuation which preceded the Tiberian, they had the accents *qadma* and *athnah*, found in the Tiberian system; but for the others, they used the first letter of the name of the accent, *tav* for *tebhah*, *yod* for *yethibh* etc. (Similarly we find letters to mark the accents among the Armenians in the 6th century.) Hence the variant *letters* in the *Tract Sofrim*; for that was the system in Babylon, whereas in Palestine they used signs. On the Babylonian Punctuation, see P. Kahle, *Die Massoreten des Ostens*. Leipzig 1913, pp. 171 ff.

HEBREW	GREEK	HINDU	ARMENIAN	The oldest forms
qadma, Yethibh athnah sof pasuq	oxeia perispomene bareia	udata svarita anudata	shesht kurr butu	
tifha teres zarfa segol za'kef rebhi a teliša pazer legarme šalseleth	makra oligon elephron diple hypokrisis kentema phthora daseia psile quilisma	Chronoi Pneumata	tasht — kosrowain zurg dzung kundij benkōrj — nerknāknagh) s t , p F .
The double accents:	The double accents:			
Trēn kadmen Tarsen Zakef gadol Pazer gadol	oxeia diple bareia diple virga subpunctis, climacus kremaste ap'eso			

Illustration 1

The accompanying table shows us the relation of the Hebrew accents to the earlier systems.—(Illustration 1.)

The Talmud (*Meg.* 32a) says: "The reader without the tune, and the singer without the melody—of him Scripture says: Even I, I have given them statutes which are not good." According to Rashi "tune" and "melody" refer to the accents of Scripture. And commenting on "melody" the *Tosaphoth* say: "They were accustomed to repeat the Mishna to a tune when they recited it by heart, thus helping the memory." R. Shim'on Duran (*Magen Aboth* 55b) reports that the Mishna was pointed with these musical accents; and even the Talmud we learn (*Dikduke Sofrim* 11, xix) had its accents. We must conclude from this that a well-known tune was learnt by heart from tradition for the reading of the Bible and also for the memorising of the Mishna. This tradition could be passed on from mouth to mouth so long as the cultural centre remained in Palestine. But severe legislation destroyed this centre and threatened the tradition. Consequently arose the necessity for inserting accents to assist in remembering the tunes proper to the Scriptures. Like the accents of the Greeks they served to indicate the group of notes, the inflection, the vocal movement, the rise and fall by definite intervals.

The early grammarians, R. Hayyug,¹ R. Yehuda b. Bil'am² and the *Horayat ha-Qore*³ divided the accents into three species according to their respective functions, broadly corresponding with the Greek division; the division according to R. Hayyug is *yedi'a*, *ha'amada* and *'illui*; according to R. Ben Bil'am *yarim ha-qol*, *munah ha-qol* and *'illui ha-qol*; and according to the *Horayat ha-Qore* *gobah*, *shehiya* and *rum*.

(a) In the *yedi'a*, *yarim* or *gobah* category, they placed the accents *pazer*, *teres* and *telisha*; their purpose is to stress the voice—i. e. they are dynamic rather than musical; and actually their intonation is little more than an emphasis. The Babylonians represented all three by one mark only, the letter *tet* for *teres*, while the Tiberians differentiated their particular nuances. This species corresponds to the

¹ *Grammar*, ed. J. W. Nutt, London and Berlin 1870, p. 129.

² *Rules of Accents*, Rodelheim 1826.

³ Ed. Derenbourg, Paris 1870.

pneumata of the Greeks. The "double accents" may be placed in the same category, since these early grammarians made no distinction between double and simple (*e. g.* *zaqef* was either *gadol* or *kaṭon*, and so also with *telisha*, *tren qadmen*, *tarsen*, *merken* and *pazer*.¹

(b) In the *ha'amada*, *munah* or *shehiya* category, they placed *yethibh*, *zaqef*, and *athnah*. *Shehiya* they explained as that "which is neither above nor below but stationary", meaning that the voice neither rose nor fell, but simply marked time: *i. e.* it corresponds to the Greek *chronoi*.

(c) In the *'illui*, or *rum* category, they placed *zarga*, *legarme*, *rebhia*, *tebhir*, *ṭifla* and *silluq*. These were held to have a musical significance, and so correspond to the Greek *tonoi*.

Furthermore, there are, in the nature of accents, *sof pasuq*, *inverted nun*, and *poseq*, which have the force of disjunctives. The Talmud (*Shab.* 116a) explains *inverted nun* as "a sign signifying a section that stands by itself." The symbol for *sof pasuq* exists already in some of the old systems of writing as a dividing sign;² while *posek* is used to separate two similar words, *e. g.* "Abraham: Abraham", and the like. Thus they correspond with the Greek *pathe* accents.

The Babylonians also possessed these twelve accents which are divided into these three categories, and styled them *mafsiqim* or separators. Instead of letters, the Tiberian scholars employed signs. Apart from these, the Tiberians added the eight "helpers" which accompany the disjunctives; but these have no set vocal inflections.

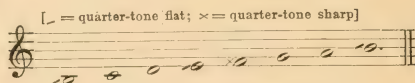
From all this it will be seen that the Bible accents agree with the Greek system of division in general, though not in detail. For example, *athnah* is reckoned as one of the *chronoi*, whereas the *circumflex* is one of the *tonoi*; and so with others. The reason is, apparently, that the Jewish scholars had to adjust the borrowed Greek accents to the popularly accepted Hebrew musical system. Apart from this it is clear that not all the accents have a true musical significance, and so do not all carry with them special inflexional motifs. This is seen when we consider these inflexions.

The music of the Pentateuch is made up of certain special motifs, found among all the centres and sections of the nation mentioned

¹ On *Pazer gadol* and *kaṭon* and the difference between them, see R. Hayyug, p. 128.

² In the Babylonian punctuation the *inverted nun* is used to mark the end or the beginning of a verse; see Kahle, *op. cit.* in the MS facsimilia.

above. Among some of them, the motifs are preserved in their eastern purity—as in Baghdad, Syria (Damascus etc.) Morocco, Italy, and among the European Portuguese. Elsewhere they have been modified owing to external influence—as among the Spanish and German Jews. The scale of the Pentateuch music is the Arabic *Makām Irāk* or its derivative *Siga*, or the third Greek mode, the Phrygian, namely; MI-FA-SOL-LA-SI-DO, without completing the octave but descending from the lower tonic: MI-RE-DO. The tonic apparently is MI. The second note of the scale is sometimes raised a quarter of a tone if the inflexion rises to the note above; and the fifth of the scale is lowered a quarter of a tone. These distinctions

Illustration 2. *Maqām Irāq*Illustration 3. *Siga*

are lost in the European centres, semi tones taking the place of quarter-tones, as among the Portuguese of France and Amsterdam and the Ashkenazim. It so happens that the tonic is the third of the Ionic mode, which corresponds to the European major. This has induced the Ashkenazim in course of time to regard the 6th of the scale, or the third below the tonic, as the true tonic, owing to the influence of the major scale, and because there is no Phrygian mode in the popular secular music of Europe; and so they finish off the inflection on the third below the tonic, as though the music were in a true major.

The Sephardim also modified the scale through the influence of the Arabs in Spain, and seem to have adopted the *makām* now called

Illustration 4. *Kurdi*

kurdi, a derivative of the *Irak* or *Siga*. This was widespread in Spain till the end of the Spanish Caliphate, and it has left a permanent impress on the music of the Pentateuch. The scale is: MI-FA-SOL (quarter-tone sharp) -LA-SI (semitone flat) -DO-RE (semi-tone flat); and descending: RE (quarter-tone sharp)-DO (quarter-tone sharp). The Sephardim use this scale for the Pentateuch in Egypt and Syria as well as in the Balkans, though using the correct scale for the Ten Commandments. The Yemenites are untouched by this influence: they read the Pentateuch with the inflexions proper to the Prophetical Books.

It is a curious fact that the Ashkenazim have transferred the Pentateuch music to the Song of Songs, in which they preserve it in a purer form than in the Pentateuch—a phenomena found in no other centre. Only by combining the Ashkenazi music of the Pentateuch with that of the Song of Songs can we restore the true music of the Pentateuch as it survives among the other centres. The reason for this exceptional use is not yet known to the writer.

It has already been explained that each accent signifies a group of notes, an inflexion or motif, made up of risings and fallings of the voice; this is not exactly uniform throughout all the centres, except in the ending, which constitutes the groundwork of the inflexion.

Silluq, *athnah*, *seghol*, *zagef qaton*, *yethibh* or *pashta* have the same motif, made up of two or three notes of the scale, rising or falling a third to the tonic.

Rebhi'a, *tebhir*, *geresh*, and *garshen* have different motifs of a group of notes, undulating, and also ending on the tonic; *telisha* has an undulating motif ending on the third below the tonic; *pazer* and *shal-sheleth* have the same motif, ascending with undulations to the fourth of the scale; *qadma* has a simple motif, leaping the interval of the tonic to the fourth; and *zarqa* has an undulating motif ending on the second below the tonic.

The first of these groups of accents, *athnah*, *zagef*, etc., R. Hayyug's "*ha'amada*" category, corresponding with the Greek *chronoi*, which deal only with length or pause—we saw that these have a single motif between them of a final, cadential character. What then is the difference between them? In course of time the feeling of their different nuances must have disappeared. Even *silluq* and *seghol* have the same motif as the *ha'amada*, though *seghol* was not regarded as a special accent.

Of the *Illui* class, corresponding to the Greek *tonoi*.—*zarqa*, *le-garme*, *rebhi'a*, *tebhir* and *tifha* have special motifs; while in practice *silluq* is included among the *ha'amada*.

The *yedia* class, the *pneumata* of the Greeks, are indeed characterised by motifs of a more undulating and stressed nature.

From the point of view of modern music there is no room for the distinctions drawn by the ancient grammarians; for except for the disjunctives like *poseq*,¹ *inverted nun*, and *sof pasuq*, all the accents are musical, *tonoi*. But according to the musical ideas of 1200 years ago, the various divisions held good.

RUTH and KOHELETH: The music of these two books is the same, and a branch of the music of the Pentateuch, being founded on the same scale and having a portion of its motifs; but only a portion, for it lacks certain of the «dynamic» accents. Thus *shatshethe* is not included at all; *pazer* is found only once in Ruth (12) and *zarka* twice (41, 4). In Qobeleth *pazer* is found five times only, (518; 62; 810, 11; 912), and *zarqa* only twice (814, 17). Owing to the lack of these dynamic, more «dramatic» accents, the music of these two books assumes a more lyrical character. With the Ashkenazi and Lettish Jews it is nearer the music of the Pentateuch, since it is taken from the music of the Song of Songs. In the other centres there are changes in the accent motifs of the *Ha'amada* category, since they close on the tonic by a downward inflection. Even in the music of the Pentateuch, in an Ashkenazi use, the *tebhir* motif has been transferred to *garshayim*; and in a Moroccan use that of *zarqa* to *telisha qatana*; and in an Ashkenazi use, in the music of the Song of Moses, the motif of *rebhi'a* to that of *tifha*, before *sof-pasuq*; and the like. Similar transferences are found in the music of Ruth and Koheleth: *qadma* and *azla* to *rebhi'a* and *telisha qatana* in Ashkenazi uses. Again, in the Ashkenazi use the inflexion of *pazer* and *telisha* is higher by a tone than in other centres.

The outward form of this music is that of recitative, but there is a difference. It has an internal metre, but logical rather than temporal, arising out of the collocation of the various motifs; it is melodious by reason of the recurrence and variation of the motifs, which lend it the character of music proper. In shorter verses only the simpler inflexions mentioned above occur—*pashṭa*, *athnah*, *zaqef qaton*, *tifha* and *silluq*—and these form the musical basis. In longer verses are added the *tonoi* accents—*rebhi'a*, *geresh*, *zarqa*, *tebhir* and *telisha*. The dynamic accents, the «stirrers» of Ben Asher, are of rare occurrence—only when there is need of unusual stress; as already explained

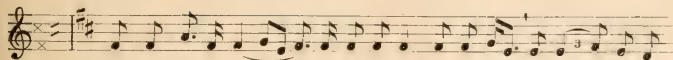
¹ In the eastern centres the *poseq* marks a definite break in the flow of the melody; but in the west the knowledge of *poseq* as a disjunctive is lost: it serves as a dynamic, a vocal stress.

they have no special motifs, employing that of *geresh* with more pronounced undulations.

In conclusion it may be said that the music of the Pentateuch is a true national Hebrew music. It is found among no other people, and it may well be older than the destruction of the Second Temple. Such time as the cultural centre of Israel was in Palestine, this music spread throughout the world wherever a Jewish centre was founded. We do not find it in the music of the Arabs, or of the Jacobite or Nestorian Christians. In spite of its age it has a power and nobility, a freshness and elasticity, which have roused and still rouse the soul of the Jew in the bitter days of his Exile. It has afforded comfort to the suppressed soul of the afflicted Jew and at the same time given him a spiritual joy on every Sabbath and Festival. It has been an echo from the country of his birth—and from his glorious past. That it is to be found in every centre, preserved in affection and sanctity, without need of compulsion or supervision, without special ordinance (as in the case of Gregorian music), is a manifest sign that this music comes not from without, but issues from the inmost feelings of the Hebrew people, an expression of the soul of the nation.

SYRIAN

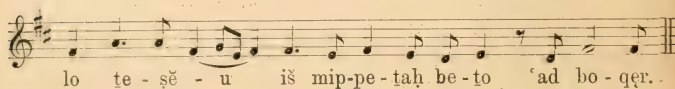
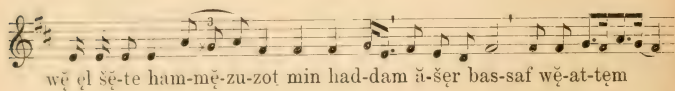
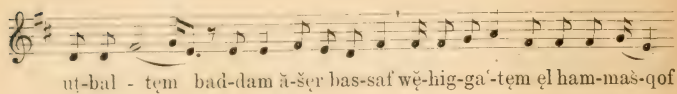
Exod. 12, 21—22



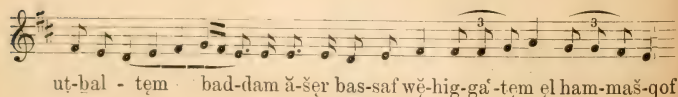
Waj-jiq-ra mo - šę lę-ḥol ziq-ne jis-ra-el waj-jo-mer ă-le-




ḥem, mi-šę - ḥu uq-ḥu la-ḥem šon lę-miš-pę-ḥo-te-ḥem




BABYLONIAN





wě-el šě-te ham-mě-zu-zot min had-dam ă-šer bas-saf wě-at-təm



lo te-šě - u iš mip-pe-taḥ be-to 'ad bo - qer.

SONG OF SOLOMON

I 1-4

Ashkenazie Rite in Lithuania




Šir haš-ši - rim ă - šer liš-lo - mo. jiš - ša-qe - ni min-ši - qot



pi - hu pi to-bim do-de-ḥa mij-ja-jiu. lě-re-aḥ šě-ma-ne-ḥa to-



bim šě-mən tu-raḡ šě-me-ḥa 'al ken 'ă-la-mot ă-he-bu-ḥa.



moš-he-ni a - ḥă-re-ḥa na - ru - ša ḥě-bi-a - ni ham-mě-leḥ



ḥă-da - raw na - gi - la wě - nis-mě-ḥa baḥ naz-ki-ra do-



de - ḥa mij - ja - jin me - ša - rim a - he - bu - ḥa.

5.

6.

7.

8.

garşayım " " azla gereş (in the
Song of Solomon)

The musical score consists of eight staves, each beginning with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are written below the first staff. The notation includes various rhythmic values such as eighth, sixteenth, and thirty-second notes, as well as rests and accidentals. Some parts of the melody are written in a shorthand style with multiple stems and flags. The piece concludes with a double bar line on the final staff.

1. atnah teliša gēdola sof pasuq

2.

3.

4.

5.

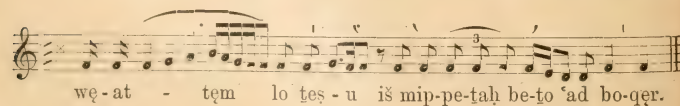
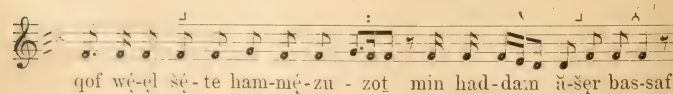
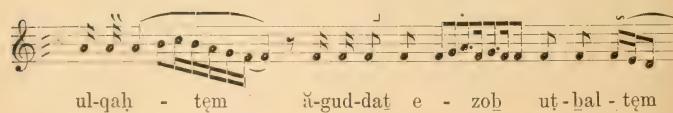
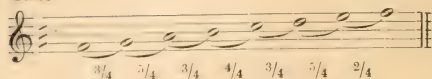
6.

7.

8.

SEPHARDIM

Scale



OBSERVATIONS ON A MEGALITHIC BUILDING AT BET SAWIR (PALESTINE)

E. J. H. MACKAY
(HAIFA)

THE first mention of this building occurs in the *Survey of Western Palestine, P. E. F.*,¹ where it is described as the ruin of an ancient tower, 22 paces square, built of roughly squared slabs of stone, of which some three or four courses remained, but with no traces of mortar. On the south side was a large cistern, partly closed by a slab like those of the tower.² This is the description of the building as it appeared in October, 1874.

The Rev. J. E. Hanauer and Dr. E. W. Gurney Masterman³ at a much later date published a brief note of this interesting building with a photograph, mentioning that the walls formed two sides of a square measuring 14×14 metres outside and 12.50×12.50 metres inside, and that the orientation of the building was exactly to the points of the compass. In the opinion of Messrs. Hanauer and Masterman, the two walls they were able to trace at one time supported an earth platform which was eventually intentionally thrown down.

In April, 1919, Dr. Paterson of Hebron reported to the Military Administration of O. E. T. A. (S) that some of the blocks had been destroyed for road-metal and was successful in saving what remained of the building.

SITUATION

The ruins which occupy but a small space of ground are locally known as Khurbet Bet Sawir⁴ and are situated on the western side

¹ Vol. 111, page 351. Map ref., XXI. L. V.

² No longer to be seen.

³ *P. E. F. Quarterly Statement* (1901); page 305.

⁴ "Ruins of the House of Sawir." The name "Sawir" appears not to be of Arab origin.

of the Jerusalem-Hebron road, about 250—300 paces from the road itself and slightly to the north of the newly constructed reservoir, called Birket el Arrub. They can easily be seen from the road after one has become acquainted with their appearance.

MASONRY

These ruins are especially noteworthy on account of the very large size of the blocks of limestone used in the construction of the

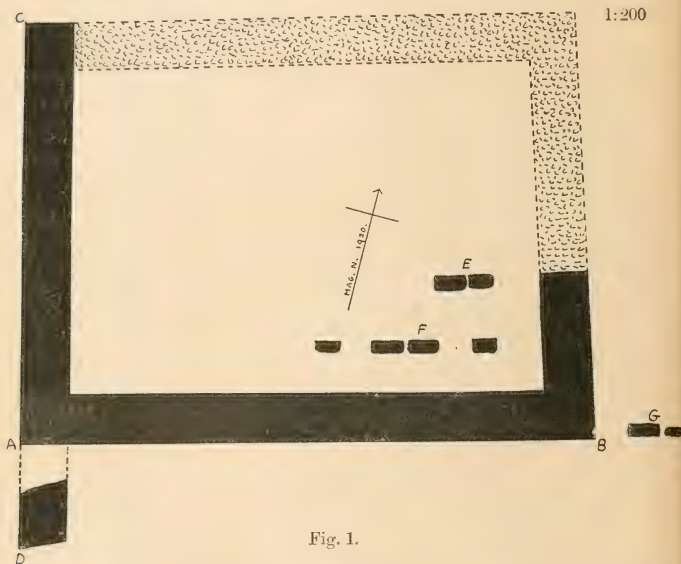


Fig. 1.

building. Four loose stones not especially selected for their size measure as follows:—

2.50	metres	long	by	1.80	metres	wide	by	40	centimetres	thick		
2.30	"	"	"	1.61	"	"	"	40	"	"	"	"
2.25	"	"	"	1.20	"	"	"	40	"	"	"	"
2.00	"	"	"	1.65	"	"	"	41	"	"	"	"

The agreement in thickness of these measured blocks is easily explained as the natural thickness of the stratum of rock from which

the blocks were quarried. The quarry, an open one, may be seen a little way north-east of the building, but its ancient character has been somewhat destroyed by its being re-used in recent times.

The blocks all show signs of having been roughly trimmed, but they are so badly weathered that all tool marks have been obliterated, if they ever existed.

The blocks are also full of holes which appear to have been bored by gastropod molluscs after the blocks were quarried.



Fig. 2. S. E. corner looking N. E.

No mortar was used to hold the masonry together and the courses are on the whole very regular. All the blocks were laid flat on one another, each one extending the entire width of the wall. The slab which measures 1.80 metres in width, being wider than any of the walls, may possibly have been a roofing stone.

The plan¹ shows the little that can be now made out without the use of the spade. It is important to note that the building is not correctly orientated, the compass bearing along the wall A to B

¹ Fig. 1.

being 75 east of north. For the purpose, however, of this brief description we will assume that the building is correctly orientated east and west.

The walls rest on a natural stone platform which dips slightly from NW. to SE., the dip being roughly about 10. This platform which extends for a certain distance outside the walls, is bare in places, but the portion enclosed by the walls of the building is covered by earth to a depth which can only be ascertained by digging. It



Fig. 3. SW. false corner D looking NE.

is probable that a rock floor was originally levelled inside the building.

The south wall is fairly well preserved, especially the two corners A and B. At present it stands in parts some two courses above earth level. The thickness of this wall was difficult to ascertain with accuracy owing to its being encumbered with large loose blocks, but there are indications in several places that its thickness was the same as that of the two remaining walls, namely 1.50 to 1.60 metres.

The south-east wall at B now stands 88 centimetres from the earth level and there are three courses visible, of which the lower one is

entirely buried. As in the time of Hanauer's and Masterman's visit, only the slightest indications remain of the eastern wall, the portion it is still possible to measure being 5.55 metres long. The width, namely 1.60 metres, was measured at the corner where it was possible to do so with some fair degree of accuracy.¹

The south-west corner A is now two courses high and is 60 cms. above ground level, but the stones of the lower course are practically buried.



Fig. 4. South Side of building looking N. E.

The north-west corner C is very difficult to fix, but the writer considers a large stone which appears just above the ground to be a corner stone. The western wall as measured from A to C is 12.85 metres long and 1.50 metres broad, but it has now practically disappeared at its northern end whereas at the time of the Rev. J. E. Hanauer's visit it stood in places six courses high.² The stones which formed this side are not even lying about, but small limestone fragments in the close vicinity indicate what has become of them.

¹ See Fig. 2.

² See illustration in *Quarterly Statement*.

Though diligently searched for, no trace of a northern wall is to be seen, as was also the case at the time of Hanauer's and Masterman's visit. The brief note in the *Survey of Western Palestine* mentions the remains of the building, but says nothing of any particular wall.

Outside the south-west corner at D there are three large blocks superimposed which appear to have formed part of the original building. Of these, the uppermost has certainly been slightly shifted, but the two courses beneath are in an exact line with the western wall. It is hardly possible that two or more masonry blocks unsecured by mortar should accidentally fall into such a position, but their presence outside the walls is difficult to explain unless they once formed part of an outbuilding of some kind. The height of this group of stones from earth level is 1.35 metres.¹

Inside the present three walls of the building there are certain stones which may have had some connexion with the structure itself. On the plan they are marked as E and F. These stones appear to be placed on edge, *i. e.* are orthostatic, and each group forms a practically straight line. They all measure 40 centimetres in thickness, though they are otherwise not so large as the stones of the building itself. Another suggestive group of stones is to be seen outside the east wall at the south-east corner and is marked in the plan as G.

NATURE OF BUILDING

The suggestion in the *Quarterly Statement* that the ruins of Bet Sawir are the remains of retaining walls to form an earth platform is, the writer thinks, improbable. It is true that the northern wall cannot be traced, but the stones may have been taken from this portion at an early date. If the western wall which stood some six courses high in 1901 is now reduced to two courses in 1920 without leaving any trace in the way of limestone chips, the total disappearance of a wall in a long period of time is easily comprehensible. The number of blocks, moreover, outside the southern wall, some 70 or 80 in all, would if in position, bring the southern wall to a height far above the level of the northern part of the structure.

¹ To be seen also on left hand side of illustration of south side of building facing N. E. See Fig. 4.

The writer would prefer, therefore, to explain the building as either the remains of a watch-tower or, preferably, a house which at an early period was purposely thrown down.¹ A fort would hardly have been placed in the position this ruin occupies, namely, on a gentle slope commanded by the rise of the hill above it and also at some distance from the ancient road which ran along the edge of the valley.

PERIOD

No period can be ascribed to this building with any certainty until it has been excavated. There is no pottery to be seen on the surface of the ground and our only guides are the nature of the masonry and the style of the building. As far as has been ascertained, there is no other structure in Palestine with similar masonry. In Trans-Jordania, however, there are several megalithic buildings in the close vicinity of Amman which are rectangular and built of large flat slabs of local stone. These rectangular megalithic buildings belong to the later megalithic civilization and the ruins at Bet Sawir are probably, therefore, of that period.²

The megalithic buildings at Amman, both round and rectangular, have a number of cellae within their enclosures constructed of stones set on edge. In the Bet Sawir building the existence of such cellae cannot be proved without excavation, but the groups of stones marked E and F in the plan may possibly be remains of cells, especially as they appear to be orthostatic. It is even possible that the large number of slabs outside the southern wall once belonged to additional cellae. If these cellae had splayed roofs on the principal of the false arch, as is the case in some of the megalithic residences

¹ That the stones of this building were purposely overthrown is proved, in the writer's opinion, by the position of the numerous blocks outside the southern wall. These are now lying one beyond the other at an angle of about 40 degrees and more or less buried in soil. As aptly described by the Rev. J. E. Hanauer, they resemble the broken ends of a series of limestone strata. Slabs of stone of the size found in these ruins could hardly from their nature have fallen otherwise than by human agency.

² See *Megalithic Buildings at Amman* by Duncan Mackenzie; *Palestine Exploration Fund Annual*, 1911. Also *P. E. F. Quarterly Statement*, 1901, p. 407, where Dr. Gray Hill in a brief letter compares the Bet Sawir structure with similar structures at El Bukeia and between Umm Shettah and Er Reuthah.

at Rujm el Melfuf, this would account for the curious positions in which the stones now lie. The cistern that was seen by the Rev. J. E. Hanauer on the occasion of his visit may, therefore, once have been inside a portion of the building. Moreover, the position of the wall D, that apparently projects from the SW. corner, perhaps bears out this theory; it may have formed part of another enclosure.

The absence of mortar and the peculiarly large thin blocks point to a very early period (certainly pre-Jewish). The fact that the blocks are on the whole well shaped testifies to the builders possessing a certain degree of skill in masonry work, as does also the comparative accuracy of the SE. and SW. corners of the building.¹

In conclusion, the writer would urge the necessity of the proper excavation of this site. It would entail little labour or expense as the ground to be cleared is not a large area. If the building should subsequently prove, as appears probable, to be of very early origin, it will be a welcome addition to the early monuments of Palestine, which are all too rare.

¹ Each of the corners is two degrees less than a right angle.

BLOOD REVENGE AMONG THE ARABS

E. N. HADDAD

(JERUSALEM)

A case of murder took place in the district of Hebron some years ago, and attracted great attention. In spite of the strictness of the Turkish law, and the severity of the sentence which was passed, the clan of the murderer remained subject to the custom of blood-revenge, until the murderer at last gave the required satisfaction. One of the intermediaries, who brought about the reconciliation between the two parties, was the mayor and former Muhtâr of Bêt Jâlâ, Jiryis Abû Dayi by name, from whom most of the material presented in this article comes. The specifically Bedouin part I received from the Muhtâr of Bêt Iksâ Jubrîn, who lived long in Mâdebâ, and is intimately versed in the customs and usages of the Bedouin. Since Palestine has become a British mandate, and my home-land the Lebanon, as well as Syria, has passed under French control, many of the native customs will disappear before the advance of European culture. The custom of blood-revenge will, if not entirely, at least in large part, vanish in the near future. In spite of the difficulties connected with the collection of such material, I have spared no pains to make it accessible to scholars who are interested in this field. The material has not been altered or embellished in the least detail, but is given just as heard from the lips of my informants; the investigator may rely implicitly upon the accuracy of the translation presented herewith.¹

¹ I wish here to express my thanks to Dr. W. F. Albright, Director of the American School of Oriental Research, who showed great interest in my work and was always ready to help me with it.

1. MURDER AND PEACE

When it happens that a person is murdered, his relatives come together and say at his tomb: "You must sleep, but we must take revenge for you on the enemy; your bed is silken—sleep and fear not."¹ After this they attack the clan of the murderer and steal all the property they can, such as domestic animals, money, furniture, etc. These things remain their own after the reconciliation and their value is not deducted from the sum to be paid. It is strictly forbidden to injure the women's honour.²

Three and a third days the relatives of the murdered man have the right to continue robbing. But as soon as they kill one of their enemies they lose all their rights.

During this time both parties are in a state of war and therefore the murderer's relatives flee away. If they immediately ask for an armistice,³ then it is entirely forbidden to rob, because the enemies are then under the protection of an honourable man⁴ of a neutral clan. If the injured party assassinates one of its enemies during the armistice it loses all its rights to compensation and at the same time it is regarded by the relatives of the protector as hostile, since this is a great shame for them, as they are responsible. Such an action is considered worse than murder or bloodshed itself. Therefore the relatives of the murdered man are now in a very critical situation, because they are considered as real enemies of both the protector and the protected. If one of the relatives of the murdered man should kill any one of his enemies during the armistice, they dip a rag in the blood of the murdered person and smear it with soot from a pot and hoist it in front of the protector's house. From this moment all the party of the protector goes over to the party of the first murderer, for the others have not kept their word. During the armistice both parties associate freely with each other.⁵

¹ "انت عليك النوم ونحن علينا القوم وفراشك حريز نام ولا تخف."

² عرض.

³ هدنة; in modern Arabic عطوى.

⁴ وجه v. 225 s. v. مكيط المكيط — صاروا فى وجه وجوه
يقال هم وجوه القوم اى ساداتهم واعيانهم — الوجه سيد القوم — ج وجوه

⁵ يصيرون اهل القتل والغرماء يردوا على بئر ويكملوا على بئر is a proverb which means: The relatives of both parties associate freely with each other.

If the reconciliation does not take effect, the enemies renew their robbing after the three and a third days are over. The property stolen during this time is deducted from the reconciliation money but the value of the goods is estimated at only half of the real amount.

2. *THE ARMISTICE*¹

If no treachery takes place during the armistice both parties live in security. If the matter is not settled before the armistice is over and the armistice is not renewed, hostility is resumed between the parties. But if they renew the armistice punctually the danger is at an end.

Peace can not follow directly after hostility. First must come the armistice, since it would be the greatest dishonour for the family of the victim to accept the reconciliation money directly. If they accept it at once, they are then despised by the whole neighbourhood. They may hear the words: "Shame! Are you so greedy that you have eagerly accepted the reconciliation money of your murdered one?"

The ceremony of the armistice is as follows: The pursued party flees. By "pursued" we mean all male persons from the clan of the murderer who are more than twelve years old, because they are exposed to revenge. Aged men, blind men and all males with a defect, as well as scapegraces, are not exposed to revenge. The same is also true of all females. All such persons remain at home, since it is a shame to take revenge on them, and so they have no fear. When the exposed party wishes to conclude an armistice it calls reliable men of a neutral family, either from the same village or from another. The latter must be strictly neutral. When they open negotiations they take with them one to four animals for sacrifice (as a rule sheep) rice and melted butter² at the expense of the murderer himself. They take also a hundred mejidis, or more, with them. When they reach the house of the relatives of the murdered person they give them the offerings. They kill the animals immediately and prepare food for all who are present. When the negotiators hand the money over they say the following words: "Gentlemen, we ask you for an armistice and we will try to carry out the usual

¹ اخذ العطوى

² سمنة

customs." Some days before the armistice is over, they renew it but this time the offering is not necessary. They give only money and about 50 mejidis less than the first sum. It is possible to renew the armistice as many as ten times. Every time the sum which the negotiators pay is less than the time before.

3. THE NINE OF ASSURANCE¹

If the clan of the murderer is composed of many families, all these families are exposed to revenge. If they wish to be secured from revenge they have then to pay a so called "nine of assurance." The payment may be before or after the armistice. The families which paid the nine of assurance are not obliged to pay the expenses of the armistice or reconciliation money. The nine of assurance is either 9 Turkish pounds = 900 piastres or 90 mejidis. A family which fulfils this is then quite safe, remaining at home without having to move. Any family may do this and live without danger, but it must not harbor the murderer nor have any dealings with him. If it violates the custom it loses the sum of assurance and is harassed like the enemy himself. The sum of assurance should be handed over by the mediator without an offering. If the enemy should not keep his word, he would be considered by the mediators as a dishonourable man.

4. PERFIDY AND DECEPTION²

If the clan of the murdered person does not keep its word and breaks the familiar customs of the armistice, killing a man in revenge, it at once loses all its rights and is attacked by the protectors themselves. The person whom they killed is now considered as the equivalent of the first murdered person. All things robbed during

¹ تسعة نوم.

² باق الرجل = باق, Vol. I, p. 143 s. v. مكيط المحيط "perfidy" = بوق² ييوق بوقا وبؤوقا جاء بالشر والخصومات وتعدى . . . او هجم على قوم بغير اذنتهم . . . والقوم غدر بهم وسرقهم . . . باق القوم على فلان اجتمعوا عليه ظلما.

the first three and a third days should be given back, unless the other party has robbed their equivalent. The guarantors themselves begin at once to rob the traitors and even try if possible to kill one of them, since the latter have no right to take revenge for the murdered person, this case not being punishable in the law of the folk. In such a case the traitors send intercessors to negotiate peace. They must offer every thing demanded, and the intercessors say: "Behold, your enemy is in your power and it is for you to decide whether to free him or not." Then those who broke their word kneel down bareheaded in the midst of the circle formed by those present. Each turban must be unfolded and wound around the neck while the fez is held on the breast. To be bareheaded means to surrender. While they are kneeling down they ought to remain quite silent and are not allowed even to salute. If the guarantor has inclination to forgive them he rises and says to one of his men: "Rise and shave their heads, because I have forgiven them."¹

During this interval some animals (sheep or goats) should be killed and a repast prepared with their flesh. After this they are allowed to cover their heads.

If he does not wish to forgive them he demands, for instance, 100 horses, 500 camels and 1000 sheep. He is not allowed to ask for money. Those who are present implore him to say how much may be deducted for the sake of God and the prophet (Mohammed). He then says: "I deduct 10 horses, 100 camels and 100 sheep." They ask him again: "How much can you deduct for the sake of Sheikh X," etc. etc., and at last they ask: "What will you deduct for your bareheaded and barefoot enemies: They ask for mercy. It is now in your power to forgive and to be merciful or not. This is a habit of nobles and you are well-known as one of the most famous nobles. But these are people who trespass and you are the man who forgives." Should he deduct more now, it is due to his humanity, but they must in any case pay the remainder. If they have nothing ready they must bring guarantors.

¹ Shaving the head is considered a great disgrace, when it is inflicted as a punishment. The same is also true of the beard. One or both are shaved as punishment in the case of a crime affecting a woman's honour.

5. RECONCILIATION

If both parties after the termination of the armistice are ready to be reconciled, the enemies have to bring 15—20 sheep and goats or perhaps more, and rice, coffee, sugar, salt, and all the necessary utensils for cooking. As soon as they appear one of the victim's family has to go out and meet them, and lead them in to the house of the victim, where the meeting is to be held. He has the right to ask two pounds and a cloak for his protection. They go now with the guarantors and other nobles of the village into the house of the victim or into the guest-house of the family. One of the relatives of the victim examines the animals, which must be without defect. Animals which have defects must be changed. He begins then to kill the animals or he orders another to kill them. But he must in every case kill the first one. His part in killing is a sign that he is satisfied with the reconciliation. The enemies must do the whole work. After the meal, the relatives of the victim ask that the murderer or one of the most respected sheikhs shall come.

The negotiators tell him: "Stand up and sit down in the midst of the gathering." He follows their order, holding a long stick in his hand. This stick must be half again as long as a man. They bring five metres or more of white gauze. The nearest relative of the murdered man takes hold of the cloth and begins to roll the gauze round the stick, making knots at intervals. Every knot means 1000 piastres. When he is through, the negotiators ask him how much he deducts for the sake of God. He unties two or more knots according to his generosity. After this they ask for the sake of the prophet, Christ etc. and at last they ask for the sake of the negotiators, who should be honoured with a knot or more. It depends much upon his generosity whether he unties fewer or more knots. Lastly they ask him how much will he deduct for the sake of his enemies. He answers: "They are welcome, and I am ready to untie for them two knots more." Now they count the remaining knots. The man who had untied the knots invites them to eat. They answer: "No, by your life, we will not eat till you set our minds at rest. You know that a man like this one (the murderer) commits a trespass, but a man like you forgives, since forgiveness is a virtue of nobles. X has died—may God have mercy on him; it is a matter of fact that

a living person is worth more than a dead one, and nothing is sweeter than sweetmeats except peace after hostility. You are very celebrated for your generous deeds.¹ After reconciliation the required sum should be paid in instalments. The sum may be 150—300 pounds or more. The legal ransom is 33,333 piastres and 33 paras.

6. MURDER BY AN UNKNOWN PERSON²

If it should happen that some one has been killed without the murderer being known, the relatives of the murdered man send messages to the men whom they suspect to be guilty and ask them to appear before court. The court is formed of men who are authorities in customs and murder-cases. After negotiation the time of their meeting together should be fixed. The relatives of the victim choose two persons; the suspected one can choose only a single person. One of these three persons is made the judge. Accordingly the accused and the accuser choose one out of the three to be the judge. If they are not pleased with his decision they appeal to the second person; if they are then still unsatisfied they call upon the third one. The decision of the third one must be accepted in any case. Every one of the selected judges receives his wages, which may be as much as he wishes and is not less than 100 mejidis. As soon as the accused person appears before the first judge, he is given a horse's bit, which means that the horse is made the pledge, or a gun as a sign that the owner of the gun is the pledge. After both the accused and the accuser have been heard in court the judge must repeat to them their statements during the trial. Many persons should be present to witness the process and confirm the decision. After this the judge asks for guarantors to be made responsible for the payment of his wages. As soon as they are selected he gives back the pledges. He then commences his work and says: "O

¹ Literally, you are the father of X, and brother of your sister. X here refers to the first-born son of the man addressed; if the latter has no children, X is the name of his father, as the first-born is expected to bear his grandfather's name. "You are the brother of your sister" is a proverb, and means "You are a good, energetic, and generous man."

² قتل مجهول.

auspicious witnesses, be kind and mediate peace between both parties and let them leave this place as friends; I am ready to forego my wages." If after discussion they do not come to a satisfactory result, he announces his decision.

7. *THE JUST AND FAULTLESS WITNESSES*

It is impossible to find perfectly just witnesses in murder cases, since the qualifications of such witnesses must be unattainably high. They must be blameless; they ought never to have desecrated the holy days, never to have laughed like Ham, that is to say, never to have mocked their parents; they must never have been treated unkindly as guests, and must never have been slandered. Since the judge is naturally not able to find such a character, he must search for an honest, fair-dealing, frank man and swear him in.

8. *SWEARING TO INNOCENCE OR GUILT*

One must take oath in front of the door of a church or in the niche of a mosque. Besides the man who swears, five other men must confirm the oath. The accuser may select the one to swear from the suspected family, one who must not be removed more than five generations from the family in question. As soon as the one who swears reaches the door of the church or the niche of the mosque, he calls upon the relatives of the murdered man and says: "Come and take your rights." They ask him if he is ready to swear and they ask also where the five persons are who have to confirm the oath. At once the required five appear. Before the oath he asks for a guarantor to protect him from his enemies after he has sworn and been declared guiltless. A guarantor is granted, and if then the rights of the swearer are not preserved, it is considered as perfidy.

If the swearer is declared free, he must pay the acquittal sum, which is 999 piastres. He must swear three times and each time he pays 333 piastres. If he confesses to the commission of the crime, he must pay the ransom. If he is acquitted without swearing, he must pay 999 piastres, and invite all present to a meal.

9. THE OATH¹

If the murder has taken place in a Christian community, the oath is taken in a church, and if in a Moslem community, in a mosque. The literal meaning of the oath is: "By God the Mighty, the Avenger, the Powerful, Creator of day and night, I have not made his children orphans, and I have not cut his skin or made his wife a widow."

10. THE BRANDING OR ORDEAL²

If a murder or the defloration of a girl should take place without the detection of the culprit, the suspected man and the accusers agree in the presence of honourable men to go to the "licker", and cause the offender to "lick". Each party has to pay 100 mejidis. The wages of the honourable man who accompanies them to the licker is five pounds. His task is to be witness of what he sees while at the licker's. Lickers are very rare. Today there is one in Upper Egypt, another is east of Mādabâ. The suspected person must lick a red-hot coffee-roaster, given him by the licker. If signs of burning are seen on his lips or tongue he is then considered guilty. The licker says to him: "May God help you to bear your load". If his mouth after licking the roaster is still not burnt, the licker says to him: "You are clean and guiltless". If the accused one is acquitted, the accuser must pay the licker 100 mejidis and give 5 pounds to the accused and *vice versa*. After returning home they begin to negotiate for reconciliation.

11. THE MURDER OF A WOMAN

The rights of a woman are exactly the same as those of a man with the exception that the ransom is only half of that of a man. If a man is killed because he has maltreated or has assaulted a woman, the relatives of the murdered man have no right to ask for blood-money, no matter how many of them may be killed by the relatives of the dishonoured woman.

¹ اليمين.

² بشع يبشع بشعا وبشاعة Vol. I, p. 96 we read: *بشع يبشع بشعا وبشاعة* in *مكيط المحيط* *بشعة* صار بشعا... البشع... القبيح الصورة... وخشبة بشعة كثيرة الابن اى العقد.

12. THE ATTITUDE OF THE GOVERNMENT TOWARD MURDER

The Government may interfere and make a fair decision, nevertheless a real reconciliation between the two parties can not take place as long as the customs of the people are not satisfied.

13. PROTECTION OF THE MURDERER BY THE MURDERER'S FAMILY

The following is still the practice of the Bedu. If the murderer asks for protection from the father or the nearest relatives of the murdered person, as soon as he ties the end of his *keffîye* (head-covering) and puts his hand in his belt without being previously observed, and says: "I ask you to protect me," he is at once safe and the protector accompanies him to the boundary of his tribe and tells him: "Escape for your life and know that as soon as I see you again I will kill you."

THE EDMITE LANGUAGE

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IT has hitherto been assumed that our knowledge of the Edomite language is confined to a few names of persons and places; and though it may be assumed that, like Moabitic, it was closely akin to Hebrew, the discovery of some inscription is necessary to throw further light on the question. The object of this paper is to suggest that we already possess what is at least as good as an inscription—nearly two whole chapters of the Bible written throughout in the Edomite dialect, viz. Proverbs 30 1 to 31 9.

Ch. 31 begins: דכרי למואל מלך משה אשר יסרתו אמו usually translated: *The words of king Lemuel: the oracle, משה, which his mother taught him.* Early writers saw in *Massa* a word which is elsewhere used in the sense of prophetic utterance. But an early Jewish scholar, Malbim, already felt that *Massa* was really the name of a place; and this idea has been revived by modern scholars and now finds a place in the RVmg.: *The words of Lemuel, king of Massa.* This interpretation finds support from Gen. 25 14, which points to the fact that *Massa* was a place occupied by tribes descended from Ishmael: *The sons of Ishmael . . . Mishma and Duma and Massa . . . Tema . . . and Kedema . . . These are the sons of Ishmael and these are their names by their villages and by their encampments.*

Furthermore these chapters are specimens of eastern wisdom; and we know from such passages as Jer. 49 7 (*Is wisdom no more in Teman? Is counsel perished from the prudent? Is their wisdom vanished?*) and Ob. 8 (*Shall I not, in that day, destroy the wise men out of Edom . . . and thy wise men, O Teman, shall be dismayed!*) that Edom had a reputation for wisdom; and it is specially pointed out that the wisdom of Solomon (1 Kings 4 30) exceeded that of the children of the East.

But if these verses of Proverbs are written in a non-Judæan dialect of Hebrew peculiar to the Edomite speech as used in Massa, we shall expect traces of this in vocabulary and perhaps also in syntax. And we do find features which lend support to the hypothesis.

In the first few verses of ch. 31 are several passages which have always proved difficulties to those who would interpret them solely in the light of the Hebrew vocabulary and syntax as we know it from the Hebrew books of the Bible. The second verse runs: *מה ברי ומה בר במני ומה בר נדרי* of which our English version is: *What, my son? and what, O son of my womb? and what, O son of my vows?* The first point we notice is that the word for "son" is not the Hebrew word *ben* but *bar*; and this alone marks it out from the rest of biblical Hebrew. The second point is the use of the word *ma* "what?" But the translation "what?" does not give good sense. The context demands some such significance as "Listen!" "Take heed!" Such a meaning of *ma* exists in Arabic.

There is a difficult word in v. 3: *Give not thy strength unto women, nor thy ways to that which destroyeth kings.* But *to that which destroyeth* is a very far-fetched translation of *lamhoth*, and the parallelism is not good. It is better to point it *l'māhōth*, a plural noun meaning "delights," "playthings," "pastimes."

In v. 4 as a parallel to the phrase *לשתות יין* we get *או שכר*. This *ev* is an unknown word, and the *Q'ri* *אי* "where?" gives no help. We want a verb synonymous with "drink." So perhaps here we have an Edomite word with the meaning "drink up quickly" or the like. Cf. the Arabic *عَبَّ* "to drink up quickly."

In v. 8 we have: *Open thy mouth for the dumb* *אל דין כל בני חלוף* which is, literally, *unto the cause of all those ready to pass away*. This becomes less meaningless, and makes perfect parallelism, if we look away from Hebrew, and regard *אל* not as a preposition but as a verb meaning "hasten," like the Arabic *أَلَّ*; and connect *חלוף* with the Arabic root *حرف*. The verse then reads: *Open thy mouth for the dumb and speed the cause of the unfortunate.*

In the preceding chapter, in the words of Agur the son of Jakeh the "Massaite," occur several strange, or, as the hypothesis would assume, peculiar Edomite words—*הון* in the sense of the Hebrew *די* "enough," (v. 15) and *אלקוק* and *זרויר* of unknown meaning (v. 31). In v. 9 we have: *Lest I become poor and steal* *ותפשתי* *the name of my God*.

Here תפש seems not to have its usual meaning in Hebrew of "take hold of," but rather "blaspheme," "revile."

In v. 33 the last member of the verse is hastily rejected by modern scholars as a doublet: *The pressing of milk brings forth butter, and the pressing of the nose (אף) brings forth blood, and the pressing of אפים brings forth strife.* In Hebrew אפים means nostrils, and so seems here merely to repeat the preceding clause. It is more suited to the context and the idea contained in the word ריב "strife" if we see in אפים a mispunctuation of an Edomite form of the word for mouth, such, e. g. as *ō'im*. Compare the Aramaic and Arabic *fūm*.

The following are possible cases of Edomite syntactical peculiarities:

Ch. 30 v. 2 runs: כִּי בָעַר אֲנֹכִי מֵאִישׁ usually translated: *Surely I am more brutish than any man.* But this assumes a construction which does not exist elsewhere. It at once becomes simple if instead of *mē=min*, we see in it the Arabic negative *ma*: *Surely I am a beast, ma 'ish—not a man.*

A more pronounced case occurs in v. 32: אַם נָבִלַת בְּהִתְנַשֵּׂא וְאִם זָמוּת יָד לִפֶּה. If we try to translate it in the customary way: *If thou hast done foolishly in lifting thyself up, and if thou hast thought evil, hand to mouth!*—it lacks the necessary parallelism, and also gives נָבִלַת a rendering which is unsupported. But by regarding בְּהִתְנַשֵּׂא as a peculiarity of Edomite syntax with the same function as the Arabic particle *fa*, and the Hebrew *wa* following a conditional clause, the syntax becomes easy and the sense good: *If thou sink down, then raise thyself up: and if thou purpose evil, remain quiet.*

An objection to ascribing these chapters to an Edomite source may be lodged, in that the divine name of Yahweh, the God of the Hebrews, occurs (30 9). But we have nowhere else any evidence for saying that the Edomites used any other peculiar name for their deity, as, for example, did the Moabites in the case of Chemosh, or the Philistines in the case of Dagon, or the Ammonites in the case of Milcom. Josephus certainly mentions *Koze* as the name of an Edomite deity; but it is nowhere else referred to, and the inference is, that if there were a god of such a name, it was an inferior god, or one of recent adoption.

There is, perhaps, another trace of the Edomite language in that puzzling fragment of Isaiah 21 11–12, "The Burden of Duma", which the writer hopes to deal with another time.

SOLOMON AND THE SHULAMITE

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IN the early Christian apocryphon called the *Testament of Solomon* there is a collocation of Solomon and the Shulamite which to me is new. As it exhibits an interesting development in the Solomonic legend and seems also to involve a peculiar interpretation of the Song of Solomon, I present it here in the hope that others may be able to contribute some parallel from Arabic, Jewish, or early Christian folklore.

The *Testament of Solomon* may be safely dated in the fourth century of our era. The author is a Christian exorcist who attempts to work up the demonological and magico-medical knowledge of his syncretistic environment into a practical *vade mecum*. His materials go back ultimately to Babylonia, Persia, Egypt, Palestine and the Greek world. The thread upon which these materials are strung is the story of Solomon's use of the demons in building the Temple. The book closes with an account of the great king's ignominious fall.

Though I have sailed but little on the sea of the Talmud and made but inconsequential excursions into the wilderness of Arabic literature, I think I am safe in saying that the fall of Solomon in these literatures is usually ascribed to the great demon prince, Asmodaeus, who gets possession of the magic ring and usurps Solomon's place as a punishment for his presumption in trying to pry too far into the secrets of the universe. On the contrary, in Christian literature, his fall is usually ascribed to "woman-mania," *θηλυμανία*, which leads to his building idol temples or to idol worship, and so to his loss of the divine favour and his God-given power and knowledge. In this the *Testament of Solomon* agrees. The story is as follows:

Ἐλαβον δὲ γυναῖκας ἀπὸ πάσης χώρας καὶ βασιλείας, ὧν οὐκ ἦν ἀριθμός. καὶ πορεύθην πρὸς τὸν Ἰεβουσαίων βασιλεῖα καὶ εἶδον γυναῖκα ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτῶν

καὶ ἠγάπησα αὐτὴν σφόδρα, καὶ ἠθέλησα αὐτὴν μίξαι σὺν ταῖς γυναιξί μου. καὶ εἶπον πρὸς τοὺς ἱερεῖς αὐτῶν· “δότε μοι τὴν Σονναμίτην ταύτην, ὅτι ἠγάπησα αὐτὴν σφόδρα.” καὶ εἶπον πρὸς με· “εἰ ἠγάπησας τὴν θυγατέρα ἡμῶν, προσκύνησον τοὺς θεοὺς ἡμῶν, τὸν μέγαν Ῥαφὰν καὶ Μολόχ, καὶ λάβε αὐτήν.” ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἠθέλησα προσκυνῆσαι, ἀλλ’ εἶπον αὐτοῖς· “ἐγὼ οὐ προσκυνῶ θεῷ ἄλλοτρίῳ.” αὐτοὶ δὲ παρεβιάσοντο τὴν παρθένον λέγοντες ὅτι· “ἔὰν γένηταί σοι εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν Σολομῶντος, εἰπὲ αὐτῷ· ‘οὐ κοιμηθήσομαι μετὰ σου ἔὰν μὴ ὁμοιωθῇς τῷ λαῷ μου, καὶ λάβε ἀκρίδας πέντε καὶ σφάξαι αὐτὰς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα Ῥαφὰν καὶ Μολόχ.’” ἐγὼ δὲ διὰ τὸ ἀγαπᾶν με τὴν κόρην ὡς ὡραίαν οἶσαν πᾶν, καὶ ὡς ἀσύνετος ὢν, οὐδὲν ἐνόμισα τῶν ἀκριδῶν τὸ αἷμα καὶ ἔλαβον αὐτὰς ὑπὸ τὰς χεῖράς μου καὶ ἔθυσσα εἰς τὸ ὄνομα Ῥαφὰν καὶ Μολόχ τοῖς εἰδώλοις, καὶ ἔλαβα τὴν παρθένον εἰς τὸν οἶκον τῆς βασιλείας μου.

Καὶ ἀπήρθη τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ, καὶ ἀπ’ ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας ἐγένετο ὡς λῆρος τὰ ῥήματά μου. καὶ ἠγάγκασέ με οἰκονομῆσαι ναοὺς τῶν εἰδώλων. κἀγὼ οἶν ὁ δίστιγνος ἐποίησα τὴν συμβουλήν αὐτῆς καὶ τελείως ἀπέστη ἡ δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐσκοτίσθη τὸ πνεῦμά μου, καὶ ἐγενόμην γέλως τοῖς εἰδώλοις καὶ δαίμοσιν.¹

One may translate as follows: “And I took wives from every country and kingdom, of whom there was no number. And I went to the king of the Jebusites and I saw a woman in their kingdom and I fell exceedingly in love with her and wished to include her among my wives. And I said to their priests, ‘Give me this Shunamite, for I have fallen exceedingly in love with her.’ And they said to me, ‘If you have fallen in love with our daughter, worship our gods, the great Raphan and Moloch and take her.’ And I was not willing to worship, but said to them, ‘I will not worship a strange god.’ But they laid injunctions upon the maiden, saying, ‘If it should be your lot to enter into the palace of Solomon, say to him, ‘I will not sleep with you, unless you become like my people; so take five locusts and sacrifice them to the name of Raphan and Moloch.’” And because I loved the maid as being very beautiful and because I was without understanding, I did not consider the blood of the locusts but took them in my hands and offered them to the name of Raphan and Moloch, the idols, and I took the maiden into my royal house.

And the spirit of God departed from me and from that day my words became like an empty sound, and she forced me to build temples

¹ See the writer's *Testament of Solomon* (Hinrichs, 1921), c. 26.

of the idols. And wretched being that I was, I did her will and the glory of God departed from me completely and my spirit was darkened and I became a joke to the idols and demons."

One recension of the *Testament* has a slightly different version of the story, in which Solomon first promises the maiden to do her will, and then she prepares the trap for him.¹ In this form the story is closely paralleled in *Kebra Nagast*.² Here it is Pharaoh's daughter who seduces the king. She wishes him to worship her idols. On his refusing, she coaxes him until he promises on oath that he will do what she wishes. Then she fastens a thread across the middle of the door of the temple of her idols, brings three locusts, puts them in the temple, and says to him, "Come to me without breaking the woollen thread, by bending under it, kill the locusts before me, and twist their necks." When he has done so, she says, "From now on I will do thy will, since thou hast made offering to my gods and hast prayed to them." The writer of the work exhibits the same apologetic attitude as the *Testament* explaining that Solomon did this to avoid perjuring himself, though he knew it was wrong to enter the idol temple.³

The figure of the fair seducer is a motif common enough in folklore. Jeremias suggests as parallels Ishtar and Gilgamesh, Herakles and Dejanira, Samson and Delila, and David and Michal.⁴ Many a Tannhäuser has had his Venusberg.

The first point of interest in the legend of Solomon's fall as told in the *Testament* is that it agrees with the usual early Christian tradition in ascribing the wise king's overthrow to his inordinate fondness for women, and in leaving him to die in the darkness of

¹ Recension B, manuscripts PQ; see critical apparatus to sec. 3, ch. 26.

² Prof. Dr. Carl Bezold, *Kebra Nagast, Die Herrlichkeit der Könige*, etc. c. 64, in *Abh. d. philos.-philol. Klasse d. königl. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.* 23 Bd., 1 Abt., München 1905, p. 60 f.

³ Georg Salzberger, *Die Salomosage in der semitischen Literatur: ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Sagenkunde*. I Teil: *Salomo bis zur Höhe seines Ruhmes*. (Diss. Heidelberg) Berlin 1907, p. 96, says the same story is found in Kisā'i: If the second part of Salzberger's work has appeared, in which he promised to discuss this matter, I have missed it. Dr. W. F. Albright informs me that Tha'labi, *Qisas al'anbiā'* (Cairo ed.) 224—227 has the story of Solomon's loss of his ring, a punishment for allowing Jarāda, daughter of Sidon, one of his wives, to worship her father's statue. Curiously Jarāda means "locust."

⁴ *Das Alte Test. im Lichte d. Alt. Orients*, 3. ed. 1916, p. 434, n. 1.

this eclipse of the divine favour; while Asmodaeus plays quite a different roll as a great demon prince, but not the chief of demons. Beelzeboul, as in the New Testament, is ἀρχὼν πάντων τῶν δαιμόνων. Solomon's undue amorousness is ascribed to the incitement of other demons.¹ The *Testament*, therefore, as Kohler in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* says,² represents pre-Talmudic demonology and also a pre-Talmudic standpoint in the development of the Solomonic legend.

In one direction, however, it exhibits a development beyond pre-Talmudic times — and this is the second point of interest — in that it ascribes Solomon's fall to "the Shunamite." Who can this Shunamite be and where does that legend attach itself to the biblical accounts of Solomon?

Two Shunamites appear in the Hebrew Scriptures, (1) Abishag the Shunamite of 1 Kings, the most beautiful maiden in all David's domains, and (2) the friend of Elisha in 2 Kings 4 36; there is in the third place the Shulamite of the Song of Songs. The friend of Elisha is out of the question and the writer of the *Testament* must have in mind one of the two others, either Abishag or the Shulamite of the Song of Songs, as the cause of the king's sin and fall. Differences in the form of the name do not enter into the question. According to all our trustworthy sources, there was in antiquity one Sunem, which is to be identified with the modern Solem or Sulem, a short distance east of El Fuleh at the foot of Jebel ed-Duhy, or Little Hermon.³ Eusebius and Jerome both locate it quite explicitly in this same spot.⁴ They also derive Elisha's benefactress from Sanim in Akrabattine, nine milestones east of Sebaste, but this is evidently due to a mistaken desire to account for some of the variations of spelling. Such a location is extremely unlikely, for it is in a desolate region off the line of Elisha's usual movements,⁵ and the derivation is phonetically impossible. On the other hand the

¹ Ἰδὲν, *Test. Sol.* c. viii 9, *Kaklorn*, c. viii II. It is to be noted that the Holkham Hall MS, usually the more original, with the Jerusalem MS after ascribing Solomon's death to the demons, quite inconsistently allows him to die in peace in his palace. This conclusion of the *Testament* in apparently original.

² Vol. IV, p. 518.

³ Conder and Kitchener, *Survey of Western Palestine*, Mem. II 87.

⁴ Lagarde, *Onomast. sacra* 294—56 f., 152—16.

⁵ Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, Boston 1874, vol. II, pp. 324 f., Lagarde, *op. cit.* 295—86, 153—18, and 87—28, 214—64.

various forms of the word, *Σορμανίτες* and *Σορμανίτις* in the *Testament*, שֹׁנְמִית, *Σορμανείτις*, *Σορμανίτης* in the Book of Kings, שֹׁלְמִית, *Σουλαμίτις*, *Σορμανίτις* in the Song of Songs, and *Σουλαβίτις* in some of the Fathers¹ are all derived by natural phonetic changes or possibly sometimes by scribal error from שֹׁנָם, now Solam, which appears in the Septuagint manuscripts as Σώμαν, Σίωμαν, Σίωμα.

Has our tradition Abishag the Shunamite of 1 Kings or the Shulamite of the Song of Songs in mind? Abishag was the unwitting cause of the death of Adonijah, according to the account in the Book of Kings and it would seem to be implied that Solomon took her to wife. But she was already in the royal harem before Solomon came to the throne and she is almost certainly an Israelite, not a worshipper of Raphan and Moloch. It seems impossible to suppose that any legend could fasten upon her as the cause of Solomon's fall into idolatry. The rôle she plays is quite different.

As has been suggested by Budde and those who accept his interpretation of the Song of Songs as a cycle of marriage songs such as are still sung in this land, the fame of the beauty of Abishag the Shunamite, coupled with the romance of Adonijah's love for her and his death on that account, persisted down through the centuries and led to her being taken as the unapproachable type of womanly beauty just as Solomon became the paragon of manly excellence and glory. She therefore appears in the Song of Songs as bride, while Solomon is the bridegroom. Shunamite stands, then, for the most beautiful woman in the world.²

When, in the *Testament*, Solomon says, "Give me this Shunamite," he means, 'Give me this most beautiful woman.' The story in the *Testament* becomes, then, a confirmation of Budde's theory, an example of the usage he claims for the Song of Songs, which is otherwise, I think, without parallel. This far one can go without hesitation.

It is possible that this brief sentence in the *Testament* witnesses to an interpretation of the Song of Songs which was held by those who opposed its admission into the Canon of the Hebrew Scriptures. It is well known that it was only because the Song was interpreted allegorically of the love of God for his people that the book was

¹ For example, Migne, *Patrol. Graeca* 17, 280, from a Vatican Catena.

² See the commentaries of Siegfried (*Handkommentar*) and Budde, (*Kurzer Handkommentar*), *ad Cant.* 7 1.

finally given the *imprimatur* of the rabbinical councils.¹ This same interpretation, usually altered to make Solomon a representative of Christ and the beloved maiden a type of the Church, was then adopted by the Christian exegetes and has persisted until the present.

Both the Song of Songs and the *Testament of Solomon* are more easily understood, however, if we may suppose that there was current a legend or cycle of legends describing Solomon's love affairs. One may be justified in supposing that some of the unintelligible allusions in the Song of Songs would be explained if we had these legends before us and that others may possibly be due to the excision or modification of allusions which were unacceptable to a rigid monotheism. If this may seem to be going too far, it at least is within the range of probability that the *Testament* reflects an interpretation of the Song of Solomon which took it to describe his *θηλυμανία* and regarded the maiden whose ravishing beauty is so sensuously described as the cause of his downfall. Such a conception of the book was naturally repressed by the constituted authorities and could be preserved only in books like the *Testament*, which never received ecclesiastical approval but circulated among the less instructed along by and forbidden paths.

¹ See Siegfried, *op. cit.*, p. 78ff. Budde, *op. cit.*, p. IXf.

NOTES OF LOCALITY IN THE PSALTER

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WHAT I have to say needs, in order to make it intelligible, to be prefaced by a brief statement of the origin and composition of the Psalter as I understand it.

Psalms 3—41 were the first Psalm book of the Jerusalem Temple. Psalms 51—71 were in origin the Psalm book of the great Israelite temple at Shechem, the lineal ancestor of the Samaritan temple on Mt. Gerizim, as the original Deuteronomy was the law book of that temple. With the destruction of Samaria and the kingdom of Israel in the last quarter of the 8th century these writings were transported to Jerusalem and were instrumental in producing first the renaissance, then the reformation there, precisely as the transportation of scholars and books from the East to the West brought about first the Renaissance, then the Reformation in central and western Europe after the fall of Constantinople in 1453 A. D. Out of the original Shechemite Deuteronomy was developed the Judæan law book, Deuteronomy, and out of the Shechemite Psalter a second Davidic Psalter, *i. e.* Psalter of the Jerusalem temple, which, I take it, is the meaning of the Psalm title "of David." These two Davidic Psalters were formed into one whole, framed by two new hymns, Psalms 2 and 72, and the double collection thus formed was entitled "Prayers of David Son of Jesse," so that the colophon at the close of Psalm 72 reads "The Prayers of David son of Jesse are ended."

To this Jerusalem Psalter were added, but not incorporated in it, Psalms from the temple at Dan, and Psalms from the Temple at Bethel, the Psalms of the sons of Korah and the Psalms of Asaph, 42—49, 50 and 73—83, and 84—89. (By an early dislocation a part of these Psalms, 42—50, was inserted between the two parts of the great Davidic Psalter.) These Psalms, 2—89 (Psalm 1 is of later

origin, a preface to the entire Psalter), constituted the Psalter of the pre-exilic period, the first three books of our present Psalter; later subjected, like the legal and prophetic books, to considerable editing.

Post-exilic psalmody is very different in character. Among other things, while the Psalms of the pre-exilic Psalter were regularly single, one Psalm constituting a liturgy, in the post-exilic period liturgies were framed consisting of a number of Psalms. This was due to the new requirements of Temple worship. The Temple at Jerusalem had become the one centre of worship for Jews not only in Judaea but throughout the world. The number of worshippers assembling at Jerusalem for the great feasts was enormous and the number of sacrifices offered at these feasts was proportional. The liturgies to be used on such occasions had to be increased accordingly, and so the new liturgies of that period are in general groups of Psalms, five or more in number, sometimes indicated as such by the title prefixed to the first Psalm of the group only. The first of these groups is the Prayer of Moses, 90—99, like the commandments of Moses a decalogue, divided into two pentads. Like the Korah and Asaph Psalms this liturgical group retained an identity of its own as to title, not being designated as "of David," *i. e.* stamped with the hall mark of the Jerusalem temple. Psalms 103—107, headed "of David," constitute a liturgy of five Psalms very clearly marked for use at one of the great pilgrim feasts. Psalms 111—118 constitute the *hallel*, and were evidently brought together to form one liturgy. Similarly 145—150 constitute one liturgy; or perhaps better 146—150 constitute the liturgy, in five parts, [prefaced by a sort of introduction, 145. We have also two collections and one very long acrostic in the latter books, which were often, if not generally used together, viz. that great acrostic praise of the Law, Psalm 119, consisting of twenty-two Psalms of eight verses each; the Songs of Degrees, 120—134, a collection primarily of pilgrim songs, composed for and sung by pilgrims from Babylonia to Jerusalem; and the little Davidic Psalter, 138—144. Incidentally it may be added that at the time of the Chronicler the Psalter ended with Psalm 134, the close of the Songs of Degrees. Later there was a sort of gleanings which gathered in among other things this little collection of old hymns, Psalms 138—144.

Some of these collections have very strongly marked notes of locality. This is peculiarly true of the Psalms of the sons of Korah,

i. e. The Psalms of Dan, as I tried to point out in a former paper.¹ The first Davidic Psalter has also a marked individuality in this regard. To a very considerable extent it is a collection of battle liturgies, belonging to the militant period of Judæan history. It must be remembered that ancient Jerusalem was a very strong, almost impregnable fortress. It was largely for this reason that David chose it as his capital. Its reputation as an impregnable stronghold at that time is shown by the mocking reply of the Jebusites, when he called upon them to surrender, that "the blind and the lame" could defend their fortress against him (2 Sam. 5, 6). That fortress lay on a narrow ridge of rock with almost precipitous sides, provided with a sufficient supply of living water from the Mary fountain by means of a tunnel and a shaft, through the failure of the Jebusites to guard which David won the city. He and his successors enlarged and strengthened the city, which became a series of strongholds, one of which was the Temple. Most ancient temples were also strongholds, but this was peculiarly true of the Zion of Jerusalem. Resolutely defended it was impregnable. The country might be overrun and devastated, but Zion and David's city could hold out indefinitely. The Temple safe, the invader could not maintain himself. Unable to obtain water he would soon be compelled to withdraw. So in Hezekiah's time Sennacherib's great army, although it overran and devastated the land, was obliged to retire from Jerusalem. Hence it was that the inviolability of the Temple, protected by the presence of Yahweh, became a doctrine, as in the prophecies of Isaiah. The invincibility of Zion and of Yahweh were identified, and trust in Zion and trust in Yahweh became one. These peculiar local conditions are reflected in a number of Psalms of the first Jerusalem Psalter, as 7, 11, 12, 14, 17, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32. Several of these are in fact siege Psalms, liturgies designed to be used in the Temple to obtain divine help when the country was overrun and the city threatened or beleaguered. The opening verse of Psalm 11, designated by its caption "In the Lord have I trusted," is:

How say ye to me:

Flee to your hill like a bird?

which is very much what Sennacherib in his inscriptions says of the Jews shut up by him in Jerusalem.

¹ See *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, Vol. 1, p. 36.

Psalm 27 pictures vividly the conditions of siege in Jerusalem, with Yahweh as the invincible fortress who shall defend His people:

The Lord my light and my salvation, whom have I to fear?
The Lord the fortress of my life, whom have I to dread?

When the wicked pressed upon me to eat me up,
My foemen and mine enemies, they stumbled and fell.
Though there camp an host against me, my heart feareth not;
Though there rise up war against me, I still will trust.

One thing I have asked of the Lord, this I entreat:
To dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life,
To gaze upon the beauty of the Lord, and inquire in His Temple;
For He hideth me in His covert in the days of trouble,
In His secret tent He covereth me, He setteth me on a rock.

And now mine head is lifted above mine enemies around me,
And I would offer in His tent offerings with a shout,
I would sing and make music to the Lord.

Imagine that being sung in the Temple in proud confidence of deliverance by the strength of Yahweh and His stronghold from the foes that rage in vain below the walls!

Note how in Ps. 28 s Yahweh is called:

. The strength of His people,
And the stronghold of the victories of His anointed.

In Ps. 30 we have:

Thou, Lord, of Thy goodness hast made my hill so strong.

In Ps. 31 the appeal is for rescue "from the hands of my foes and from my pursuers", and the suppliant king is made to say:

Be to me a strong rock,
A house of defence to save me;
For my crag and my defence art Thou;

and then, in the Thanksgiving with which the Psalm closes:

Blessed be the Lord, for marvellous His love to me in a strong city.
And I—I said in mine alarm: I am cut off from before Thee.

It ends with the confident cry:

Be strong and let your heart be brave,
All ye who wait upon the Lord.

In Psalm 32 the invasion is described as a flood of great waters, the same figure used of the Assyrian invasion in Is. 87 ff.

Therefore all the godly pray to Thee at the time of acceptance (of sacrifice);
 In the flood the great waters do not come nigh him.
 Thou art my hiding place, from trouble Thou guardest me;
 God of my song deliver me from them that surround me;

with the triumph cry of deliverance at the close:

Great plagues befall the godless;
 Who trusteth in the Lord mercy surroundeth him.
 Be glad in the Lord, and exult, ye righteous.
 Shout merrily all ye upright of heart.

One may well imagine this to have been a liturgy used at the time of the great deliverance under Hezekiah.

But not only in these siege Psalms do we find this note of confidence in the great strength of Yahweh in His Zion fortress; it appears also in such Temple hymns as 5 and 23, and is a characteristic feature of this Psalm book as a whole, marking it off in local reference from all other collections in the Psalter.

The Asaph Psalms 50, 73—83, are characterised as Israelitic by the use of Elohim instead of Yahweh. The repeated use of Joseph, Ephraim and Manasseh indicates a Samaritan origin. To these tribal names is added in Psalm 80 Benjamin, suggesting Bethel as that Samaritan shrine which by its proximity had a relation to Benjamin as well as Ephraim and Manasseh, a relation brought out in the strange story of the war with Benjamin in Jud. 20—21, where, incidentally, the Ark is mentioned as housed there (cf. Jud. 20 25—28, 21 2—4, 19). The relation of these Psalms to Bethel is further confirmed by the frequent use in them of the title God of Jacob, and of El as the designation of the Divinity, a designation never used in the kindred collection of the Sons of Korah, from the temple of Dan, and rarely elsewhere. Further confirmation of their Bethel origin is found in their fondness for entitling God a rock or stone. Now Bethel was a great nature shrine connected primarily with stone or rock worship. Its sanctity was derived originally from a striking natural phenomenon, a field of huge stone pillars, the result of erosion. These stood on a sort of shelf above the village of Beitin northward. They looked like gigantic heaps of memorial or testimony, stones piled one on top of another as a memorial or testimony to God or some saint, such as one sees all over Palestine and Syria. Only the stone heaps at Bethel were colossal, produced by natural causes, such as no ordinary man could erect. Hence they were attributed to the mighty ancestor, Jacob (cf. Gen 28 10—22). Above this stone field the hill rises to a

crest or ridge, which separates the more plateau—like mountain in the south from the broken mountain—country northward. This crest gains from its position, as one approaches from the south, an effect of height quite out of proportion to its actual elevation, everything seeming to ascend to it from far south of Jerusalem northward. This crest, rising just above Jacob's pillars, was the "ladder" (סֹלֶם), (a word properly meaning promontory, like the famous "ladder of Tyre" on the Phoenician coast,) which Jacob saw connecting earth and heaven. When the Israelites conquered the country they took over both Jacob and his ancient shrine, identifying Jacob with Israel, and converting Luz into Bethel.

I have described this site as I knew it before the war. During the war a road was run through the field of stone pillars, and the pillars themselves were broken up to make macadam. The road and the line of approach have altered also the effect formerly produced by the ridge itself. If one will look, however, from some such point as Nebi Samwil the Bethel ridge still appears as a crest to which all the land southward seems to rise, as it were a ladder heavenward.

The Shechem Psalm book (51—71) does not contain such marked local references as the three collections already noticed. Its connection with Shechem is determined mainly by other considerations. Ps. 60, however, contains a clear note of Shechemite origin:

Exulting I divide Shechem,
And mete out the valley of Succoth;
Mine is Gilead and mine Manasseh,
And Ephraim the defence of my head.

The verse in Ps. 68. "It snoweth in Zalmon" would also seem to indicate the neighborhood of Shechem (cf. Jud. 9 48); and the beautiful description of the harvest in Ps. 65 would best fit that region:

Thou didst visit the land and water it,
Greatly Thou enrichest it
(God's river is full of water);
Thou preparest their corn.
For thus Thou preparest it,
Her furrows watering, her ridges smoothing,
With showers Thou softenest her, her sprouting Thou blessest.
Thou hast crowned the year with Thy goodness,
And Thy chariot wheels drop fatness.
Wilderness pastures run over,
And the hills are girt with joy.
The meadows are clad with flocks,
And the valleys clothed with grain.

In a similar direction point such phrases as "With marrow and fatness I am sated," in Ps. 53 (cf. the blessing of Joseph in Deut. 32).

The local references in the post-exilic Psalter are quite different from those in the early books and deal chiefly with the pilgrims and the pilgrimages, showing incidentally also a larger connection with the outside world, including regions beyond the sea (cf. 107). Most vivid and most appealing to me are the references in the pilgrim hymn book or Songs of Ascent (120—134). I learned especially to know and love these when four times I made the pilgrim journey from Babylonia to Palestine, experiencing what those pilgrims experienced. Let me take a few of those Psalms to illustrate, and first Ps. 120.

Unto the Lord in my distress I called, and He answered me.

Lord, deliver me from the lying lip, from the deceitful tongue.

What shall be given thee, and what be done more to thee, deceitful tongue?

Arrows of the warrior sharpened with coals of broom?

Woe is me that I journeyed through Meshech, abode among the tents of Kedar!

Long time I dwelt with the hater of peace.

When I would speak peace, they were for battle.

It is the song of the pilgrim thankful for deliverance from the perils of the long journey from Babylonia through hostile and barbarous regions. How that journey was dreaded by peaceful travellers in the old time can be read in the book of Ezra (8 21—23). Apprehensive of perils along the route the great caravan halted at Hit. Anxious to show their trust in the Lord they would not ask for military escort; but instead turned to God with fasting and supplication for protection. That represents the normal condition of Euphrates travel, with Meshech on the north and the tents of Kedar on the south, treacherous in their dealing with the stranger, with lying lips and deceitful tongues, and sharp arrows ready at hand, haters of peace, who may return your *salām 'aleikum* with a volley. So I found the journey in my day: peaceful caravans, in mortal terror of the bedouin marauders, seeking to attach themselves to some strong, armed or escorted caravan, always apprehensive of attack, alarmed at the sight of an Arab encampment, only free from tension when the land of the Arab was past. Every one loves Ps. 121:

I lift up mine eyes to the hills.

Whence cometh my help?

My help is from the Lord,

Maker of heaven and earth.

May He not suffer thy foot to be moved!
 He cannot slumber that keepeth thee!
 Behold, the keeper of Israel
 Shall neither slumber nor sleep.

The Lord is thy keeper,
 The Lord thy shade on thy right hand;
 The sun shall not hurt thee by day,
 Neither the moon by night.

The Lord keep thee from all evil!
 He will keep thy life.
 The Lord keep thy coming and thy going
 Henceforth and for ever!

The relief and joy at the sight of the hills on this journey appeal to all who have made it. What must it have meant to those Jewish pilgrims! Danger past, the goal of the weary journey almost in sight, among those hills the holy city, the desire of their heart, the abode of their God, the source of their salvation! How vv. 3—8 quiver with the life of the march, the watch at night who falls asleep, the sun of midday with intolerable heat, and the bitter, bitter cold of the night when the moon seems to exude frigidity! Yahweh, Israel's unsleeping night watch, and his shelter from both heat and cold, to guard him against all the terrors and ills of the pilgrimage, to bring him safe to Jerusalem, and safe back again to his Babylonian home!

Psalm 122 pictures the gathering of the pilgrims for the journey:

Glad was I when they said to me,
 To the house of the Lord let us go.

Psalm 123 is the cry of the Jew of the Captivity, despised, fed on contumely by those whom he in his heart despises, appealing to God for pity on this occasion of his visit to Jerusalem, and proclaiming his fealty to Him in a language borrowed from the servile submission exacted of him in Babylonia.

To Thee lift I up mine eyes, O Thou that dwellest in heaven.
 Behold, as the eyes of slaves to the hand of their masters,
 As the eyes of a maid to the hand of her mistress,
 So our eyes are upon the Lord our God until He do pity us.
 Pity us, Lord, pityus! for we have been filled full with contempt;
 Fully have we been filled with the mocking of the arrogant,
 The contempt of the insolent.

And how beautifully Ps. 125 presents that vision of the holy city which met the pilgrim's gaze at his journey's end: Mt. Zion, immovable, abiding ever,—Jerusalem engirdled with hills.

The Songs of Ascent are folk songs, of which we have also two specimens in the gleanings at the close of the Psalter: one in Psalm 137, "By the rivers of Babylon," and the other, which has been generally overlooked, in Ps. 144. I have said that the little Davidic Psalter, 138—144, is ancient in origin. It was passed down unofficially for a long period, and as a result the text of this collection is in worse shape than that of any other part of the Psalter. The best evidence of both these statements is furnished by the closing Psalm of the collection, 144. This is a composite Psalm, the first part, vv. 1—11, based primarily on the great Davidic Psalm of victory, 18, but with many additions and modifications; the second part, 12—14 (15 is the closing benediction), an ancient folk song of a very peculiar metre, of which there is but one other instance in Hebrew literature, viz. Is. 3 18—23, a Jerusalem street song, a *Spottlied* in mockery of female fashions, which Isaiah made the text of a sermon against the luxury of women.

That passage reads as follows:

והשכנים	והשכנים	והשכנים
והרעלות	והשרות	הנמפות
והקשרים	והצערות	הפארים
ובתי הנפש והלחמים הטבעות ונצמי האף		
והמטפחות	והמעטפות	המחלצות
והסדינים	והגלינים	החריטים
(.)	והררדים	הצניפות

These verses consist of a string of nouns, the names of articles of female dress and adornment, so strung together that we have in the three lines of the first verse three masculine plurals in *im*, three feminine plurals in *oth*, and two masculine plurals with a feminine between. In the third verse this arrangement is precisely reversed. (The last word of the last line has been lost.) These two verses are separated by a verse of one line, commencing and ending with construct plurals, between which we have one masculine and one feminine.

Vv. 12—14 of Ps. 144, as they have come down to us, read:

אשר בנינו כנמעים מגדלים בנעוריהם
 בנותינו כזוית מחטבות תבנית היכל
 מזוינו מלאים מפיקים מון אל זון
 צאוננו מאליפות מרבבות בחוצותינו
 אלופינו מסבלים
 אין פרץ ואין יוצאת ואין צוהה ברחבתינו

As it stands the passage is quite unintelligible. By very slight transpositions and changes, indicated by the poetic form, and dropping the relative, אשר, which now connects this part of the Psalm with the preceding, we obtain a very intelligible poem of the same general form as that in Isaiah.

בנינו כנמעים מגדלים בנעוריהם
 בנותינו כזוית מחטבות בנוותיהם
 מזוינו מלאים מפיקים (.....)
 אין פרץ ואין יוצאת ואין צוהה
 צאננו מאליפות מרבבות בחוצותינו
 אלופינו מסבלים (.....) ברחבתינו

This would translate:

Our sons like plants waxed great in their youth,
 Our daughters comely, gaily clad in their homes.
 Our garnerers full, overflowing (from base to eave),
 No breakage, no leakage, no looting.
 Our flocks in thousands, in myriads in our fields,
 Our oxen (stalwart), heavy burdened in our streets.

I have made, as will be seen, a slight change in the last word of the second line, following the suggestion of the last word of the line preceding. I have not been able to conjecture what lies behind the unintelligible conglomeration of letters at the close of e. 3, to which I have given a sense rendering in English, *from base to eave*. I have resolved line 6, obtaining from it line 4 and the last word of line 6. One word is lacking in 6, which must evidently have meant something like *stalwart*.

THE USE OF ELLIPSIS IN "SECOND ISAIAH"

DAVID YELLIN

(JERUSALEM)

IN poetry and oratory it is a normal thing to adopt some device to gain the attention of the hearer, to secure his interest, and, sometimes, to surprise him. Anything unexpected or out of the way which makes the hearer (or reader) think and puzzle out the meaning, serves both to attract him and to secure his co-operation. Such a device is the *ellipsis* where the orator or poet purposely leaves an expression incomplete, sure that the hearer will himself complete the idea in his own mind. The speaker stops short for a moment until the hearer discovers his intention, and then goes on with his discourse. This gives a certain piquancy to the narrative. In modern punctuation this device is indicated by a row of dots The device is found amongst the Arabs and, by writers on rhetoric (البدیع), it is known as الاكتفاء, that is to say, the poet *is content* with giving part only of what he has to say, relying on the hearer to discover and complete for himself what is lacking. We find the same use in the Bible, especially in the latter part of Isaiah, chapters 40—66. It occurs in various forms; and by having this usage in mind we are able to explain correctly various passages where the interpretation would otherwise be difficult or forced.

I

In the Bible, as in all literature, we are accustomed to figurative expressions embodying the idea of *extremes*, whether of height, time or place, usually in the form "*from something unto something else.*" Of this type are *from the least to the greatest* (Jer. 6 13; 31 34), *from the youngest to the eldest* (Est. 3 13; Gen. 19 4), *from everlasting to*

everlasting (Ps. 92 2; 103 17), from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof (Mal. 1 11), from the one end of the heavens to the other (Deut. 4 32), from one end of the earth to the other (Deut. 13 8; Jer. 25 33), and the like.

In such passages the writers in "Second Isaiah" are at times content to introduce but one half of the sentence, relying on the hearer himself to complete the thought in accordance with the prophet's intention.

1. In Is. 40 26 the Prophet describing the greatness of God says: *Lift up your eyes and see, who hath created these? Who brings out their host by number; to them all he calls by name; מרב אונים ואמין נערר לא איש כח from the great in power and mighty in strength . . . not a man is lacking.*

Commentators are hard put to it to explain the latter section. Duhm interprets: "In the presence of God, who is great in power and mighty in strength, not even one of them is lacking"—but he feels the difficulty in the expression *נערר מן* and is hard pressed to prove its possibility.

Even more difficult is the explanation "because of the greatness of God's power and the power of his might, not a man of them is lacking". It is not easy to bring this idea into the words *מרב אונים* *מרב* *אונים* in the absence of the pronoun referring to God (*כח*).

It is better to regard the words *מרב אונים ואמין כח* as referring to the stars with which the writer is dealing throughout the entire section. Then the meaning will be: "Lift up your eyes to the heavens and see. Who created all the myriads of stars? Behold this is God who brings them out by number, one by one, like soldiers attending a roll-call. He recognises everyone of them and summons him forth by name and all answer to their call; from the strongest (*מרב אונים*) *מרב* *אונים* . . . (here the listener completes the sense—even to the weakest) not one is missing."

The Prophet intentionally interrupts himself while mentioning the strong, leaving the completion, "even to the weakest," to the imagination of his hearer. In dilating on the majesty of God he refers in his comparison only to the strongest among the stars.

2. Is. 44 7: *And who as I can proclaim [i. e. future events before they come to pass]? Let him declare it and set it in order before me, משומי עם עולם since I appointed the ancient people . . .*

Here the speaker abbreviates and the listener realises that he must add *ועד היום הזה* *even to this day*. The meaning is: "Who of all created beings, from the time that I created the people of old *till the present day*,—who of them can proclaim beforehand the things that will come to pass?" Or, the meaning may be: "Who like me can proclaim from the beginning the future things that will befall, from the time that I appointed an ancient nation—to the end of time?"

3. Still more elliptical is Is. 43 13: *Yea, since the day . . . I am he*. This corresponds to the passage (44 6) *I am the first and I am the last*. The full phrase would be: *Yea, since the first day until eternity I am he*.

4. 42 10: *Sing to the Lord a new song; his praise מקצה הארץ from (one) end of the earth . . .* and here the hearer is left to continue the thought *עד קצה הארץ even to the other end of the earth*.

5. Similarly in 56 11: *They all turn to their own way, each to his own gain; מקצהו from the one extreme of them . . .* where the idea to be understood is: All of them, from the one extreme to the other (*i. e.* without any exception) turn every man to his own way and to his own private profit, and not one attends to the sheep of his pasture.

II

Another form of ellipsis in these chapters is the omission of one of two *opposing* expressions, where the speaker relies on the hearer to grasp his intention by understanding the opposition which is in the speaker's mind.

6. Is. 49 17: *Thy children* (or, according to one Hebrew codex and Vulgate, supported by LXX, *בניך Thy builders*) *make haste . . . : thy destroyers and they that made thee waste shall go forth from thee*. The verb *shall go forth* implies that the missing word is its opposite *shall come in*. Then the completed expression would be: "Thy children (or, better, *thy builders*) hasten to come in; while, on the contrary, thy destroyers and they that made thee waste shall go forth from thee."

7. Is. 49 19: *For thy waste and thy desolate places, and thy land that hath been destroyed . . .* here the reader or hearer has to supply

some such expression as *shall be built up*; yet notwithstanding this, the Prophet continues: **תצרי מיושב** *thou shalt be too strait for the inhabitants*.

III

Again, this elliptical device omits odd words or whole phrases, the speaker supposing that the hearer will understand by the help of the context. Bearing this in mind we can better explain the two following passages, the first of which, especially, is otherwise very difficult.

8. Is. 41 2: (speaking of the victorious advance of Cyrus) **יתן כעפר חרבו כקש נדרף קשתו** *He makes his sword as dust, his bow as driven stubble*.

To compare the sword to dust gives no sense; while to compare the bow to driven stubble, when in the act of praising the deeds of the conqueror, gives even less. The present writer believes that before **חרבו** *his sword*, and **קשתו** *his bow*, certain words are intentionally omitted and left to the imagination of the reader; *e.g.* he makes like dust **חללי חרבו** *those slain by his sword*; like driven stubble **פליטי קשתו** *those who flee from his bow*. And immediately after, he says of these: **ירדפם** *he pursueth them*. Thus the sense of the passage will be: "Those slain by his sword are as countless as the dust of the earth, and those who escape from his bow are as feeble as stubble blown by the wind."

9. Is. 51 13: *And thou fearest all the day because of the fury of the oppressor when he makes ready . . . to destroy*. After **כונן** *make ready*, some such word as **קשתו** *his bow* is lacking. Cf. Ps. 7 13.

10. Is. 65 15: The Prophet speaks of those who forsake God who shall all bow down to the slaughter (v. 12), and he goes on to say: *and ye shall leave your name for a curse unto mine elect: the Lord God shall slay thee: and he shall call his servants by another name*.

What is the meaning of *The Lord God shall slay thee*? Here we have only the beginning of the form of curse. When God's elect shall wish to curse anyone, they will say: *May the Lord God slay thee . . .* and the reader is expected to continue in his own mind *as he slew these men*, if ye do, or do not do, this particular thing.

In Jer. 29 22 we find a precise parallel to this: *And of them shall be taken up a curse by all the captivity of Judah that are in Babylon,*

saying, *The Lord make thee like Zedekiah, and like Ahub, whom the King of Babylon roasted in the fire.* Here we get the complete curse formula with the word **לאמר** saying before it, which the writer in Isaiah, in accordance with his elliptical style, has omitted.

IV

Sometimes the ellipsis takes the form of omitting words which are similar in sound to a neighbour in the sentence:

11. Is. 65 5: After speaking of *the rebellious people that walk in a way that is not good* (v. 2) it goes on to say **אלה עשן באפי** *these are smoke in my nostrils, a fire that burneth all the day.* Here the meaning is: **על אלה** because of *these*, **עולה** goeth up *smoke in my nostrils, and a fire that burneth all the day.* The two words **על** and **עולה** are omitted owing to their similarity in sound to **אלה** *these*.

12. Is. 41 4: *Who hath performed and done it* **קורא הדורות מראש** *proclaiming . . . the generations from the beginning.* After **קורא** *proclaiming*, **קורות** *events, occurrences* is required: "proclaiming what has befallen and will befall the generations from the beginning of time." And the meaning of the whole verse is: "Who hath performed and done all the things described in the preceding verses [the deeds of Cyrus]? Who is he that proclaimeth and declareth from the beginning all the fortunes of the generations before their coming to pass? I, the Lord."

13. Is. 44 12: **חרש ברזל מעצר** This is simply: *The worker in iron, an axe*, where the meaning demands the addition of a similar sounding word: **חרש ברזל חרש [עשה] מעצר** *The worker in iron worked an axe.*

14. Is. 44 12: *Yea he is hungry* **ואין כח** The preposition and pronoun **לו** *to him* is necessary, and *his strength faileth*, but it is omitted owing to the similar sounding **לא** *not* which follows: **לא שתה מים וייעף** *he drinketh not water and is faint.*

V

Besides all that has been said above of the omission of nouns, verbs, and whole sentences, we also find in these chapters in various places the omission of the words **לו** and **בו** required by the context:

15. Is. 40 15: *Behold the nations are as a drop in a bucket, and as the dust in the balance נחשבו are they accounted.* Here, at the end, the word *to him* must be added; that is, *in his eyes* they are accounted so.

16. Is. 44 19: (לו) ולא דעת ולא תבונה

17. Is. 46 6: (לו) יסגדו אף ישתחוו

18. Is. 53 2: (לו) ונחמדהו ולא מראה

19. Is. 60 15: (בך) תחת היותך עזובה ושנואה ואין עובר

20. Is. 61 3: (בו) מטע יהוה להתפאר

21. Is. 47 15: (בם) כן היו לך אשר יגעת

22. Is. 52 11: (בו) ממא אל תגעו

23. Is. 64 10: (בו) אבתינו בית קדשנו ותפארתנו אשר הללוד

LA MAISON D'ABRAHAM À HÉBRON

F.-M. ABEL O. P.

(JERUSALEM)

LES traditions secondaires qui sont venues se greffer au sanctuaire de la sépulture des Patriarches à Hébron, telles que la déposition d'Adam et d'Ève, le transfert des ossements de Joseph et des autres fils de Jacob n'ont jamais été que des satellites autour de la mémoire du grand ancêtre, Abraham qui a fini par donner son nom à la ville d'Hébron, après l'avoir attirée auprès de son tombeau. Ainsi fera Lazare à Béthanie, lorsque son tombeau ou *Lazarium* aura groupé à son ombre les demeures de l'ancien village pour former la moderne *el-Azarîyeh*.

Encore fallait-il qu'Abraham jouît parmi ses descendants d'une primauté telle que la sépulture commune fût désignée par son nom. Sa prédominance incontestée s'affirme par le fait du vocable d'*Abramium* ou *Abrahamium* conféré au sanctuaire d'Hébron,¹ et qui suppose le grec *Ἀβράμιον* retrouvé d'ailleurs dans une inscription du Haram-el-Khalil, vocable formé sur le thème courant des dérivés désignant soit un tombeau (*Herodium*, *Lazarium*), soit un temple (*Tychaion*, *Marneion*), soit une forteresse nommée d'après son fondateur (*Alexandrium*, *Hyrcanium*).

Abramium s'imposait d'autant plus dans la circonstance qu'il comprenait ici non seulement la sépulture d'Abraham et son sanctuaire, mais aussi la résidence et la citadelle en quelque sorte du Patriarche et de ses descendants, d'après un développement de la tradition clairement indiqué par le *Livre des Jubilés* et dont saint Jérôme lui-même se fait le témoin.

¹ On trouve ce nom employé par les auteurs latins, Jérôme, Augustin, Eugippius, Pseudo-Eucher, Pierre Comestor etc.

I

Il fut un temps où *Mambré* parut perdre son autonomie pour se fondre avec Hébron en vertu d'une étroite compréhension de l'expression «Macpélah en face de Mambré», vu qu'en réalité Macpélah se trouvait en face d'Hébron.¹ En fait, une Mambré distincte d'Hébron ne disparut jamais, puisque le *Livre des Jubilés* mentionne encore le premier séjour d'Abraham dans la montagne hébronienne «au chêne de Mambré qui est près d'Hébron» conformément à la tradition locale enregistrée par Josèphe (*Antiq. Jud.*, I, 104). Mais au second séjour qui débute par la mort de Sarah, la situation n'est plus la même: Abraham vient camper en face d'Hébron qui est Qiriath-Arba', et acquiert le terrain de la caverne double situé vis à vis d'Hébron.² A nous en tenir à ce document, grotte, champ et lieu de campement occupent un même point du territoire et font à la fois l'objet du contrat de vente. Désormais, Abraham habitera sur le terrain qu'il a acheté à deniers comptants, tout proche, sinon au dessus du tombeau de famille. Donc au séjour de Mambré a succédé un séjour à Macpélah.

Au cours de l'histoire de la descendance d'Abraham, les *Jubilés*, passant sous silence et Mambré et la tente du nomade, ne parlent plus que de la maison d'Abraham, de la tour d'Abraham, édifice avec portes et appartements. C'est là qu'Isaac prend logement quand il vient à Hébron, c'est là que séjournent Jacob et ses fils en visite chez Isaac et Rébecca, tandis qu'Esaü vit, loin de ses parents, au mont Séir. Par suite de la résignation des droits de l'ainé, la tour ou maison d'Abraham échoit en héritage à Jacob qui en fait sa résidence ordinaire. Le but de cette fiction est évidemment de légitimer les prétentions des Juifs, fils de Jacob, sur le sanctuaire et le territoire d'Hébron et de couper court à toute revendication des Iduméens, fils d'Esaü. Projetant ensuite à l'époque patriarcale les haines et les luttes des temps hasmonéens, la *Petite Genèse* nous fait assister à la campagne des Édomites contre Jacob et ses fils installés dans la forteresse d'Abraham. Lorsque les gens d'Hébron

¹ Sur cette question, on pourra consulter notre monographie sur *Mambré* dans les *Conférences de Saint-Étienne*, 1909-10, p. 145-218.

² CHARLES, *The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis translated from the editor's ethiopic text*, Ch. XIV, 10; XVI, 1; XIX, 1, 5.

vont avertir le père des Juifs de l'arrivée des ennemis, celui-ci est en train de célébrer, dans la tour, le deuil de Liah, ce qui n'était point malaisé, si l'habitation renfermait la grotte sépulcrale. On ferme les portes de la tour et Jacob monte aux créneaux afin de parlementer avec Esaü. Celui-ci, persistant dans ses intentions hostiles, reçoit de son frère une flèche qui l'abat. Aussitôt sur les quatre côtés de la forteresse, les fils de Jacob opèrent une sortie à la tête de quatre détachements et mettent la coalition en déroute.¹ Une fois Esaü enseveli sur la colline d'Adôra, Jacob revient dans sa maison. Il n'est pas sans importance de noter ici le changement qui fait de la maison d'Abraham la maison de Jacob, et nous permet de saisir l'identité de la *domus Jacobi* d'Éthérie et du *castellum Aframia* de Willibald.²

La littérature juive n'a pas manqué de broder sur le canevas de la mort d'Esaü devant la maison d'Abraham. Bien qu'il eût cédé à Jacob tous ses droits sur la caverne double, le redoutable Edom se trouvait avec ses fils à l'entrée de ladite caverne au moment où l'on y apportait la dépouille de Jacob, pour s'opposer à l'ensevelissement. Une bagarre s'ensuivit au cours de laquelle Khousim, fils de Dan, fit sauter d'un coup d'épée la tête d'Esaü qui vint rouler près du tombeau d'Isaac.³ Ce que l'on retiendra de cette évolution légendaire, c'est le fondement qu'elle fournit pour établir une relation étroite entre la prétendue résidence d'Abraham et la nécropole patriarcale.

II

Il est entendu qu'Abraham n'a rien bâti de semblable autour de sa caverne, si l'on se tient aux sobres données du récit biblique; mais, faisant état du procédé qui consiste à composer l'histoire contemporaine avec des noms et des circonstances empruntés à l'antiquité, on peut légitimement se demander si dans l'esprit de l'auteur des *Jubilees* cette résidence ne répondait pas à quelque monument

¹ Ch. XXIX, 19; XXXI, 5; XXXIII, 21; XXXIV, 12. 20; XXXVII et XXXVIII.

² Le texte d'Éthérie conservé par Pierre Diacre décrit ainsi le Haram el-Khalil: *domus Jacobi, ubi ecclesia sine tecto constructa est.* GEYER, *Itin. Hierosol.*, p. 110. Cf. *Itin. Hieros. Soc. Or. Lat.* I, p. 268.

³ CHARLES, *The Book of Jubilees*, p. 220, note sur XXXVIII, 2 et 3. JOSEF BIN GORION, *Die Sagen der Juden; Die XII Stämme*, p. 65, 74, 209.

réel existant à l'époque des Hasmonéens. Le terme original qui désignait l'habitation des Patriarches à Macpélah est de nature à nous mettre sur la voie.

Jusqu'ici nous nous sommes contenté, pour ne pas interrompre l'analyse du document par une digression philologique, d'user de la traduction éthiopienne répondant à «tour» ou «maison d'Abraham». Les fragments latins toutefois emploient constamment l'expression *Baris Abraham*,¹ ce qui suppose dans le texte grec dont ils dépendent: Βάρις Ἀβραάμ. L'original sémitique, très probablement hébreu, devait donc avoir *Birath-Abraham*, hypothèse pleinement confirmée par un fragment araméen d'une source du «Testament de Lévi» et du «Livre des Jubilés». Lévi raconte que, parti de Béthel avec Juda, ils vinrent loger à la *Birath-Abraham* — בבירת אברהם — chez leur grand-père Isaac, et c'est manifestement à Hébron d'après le «Testament de Lévi» IX, 5.²

D'un usage assez répandu à la période post-exilique, le mot *birah*, auquel le grec donnait généralement un équivalent dans Βάρις, signifiait une habitation somptueuse dans le goût perse, mais surtout une forteresse, un édifice crénelé assez garanti pour offrir, en ces temps troublés, une résidence, une retraite sûre à quelque personnage important.³ Par extension, les *Chroniques* l'appliquent au palais de Dieu, c'est-à-dire à l'ensemble des constructions du Temple de Jérusalem (1 *Chron.*, 29 1 19.) Le caractère à la fois sacré et profane de la *Birah* d'Hébron, son plan quadrilatère, l'existence de ses portes et de ses créneaux, voilà ce qui transpire du Livre des Jubilés. Regardée comme la résidence d'Abraham et la protection du sépulcre ancestral, elle est un objet de dispute entre Juifs et Iduméens. Si grande que l'on fasse la part de la fantaisie du conteur, il est difficile de lui refuser tout crédit en ce qui concerne la réalité de quelque construction telle qu'une enceinte sacrée autour de la caverne double, à l'époque où il écrivait. Quant à prétendre que cette *Birath-Abraham* soit identique au Haram el-Khalil actuel, nous ne le ferons pas, précisément en vertu des analogies que nous présente la *Birah* de Néhémie qui gardait le Temple de Jérusalem du côté du Nord.

Restaurée ou fondée par Néhémie, cette forteresse devint l'objet

¹ RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, p. 52, 66, 74.

² CHARLES, *The greek versions of the Testaments of the XII Patr.*, App. III, p. 247.

³ Voir H. VINCENT sur la *Birthâ* de l'Ammonitide dans *Rev. Bibl.*, 1920, p. 189 ss.

de la sollicitude toute particulière des Hasmonéens au point que Josèphe leur en attribue l'érection et la dénomination de Baris.¹ Mais elle n'échappa pas, quelle qu'ait été sa splendeur, aux remaniements radicaux qu'Hérode fit subir aux constructions de la dynastie qu'il avait supplantée autant pour la faire oublier que pour flatter son goût de l'opulence et amadouer ceux des Juifs qui lui étaient opposés. Le Temple de Jérusalem prit part à ce renouveau architectural tandis que l'Antonia supplantait la Birah des Hasmonéens. Quoi de plus naturel que le sanctuaire d'Hébron ne fût point négligé dans cette renaissance et que l'indigence des temps macchabéens ait dû céder là encore devant l'exécution grandiose du plan hérodien? L'histoire est muette sans doute sur le rôle d'Hérode dans cette affaire; les auteurs juifs n'ont pas voulu probablement exalter l'Iduméen à propos de ce lieu saint qui se présente toujours comme un objet de dispute entre Jacob et Edom. Toute obscurité n'a pas été dissipée non plus par l'examen de la *Petite Genèse*, nous en convenons, mais cette analyse nous donne la clef de plus d'une appellation postérieure et de la confusion qui s'est parfois produite sur la localisation de la sépulture d'Abraham. Ce groupement de l'habitation d'Abraham et de son tombeau a dû faire naître la théorie de la sépulture du Patriarche au Térébinthe, le séjour d'Abraham le plus fameux et le plus populaire. Quant à la demeure de Macpélah, nous en retrouvons les échos à travers les siècles. L'apocryphe grec du II^e siècle, connu sous le titre de *Testament d'Abraham* distingue la maison, οἶκος, de la tente, ἡ σκηνή, plantée au carrefour de Mambré. La «maison sainte» de Samuel bar Simson (1210) est pour le russe Basile (1465) la «maison d'Abraham» identique au Haram el-Khalil. Un Grec de 1253 dit qu'Abraham est enseveli au milieu de sa maison (καὶ μέσον τοῦ οἴκου του εἶναι ὁ τάφος του). Écoutons enfin le fameux voyageur Pietro della Valle (1616): «La maison d'Abraham lorsqu'il demouroit en Ebron est proche de la caverne et unie à present au Temple dans lequel il n'est pas permis d'entrer». Ici, c'est le fortin contigu au Haram qui prétend représenter la demeure patriarcale, mais en dépit de cette légère divergence nous suivons encore là le fil de la tradition qui se rattache à l'*Abramium* des Byzantins et à la *Birath-Abraham* des Jubilés.

¹ *Nehem.*, II, 8, *Antiq. Jud.*, XV, 11, 4; XVIII, 4, 3; *Guerre Juive*, I, 21, 1.

A RECENTLY DISCOVERED SAMARITAN CHARM

SAMUEL RAFFAELI

(JERUSALEM)

THE writer possesses a small hematite amulet, recently found in the vicinity of Nablus. It is remarkable in that it is the first known specimen of a bilingual amulet inscribed in Greek and Samaritan.

On the obverse there is the following inscription in Samaritan characters אין כאל ישרון אין כאל ישרון "There is none like the God of Jeshurun" (Dt. 33, 36); and on the reverse $\text{ΕΙC ΘΕΟC BOHΘIMAPKIANHN}$ "The One God. Help Marcian."

This piece of hematite appears to have been originally mounted in a metal frame intended to be hung round the neck as a periapt.

The characters on the inscriptions appear to be of the 4th or 5th century C. E., and the name Marcian recalls the name of Markah the great Samaritan theologian.¹ Markah was the son of Amram son of Seted who lived in the middle of the 4th century, about the time of Baba Rabba the son of the High Priest Nathaniel. Markah organised, together with Baba Rabba, the entire Samaritan Liturgy and a certain Commentary on the Bible, fragments of which are still preserved in the British and Berlin Museums.

According to the tradition of the Samaritans the name Markah is another form of the sacred name Moses; and since no Samaritan dares to bear the name of *Mosheh* which is too sacred for ordinary use, Amram called his son *Markah*, replacing the *shin* of *Mosheh* by *resh* and *qof*, (*resh* and *qof* being numerically equivalent to *shin*: $200 + 100 = 300$).

¹ See J. A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans* (Philadelphia, 1907), p. 294.

A similar bilingual inscription was discovered by Professor Clermont Ganneau in 1881 at the ancient Emmaus—Nikopolis on a column, on one side of which were the Greek characters ΕΙς Θεός "God is one," and on the other side, in ancient Hebrew characters ברוך שמו לעולם (ברוך שמו לעולם) "Blessed be his name for ever."¹

¹ *Archives des Missions Scientifiques et littéraires*. Ser. III, t. 9, p. 277—321.

THE YEAR'S WORK

(An address at the Sixth General Meeting by the President,
Professor J. GARSTANG,
Director of Antiquities, Government of Palestine)

IN accepting your invitation to the Presidency of the Society in this its second year I feel that nothing would be more fitting than to preface such remarks as I shall make this afternoon by a few words about our retiring President.

Père Lagrange is the father of this generation of archaeologists in Palestine where he founded on the 15th November 1890 the "École pratique d'études bibliques" in collaboration with a number of other French Dominicans. He was then 35 years of age. His work and publications subsequently bore out fully the promise of his previous studies in the domain of biblical and oriental archaeology.

In 1892 he founded the *Revue Biblique* which he has edited ever since.

In 1900 he inaugurated the publication of a collection of Biblical studies, including Commentaries, Histories &c.

In 1902 he published a Commentary on the Book of Judges.

In 1903 "Studies on Semitic Religions."

In 1904 a volume on "Historical Method."

In 1908 "Ancient Crete,"

and more recently a volume on the History of Religions. All this in addition to his work on the history and texts of the Sacred Books. Père Lagrange is a Corresponding Member of the Institute of France, Honorary member of the Palestine Exploration Fund and of the American Oriental Society and other learned bodies. I think that the Palestine Oriental Society will do itself honour to make a record of the distinguished archaeological and philological career of its first President. Above all Père Lagrange is a candid critic and esteemed friend of us all.

I turn now to work accomplished in the field of archaeology during the past year, and as it will be appropriate to speak also of the future we may confine our attention for the moment to what has happened since the present Government came into being in the middle of last year.

Within a few days of his arrival His Excellency the High Commissioner called for proposals with a view to the organisation of a Department of Antiquities. There was to be no further question of recognising the unique importance and interest of the historical monuments and sites of Palestine, a point of view which, together with colleagues in Jerusalem and at home, we had not ceased to urge upon the British Government since the days when, soon after the war was over, I had been called upon to report upon these matters to the Foreign Office.

Now a new spirit charged the atmosphere, and in rapid succession the Department was organized, an Archaeological Advisory Board was constituted and an Antiquities Ordinance was promulgated. These three steps were momentous. A Department of Antiquities as an independent feature of Government is almost without precedent. His Excellency had recognised that the situation here was not an ordinary one. The universal interest in the Holy Land led not only to that step but to the natural corollary of an Advisory Board in which the interests of the different communities and the societies of foreign countries engaged in archaeological pursuits in this country are represented. The Board has met frequently, its recommendations and decisions have been in all cases unanimous and have been invariably adopted by the Administration. The unity to which the Advisory Board has attained while valuable in itself is a real source of strength to the young Department. Again, the Antiquities Ordinance was based not only upon the collective advice of numerous specialists, both archaeological and legal, but embodied the results of experience in neighbouring countries, enabling us to modify, as occasion required, the provisions that have not worked satisfactorily elsewhere. It is not an unfair compliment to the drafter of the Law to say that it is generally recognised as a good Law, and it is hardly more than a question of regulations to make it a workable code for the protection of the precious monuments and antiquities which are our heritage from the past.

There is one principle which is paramount throughout its clauses—the monuments and antiquities of Palestine belong to Palestine and to Palestinians. The interests of this country are maintained and will be maintained as the first duty of the Administration and without regard at all to the claims of privileged powers or of political influence.

The second principle is the encouragement of a practical kind offered to scientific workers. The days are over when the individual could be allowed to turn over ancient sites in search of antiquities for their own sake alone. The results of an excavation are to be judged not alone by the objects discovered, but more by the information as to the circumstances of discovery to be gleaned only by most patient method. The relation of an object to its surroundings is of far greater importance to history than the object itself. The learned professor and the enthusiastic amateur are equally capable of doing incalculable damage to historical evidence if untrained in archaeological method. Consequently the permits to excavate will be issued only to scientific bodies who will guarantee the excavators' competence. On the other hand the policy of the Department is to facilitate, in every way in which the Government can afford, the task of excavators working under these conditions.

Involved in the operation of the new Law there is the registration of historical sites, and the inventories of dealers' stocks and private collections. The work is proceeding and in some respects rapid progress has been made. We now feel able, and feel it to be desirable, to publish an interim list of historical sites which will commence to appear shortly in the official gazette, beginning with the monuments of Jerusalem. Historical sites or buildings still in religious use are excluded from the ordinary application of the Law, though special powers are provided to ensure their conservation and protection.

I have alluded to the policy of preserving in Palestine all the best and all the most historical antiquities which the country produces; this involves the establishment of a central museum, a task which has been entrusted to my colleague Mr. Phythian-Adams. An immense impetus was given to his effort by the recovery last year of over 120 cases of antiquities which had lain hidden in the city during the War. Some of these antiquities had formed the nucleus of a local collection in other days, while others seem to have been

the fruits of recent excavations packed ready for transport to Constantinople. There is no catalogue and the provenance of each object had to be studiously determined by reference to publications and by comparative methods. Mr. Phythian-Adams has surmounted these difficulties, with the result that more than 6,000 objects were catalogued and a proper inventory drawn up during the winter months. Some of the specimens are now arranged in the new cases, which have been designed and made in Jerusalem. A more complete display has been held back by reasons not attributable to the Keeper of Museums, but these difficulties are also overcome and during the present summer we trust to be able to ask His Excellency to declare the Museum open to the public.

We propose to provide a home of a semi-permanent character in Jerusalem for only the smaller and more delicate objects and for objects of general historical interest or of special value. Local objects, for instance, architectural pieces and sculptures not of unusual merit, will be cared for, so far as possible, in the localities and near to the spot where they are found. The interest of such objects would be largely diminished by removing them from their surroundings, and it is desirable that each civic community should have its local collection to illustrate and stimulate interest in the past of its surroundings; so that the policy of local museums is adopted and steps are being taken to inaugurate such at Acre, Athlit, Ascalon and Tiberias. Needless to say the authority of the Department, through the Keeper of Museums, will be retained over these branch collections, but an effort will be made to render such local museums self-supporting and a source of local pride. In Jerusalem objects of architectural character and larger sculptures will be grouped, if possible, within the Citadel, wherein we should personally like to see housed also the central museum of Palestine. The rooms in the Hippicus Tower have been prepared by the Department for exhibition purposes and we look forward to taking further steps in that direction.

In the work of conservation a good deal has been initiated but it will be some time before results become visible. Repairs have, however, been executed to dangerous spots in the fabric of the Citadel and the City Walls of Jerusalem through the activity of the "Pro-Jerusalem Society," to whom the task of maintaining the

historical municipal buildings of Jerusalem has been confided by agreement with this Department and aided by Government subsidies.

At Acre, thanks to the initiative of the Deputy District Governor, considerable progress has been made with clearing the débris from the crypts of the fine mediaeval building for which that place is famous. The engineers of the Public Works Department are safeguarding the stability of the structure. It is here that we propose to establish a local museum.

At Ramleh our attention has been called to the serious and almost dangerous condition of that very beautiful monument known as the Crusaders' Tower or otherwise the "Tower of the Forty Martyrs," and in collaboration with the Public Works Department and the Waqf authorities we trust to be able to do what is indispensable to safeguard the fabric and appearance of this monument. It is an admirable example of the work of the period: it recalls structurally and in appearance the Campanile of Southern France of Romanesque style while free from the restless effect of over elaboration. We may well believe that it is the product of Mohammedan art executed by European masons.

At Ain Duk, near Jericho, the French Archaeological School (*École Biblique de St. Étienne*) have completed under Père Vincent and his colleagues, the clearance of the very ancient and interesting synagogue of that site where, as a result of the war, certain portions of the mosaic floor had been disclosed. A full description of the inscriptions and decorations of this very interesting floor must be naturally reserved to the excavators themselves. During the course of the work it became obvious that the mosaics would not resist exposure to the atmosphere and it became necessary for their conservation to take them up, a task which was skilfully performed by Mr. Mackay, chief inspector of this Department. We hope at a near date to consolidate and arrange these specimens within the Citadel. A debt of gratitude is owed to the local proprietors for their good will in this matter; one may mention specially by name, Mr. Halil Zaki El Daoudi.

Other works of conservation on a smaller scale have been initiated, notably at Jifna, Ramallah, Tiberias and Caesarea. In all these cases, the policy of this Department is to endeavour to interest the local authority and notables in the monuments of their own districts; this

is not merely a method of husbanding the resources which the Government is able to put at our disposal, necessary and desirable though that is; it is equally desirable that everyone should awake to a lively sense of the value of history particularly in this country where the whole environment is historical, and there is no method so effective, it seems to me, as that of encouraging each and everyone to take a proper share in the very special responsibilities which devolve upon all who dwell in this land of Palestine.

In the field of excavations I shall be brief, for it is only fair that the results of all excavations should in the first instance be regarded as the copyright of the excavators. The "Palestine Exploration Fund" has, with the approval of this Department, opened an extensive excavation at Ascalon where work has been resumed after having been suspended for the winter. The immediate results there have been the uncovering of historical buildings of Graeco-Roman and Byzantine periods and the very evident trace of Philistine occupation. After studying the first results the work now resumed is directed to establishing a relationship between the remains of the Philistines and those of their predecessors on the site, also to a comparative study between the traces of the Philistines at Ascalon and the contemporary evidences from other parts of the Philistine Plain and from the Eastern Mediterranean.

At Tiberias the "Palestine Jewish Exploration Society" made last year a successful series of soundings, disclosing remains clearly to be identified with the period of the Talmud. The same Society under Dr. Slousch is now commencing excavations on the site examined last year, and is extending its investigations within a somewhat wider area in the vicinity of Tiberias.

At Gethsemane the Franciscan Custody has completed, under special arrangements with this Department, the excavation of a very early church, probably of the 4th century, in which there may be traced three apses, the whole of the original outline, and various fragments of the original pavement.

In regard to the future, the Franciscan Custody will shortly recommence its excavations under Père Orfali on the interesting site of the Synagogue of Capernaum (Tell Hum), and the University Museum of Philadelphia is preparing to commence extensive work at Beisan under Dr. Fisher during the present summer. The site of

Megiddo has been provisionally reserved for the University of Chicago and that of Samaria for the University of Harvard.

This brief outline of the year's work in archaeology would not be complete without a reference to the activities of the various archaeological societies, the centre of whose work is in Jerusalem.

In connexion with the "École Biblique de St. Étienne" I would mention particularly the very important "Studies of Monuments in Jerusalem" by Pères Vincent and Abel and the further important piece of work in relation to the Mosque at Hebron in which Mr. Mackay of this Department has co-operated. The old established "American School of Oriental Studies" has resumed and continued its labours unremittingly; Dr. Albright whom we welcome as Director is one of ourselves, and we hope he will not fail to give us an account of the very important topographical and other researches in which he has been engaged.

The American School also attracted to Jerusalem last year two very distinguished colleagues. Dr. Peters and Professor Clay, and we were privileged also to have in our midst for a short time Professor Breasted of the University of Chicago. Their visits were appreciated and will be remembered by us all.

A new feature of intellectual life in Jerusalem was largely due to Dr. Clay and it was no less than the founding of this Society whose second year we commence to-day. The Palestine Oriental Society fills a role of no ordinary character: it is the common meeting ground of all the different societies and of all the archaeologists and students of the Near East. The opportunity before this Society is very great, and it should be our effort to maintain the standard of the papers and the interest of these gatherings. It is clearly an immense advantage to all men of science to be able to meet and discuss their points of view and exchange thoughts. It should play the part in Palestine that the *Académie* plays in Paris or the British Academy in London.

I am also strongly persuaded that the ends we have all in view in promoting the objects of this Society will be very much stimulated by further opportunities of meeting in informal discussion, which is hardly possible in these sessions where we are all come specially to learn the newest results of individual research. I therefore propose at an early date to place at the disposal of members of this Society

and of other intellectual associations of Palestine a meeting place within this building where at fixed weekly or fortnightly intervals those desirous may be assured of an interesting and enlightening evening devoted to intellectual enjoyment. We all feel the want of such an opportunity and it seems to me that the British School of Archaeology could not adopt a better policy than that of providing facilities for such meetings, and I shall personally do all I can to make these evenings a real feature of our life in Jerusalem. I trust in response that all those who are members of this Society and others to whom I shall address invitations will accept them in the interests of ourselves and of those who will come after us.

We have accepted by our presence in Palestine a heritage of no ordinary value from the Past. The eyes of the whole world are on us. Let us see to it that the trust does not suffer in our hands.

HAUNTED SPRINGS AND WATER DEMONS IN PALESTINE

T. CANAAN
(JERUSALEM)

PALESTINIAN demonology, which is only a part of the general oriental demonology, is a very well worked out science. I do not intend in this paper to make a study of it in detail; I shall only try to give one phase of it: "Haunted Springs and Water Demons." I include under this study running springs (*ên*, pl. *'în*) as well as living wells. The Arabic word *bîr*, which means the latter, stands also at the same time for cisterns.

It is an old and wide spread belief in all Semitic countries, that springs, cisterns and all running waters are inhabited. We rarely find a holy shrine which is not directly attached to a tree, cave, spring or well (for the explanation of this *vide infra*). This idea has spread also to non-Semitic races.

One asks: How has it come that this belief is so well founded in mythology and superstition? I shall try to answer this question.

The *djinn*—demons—live in the first place in the interior of the earth, whence they come out.¹ The Hebrew *ôb*, the Syriac *zakkîrâ* and the Arabic pre-Islamic *'ahlul'art*² illustrate this.³ Up to the present day we meet with names for the demons which point to their origin:

al-arûâh el-arîyê = earth spirits

al-arûâh es-sufliyê = lower spirits (subterranean spirits)

al-arûâh ed-djahannamîyê = hellish spirits.

¹ T. Canaan, *Aberglaube und Volksmedezin im Lande der Bibel* (Hamburg, 1914).

² W. R. Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*.

³ Cf. Luke 8 29.

They come from the lower world and therefore we meet them generally in places which have a direct connexion with the lower regions: trees whose roots go down into the interior of the earth; cracks, caves, springs and wells which have a direct or indirect connexion with the above named original abode of the demons.¹

Springs which appear suddenly in the dry country and continue to pour out their running waters for the benefit of human beings and of vegetation, were and are still in their origin and in their continuous flow a mystery to the oriental mind. This was the first reason for assigning to them some supernatural power—a numen which was finally depotentized, becoming a spirit or a demon; and finally the above mentioned explanation was worked out.

But there is another explanation or rather another phase of the above mentioned explanation. We know that the planets, in whose hands human fortune and misfortune lie, were divided by all Semitic races of antiquity, and are still by the Palestinian, into good and bad planets. To each one of these heavenly bodies, be it good or bad, language, science, metal, colour, trees, herbs, fruits, and animals, elements, are assigned.² According to the planet to which they belong these objects are good or bad.

The two bad planets are Mars and Saturn, but the latter is the most ill-omened one. Now we read in *ghâyatu'l-hakîm*³ that springs, wells, caves, underground canals, and lonely valleys,⁴ are assigned to this ill-omened planet. It is to be noted that every thing mentioned in this list has a direct connection with demons, talismans, or sorcery.

This explains why wells and springs are thought to be always haunted and this belief is not at all a new one, characteristic only of the Palestinian. It formed a foundation stone of ancient superstition and mythology. Even in the Old and New Testament we have references to this belief; the demons are even characterized as loving

¹ In one of the prayers in the Greek Prayer-Book (*adjîâzmâtârî* Jerusalem, 1884, pp. 180—185) eighteen places where demons live are enumerated; in fourteen of them the above conditions are fulfilled.

² For further details about this point see Canaan, *Aberglaube*,

³ *El-madjrîti*.

⁴ Other things belonging to Saturn are: the Coptic and the Hebrew languages, the spleen, black mountains, deserts, graves, the magnet, all black stones, black iron, the awl, and the raven.

water and searching for it.¹ Very interesting is the teaching in the Prayer Book of the Greek Church,² where all sort of waters³—springs, wells, cisterns, pits, seas, rivers, pools—are thought to be inhabited.⁴

While most of the springs⁵ are known by all the surrounding villages to be inhabited, there are others where only few persons have encountered at different times the guarding spirit. The most important conditions for a water course to be inhabited are the following two. Each one alone suffices to attract the djinn:

1. Sources originating in a more or less deserted place, or in a thicket of trees.

2. That the rays of the sun do not penetrate to the real source. This condition is fulfilled when a small cave, large crack, or an old canal forms the entrance to the spring.⁶

The above mentioned conditions,—loneliness, desertedness, darkness, cracks, caves, canals, trees, combined with a spring, assure the habitation of that place. For every object with such a situation is there by a favourite abiding place of the spirits, since it has on the one hand a direct communication with the interior of the earth, and on the other hand belongs to the planet Saturn.

A spring in the neighbourhood of a ruin, grave or *welî* is also inhabited and generally by the soul of the *welî* or of those who died in that ruin.

Special attention must be paid to two sorts of springs—periodical and hot springs. The abnormality in both—hot water in the one and the periodical flow of the other—has keyed the oriental imagination

¹ Cf. Luke 8 29, 33.

² *Adjîâzmâtârî el-kebîr*, pp. 180—182 and 195.

³ It is very interesting to note that, with few exceptions, all the objects named in the list of this book as being inhabited correspond with the list of *Ghâyatu'l hakîm* above mentioned.

⁴ In the prayer of St. Gabrianus (Arab. text) we find the sea as the only representative of inhabited waters.

⁵ From some names used in the Bible for springs we may conclude that the inhabitants of Palestine had then the same belief: 'En-dôr, "spring of dwelling," 1 Sam. 28 7; Ba'al-peraşîm, "Owner of the outflow" 2 Sam. 5 20; Ba'al hamôn, "Owner of the torrent," Can. 8 11 (L. B. Paton, *Annual of Am. School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem*, 1920).

⁶ Even common cisterns which are built under a house, and where the only opening to the water is inside of a room, so that the rays of the sun never reach the water, are used for various medical and magic purposes.

to its highest pitch and has resulted in a beautiful, superstitious explanation.

Periodical springs especially perplexed many minds: Why does the water of 'ên-fawâr,¹ for example, flow now? Why did it not flow a few hours ago? At last they found an explanation which corresponded exactly to their demonology and was absolutely in accord with the religious belief of their ancestors. They now think that 'ên-fawâr is inhabited by two spirits, a *hurr* "free man" (master) and an 'abd, "servant." The first is a white person, the second a negro (also slave-born) as the Arabic words themselves indicate. These two "powerful spirits" are continually fighting each other. When the *hurr* gains the victory he allows the water to flow for the benefit of thirsty mankind. But soon the 'abd rises and resumes the battle. As soon as he overpowers the *hurr* he shuts off the blessing to avenge himself on the human race.²

This representation of

good against evil,
white against black,
angels against devils,
light against darkness,
upper against lower world and
God against Satan³

is a very old idea in Semitic religions and we could not have it better pictured than as reproduced by the simple imagination of a Palestinian *fellâh*.

It is not necessary to have two anthropoid spirits inhabiting a spring. The importance lies in the colours white and black. Thus we find a black and a white sheep inhabiting 'ên ed-djôz.⁴

Naturally a question arises: Are all periodical springs inhabited by good and bad spirits which cause their abnormal flow? I must answer this question in the negative. Other explanations are easily found. 'ên silwân, also called 'ên imm ed-daradj, for example, was formerly

¹ The continuation of 'ên-fâra.

² Canaan, *Aberglaube*.

³ There are many references in the Bible which point to this representation. I will mention only a few: Job. 18 18; Zech. 3 1; Rom. 16 20; Ps. 140 1; Prov. 8 15; Is. 7 15; Jerem. 38 4; Eph. 6 12.

⁴ Near Râmallâh.

guarded by a bad spirit appearing in the form of a camel. He used to drink a lot of water from time to time, thus stopping the flow for a short period. In the case of 'ên sâbûna,¹ which is inhabited by a whole djinn family known by the name 'êlet za'rûrah the water dries up at those times when all the members of the family come to drink; therefore they say: *wirdat-hâ 'êlet za'rûrah*.²

The hot springs were always a great puzzle to the oriental mind. Accordingly the Palestinian asks himself how it is that the water of the springs near Tiberias comes directly from the earth in a boiling state? Here again he solved the question. There are a great number of demons who continually heat the water before it penetrates to the surface. The fuel is brought from a great distance. In the case of the springs of Tiberias it comes from a cave in the valley Ed-djâi³ near Dêr diwân.⁴ King Solomon ordered these *djinn* to perform this piece of work in order to give the inhabitants of Palestine a natural hot bath. And as these demons are blind and deaf⁵ they do not yet know that their master, King Solomon, has died, and dreading his punishment they still continue to work. A similar belief exists about the Turkish baths. The inhabiting *djinn*—and every bath is inhabited—help to heat the water, *sukkânih biyhâmih*.⁶

Special mention of 'iân el-ḥaṣr⁷ should be made. The peasant understands by this expression springs where at no time of the day or of the year do the sun's rays reach the source. The water is used to cure suppression and retention of urine. In order that such water shall preserve its curative action the sun must never shine over it; so it is fetched only after sunset. If the place to which this healing water is to be carried cannot be reached during one night, the jar is hidden during the day in a dark place, and as soon as the sun

¹ Dêr ghassâne.

² "The family of *zârûrah* (medlar tree) came to it (the water)."

³ The valley is inhabited by a much dreaded *mârid*. The inhabitants of Dêr diwân pretend that although a large number of cattle gather every evening in the cave and spend the night there, the cave is swept clean by those *djinn* every morning and all the dung disappears.

⁴ According to the peasants of Battîr the *djinn* of Tiberias come every night to 'ên djâmi' to carry away the dung.

⁵ One of the many illustrations which show how the Palestinian attributes to the *djinn* human qualities, weaknesses, and diseases.

⁶ Translation: Its inhabitants (the demons) heat it (the bath).

⁷ Translation: Springs of suppression (of urine).

goes down the journey begins anew. A curious fact about 'iûn el-ḥaşr, which was told me by a man of Bêt-Surik, is that springs with a composite name, where the first part is *bêt*, can not be—although they fulfill all the above named conditions—'iûn ḥaşr. It was impossible for me to get any explanation for this belief.

Some springs belonging to this group are: Bir es-saḥar (to the north of Dêr ṭarîf), 'ên abu niâq, (Dêr ghassâneh), 'ên el-wihra (Kefr tût) and 'ên şôba.¹

If we turn to study the number, shapes, customs, colour and actions of the djinn who haunt these places, we may divide them at once into two major groups:

1. Springs guarded by good spirits, the souls of holy men buried in the neighbourhood, or other saints.² There are fifteen such cases in my list.

2. Evil demons.

1. This belief is common among Christians and Mohammedans. Some wells and springs inhabited by Christians saints are: Bir 'ôna³ (Bêt-djâla) by the Virgin Mary, 'ên kârim also by the Virgin; 'ên Kibriân⁴ by St. Gabrianus (St. Cyprianus).

Springs and wells in which Mohammedan saints dwell are:

'ên qîna by el-welî Abu'l'ênên,

'ên el-bîrêh by shêkh Aḥmad,

Bir es-saḥar by el-welî Shu'êb,

Bir Ayûb by en-nebî Ayûb,

Bir sindjil by esh-shêkh Şâleh⁵ (or, as others think, by en-nabî Yûsif).

These men of God⁶ appear in the same form as they did in their lifetime and they try always to help human creatures. A girl of Siloah having been maltreated by her step-mother fled and threw herself into Bir Ayûb. Before she took her last step she asked the

¹ Some of these are more important and more used than others. The most important one of the list is 'ên şôba.

² The same idea prevailed in biblical times: B'er Elîm, "well of gods" Is. 15 8 Elîm, "gods," Ex. 15 27; Nu. 33 9—10; 'ên Shemesh, "spring of the sun," Jos. 15 7.

³ It is curious that some believe they have seen an 'abd.

⁴ Between Bêt-djâla and el-Khaḍr.

⁵ Some Mohammedans believe that in the neighbourhood of Sindjil, Joseph was thrown by his brethren into a pit (perhaps into this well). 'Omar Barghuti.

⁶ Only in one case out of one hundred and twenty does an angel haunt a spring ('ên maşîûn, according to Tiâb of Râmallâh).

help and the protection of this saint, and she felt as she was falling down that that venerable *shêkh* took her in his arms,¹ and, placing her on a stone step, just above the water level, told her: "Do not be afraid, my child; soon you will be again in your father's house." A few hours later her anxious father, discovering that she was still living, threw down a rope and drew her up.²

Some of these springs show a special miracle on the day consecrated to the holy person who guards them. Thus the water of Bir 'ôna rises to the brim on the Virgin's day³ and the stones at the well's mouth are dyed red.⁴ This sort of animation of lifeless objects is met with in different phases of Palestinian folk-lore.

Such springs should never be approached irreverently. Therefore no pious woman would ever come near or touch such a spring while "impure" through her menstrual blood. If she is careless, the holy man who dwells in that water will afflict her with some bodily ailments, or by stopping the flow of the source punish all that village. In the midst of the vineyards of Bêtûnia is the source of Khirbet nûta which is guarded by the soul of esh-shêkh Şâleh. From time to time the water gets scanty and may even stop flowing. This is always thought to result when an unclean woman approaches the opening. Once the water stopped flowing and as the inhabitants of Bêtûnia searched in vain for the impure woman, a sheep was offered to shêkh Şâleh and the source was well cleared out, and the water flowed again, even more abundantly than before.⁵

Among all the holy persons whose spirits dwell in springs there are only two females in my list: St. Mary (in two cases) and es-sitt Mu'minah⁶ ('ên el-ḥadjjar in Dêr ghassâneh).

¹ Christians have the same belief. The son of el-Qandalaft fell accidentally into a cistern and was saved by a holy man. The same thing happened in Dâr ed-ḍaw to another child. The *shêkhs* or holy men are described nearly always as wearing white clothes (Imm. Iliâs).

² The second day after the accident I was called to see the girl, who was not feeling quite well, and I heard the story from her mouth.

³ On the eighth of September (Jul. Calender).

⁴ Most probably a vestige of menstruation, as will be pointed out later on.

⁵ See Canaan, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

⁶ It is curious that in both of these cases bad spirits appear sometimes in the same springs. In Bir 'ôna, generally haunted by the Virgin Mary, some have seen an *'abd*; and in 'ên el-ḥadjjar (Dêr ghassâneh) guarded by Sitt Mu'minah—a *mârid* appears at times.

2. Sources guarded by evil *djinn*. Under this class we have the very bad demons as well as the partly harmful ones. They take different forms when they appear. Some have the shapes of animals—sheep, cock, hen, chicken, dog, camel, gazelle, donkey, goat, mouse, monkey or serpent.¹ Others look like negroes and negresses, and still others have the dreadful shapes of the monstrous *ghûl*, *ghûlê* and *mârid*. This last group is the most harmful, and special care has to be taken when one encounters *el-ghûl*, who is continually looking for his prey.

Spirits appearing in the form of animals are not necessarily bad demons: they may even be indifferent to human beings, or even good-natured. When spirits in animal shapes are described as white they belong to the latter, when black to the former category. An exception is the camel, which always represents a bad demon. Even in the explanations of dreams given by the *fellâlîn* at present camels are always a bad omen.²

An intermediate place between the two above-mentioned classes is taken by those springs which are inhabited by women,³ generally in the form of brides.⁴ These spirits are almost always described as having a majestic stature and a charming form, wearing beautiful cloths and costly adornments. Very often they sit on a stone beside the flowing water and comb their beautiful long hair, which hangs partly over their shoulders and partly over their breast. These females have a particular inclination to human beings, following and imploring them to come and live with them. They promise men all sorts of riches and comforts and are very harsh towards women. If once entangled a person may disappear for several years, as the case

¹ In the Bible we have several springs which were guarded, as their names show, by animals: 'ên-eglaïm, "Spring of two calves," Ez. 47 10; 'ên-gedi, "Spring of the kid," Jos. 15 62; 'ên-haqqôrê, "Spring of the quail (or partridge)," Ju. 15 19; 'ên-hattannîn, "Spring of the dragon," Ne. 2 13. (*Annual of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem*, 1920.—L. B. Paton.)

² The old Arabs had the same belief about the vâmel. See "*Tâ'îr el anâm fî tâ'bîr el-manâm*" by 'Abd el-ghanî en-nâblasî I 127 etc.

³ Even in the Bible we have reference to a well haunted by a woman in Jos. 19 8, Ba'alatb'er, "Mistress of the well."

⁴ Arabic 'arûs, pl. 'arâyis. The clothes of these "brides" are like those used by brides of the neighbouring villages, except that they are richer in decoration and of a superior quality.

of the bride who inhabits 'ên el-ḥammâm¹ shows, where a man disappeared for seven years. When he came back he related his story. The *djinniyât*² employ sometimes different tricks to entangle men. In the case of 'ên ed-djôz³ the passer by observes at times a black she-goat. If he tries to catch her, she jumps from one place to another, thus leading him on and on to a deserted spot, where she changes into a bride who tries to charm and thus to gain him.⁴

One may recognize these *djinn* ladies⁵ from their eyes. The pupils are perpendicularly elongated.⁶ A human being may escape their clutches if in the moment of temptation he repeats the name of God, a saint, the Virgin, the Cross, or says a prayer. If, on the other hand, he commits adultery with such a female *djinn*, he is lost.

These spirits, although not so bad as the *'abd* and the *ghûl* group, may follow an escaped man and inflict upon him disease and weakness, even death.⁷ Some of them are described as drying up from time to time the water of springs. Such an event happens inevitably if they should be provoked by women approaching the place during their impure days. In Djifna the priest has to go on such an occasion to the dry spring to repeat prayers and burn incense, and thus reconcile the *djinniyé* or force her to let the water flow.

¹ Bir zêt.

² Fem. Plur. of *djinn*.

³ According of Tîâb of Râmallâh. But see above, p. 87.

⁴ Demons are thought in Palestine to have the ability of changing their shapes.

⁵ According to the wife of Ya'qûb abu er-rukab (Râmallâh).

⁶ The same characteristic is assigned to the *ghûl*.

⁷ The following story is an example: Ya'qûb abu er-rukab went one day very early in the morning to gather wood from the gardens of 'ên el-qaşr. He fastened his donkey to a bush near the spring. As soon as he had sufficient wood for a load, he searched, but absolutely in vain, for his animal. At last he crossed himself and said: *bism es-salib el-hayy*, "in the name of the living Cross." At once the donkey was there where he had tied him. On the way back he felt an unseen power troubling him. Soon afterwards a female voice called him by his name: "Oh Ya'qûb, wait a moment." He stopped and a beautiful bride, overloaded with gold and jewels, walked up to him. The frightened *ḥattâb* (wood-cutter) knew that he had to do with a female demon. She implored him with her melodious voice to throw away his axe and follow her. But as he had not yet lost his presence of mind, he crossed himself repeatedly and said a prayer, and she vanished away. When he reached home, he spoke disconnectedly and was completely changed, since he talked only about the beauties of the "bride of 'ên el-qaşr." She afflicted her escaped prey with blindness, and soon afterwards he died (related by his own wife).

In one case, Bir abu s'hêl, the inhabiting female, called 'Ammâriyé¹ tells the future of the inhabitants of that village. If she is heard weeping or mourning, somebody in that village will surely die; if on the other hand she is heard singing, some good thing will take place.²

It is a most interesting fact that among one hundred and twenty springs which I have listed, fifty-four are supposed to be inhabited by females (belonging to this group).³ Among these springs are: 'ên el-qasr, 'ên el-lôze, 'ên tarfida, 'ên mindjid, 'ên mizrâb, 'ên el-waladjé, 'ên el-hanniye, 'ên battîr, etc. These spirits are—as already stated—very charming. The following story shows that they are at times refractory in love. Why and when such a condition happens I could not find out. While Husên from el-Waladjé was on night duty protecting the gardens of 'ên hantash against thieves, he beheld a beautiful and charming female sitting on a stone at the source of the spring, combing her long hair. He fell in love with her and gently approaching her, begged her to accept him as a lover. As she showed no inclination towards him, despite all his requests, he committed suicide by cutting his throat, as he could live no longer without this enticing creature.

In analysing the shapes which the inhabiting spirits take when they appear to human beings we find that in 40 cases out of 88 (*i. e.* about half) female forms are chosen. If the instances of holy men whose spirits still haunt springs and all the cases where the sex is not specified are subtracted, we find that 80 *per cent* of the spirits are in female form.

When the colour of the demon is specified, we meet only with the two antagonistic colours, white and black. The first one stands for good and the other for evil spirits.

If we study the question from the point of view of the number of spirits which inhabit one water course, we find that most of the springs and wells are inhabited by a single demon. But there are some, in my collection 25 out of 120, where several live together. This last category we may divide into two subdivisions:

¹ 'Unmâr (pl. of 'ammâr which is the masc. of 'ammâriyé) is the name given generally to *djinn* who live in ruins or deserted houses.

² 'Omar Barghuti.

³ The three cases, where the holy Virgin (twice) and es-sitt Mu'minah (once) haunt springs, are not counted among the number mentioned above. Out of the 54 we have only two black women.

1. Springs inhabited by two spirits, which represent—with one exception¹—a bad black and another good white one. I have six such cases.

2. Springs haunted by many *djinn*. Generally they are members of one family and in four out of thirteen cases belonging to this subdivision the *djinn* have taken the shape of a hen with her chickens.² It is believed by some that if a human being has the exceptional chance of catching one of these chickens, it will change at once into a lump of gold.³

These spirits, to whatever category they belong, appear—as all the demons—only during the night and in the dusk. They also are only to be seen when a lonely traveller passes by, as they never like to face several human beings at once. Many of them try to injure the passer-by by frightening him with their noise, shape or misbehaviour. If they attack him, he gets sick or may even die.

If a human being has the opportunity of meeting one of them, he observes that the opening of the spring, guarded by this spirit, has changed to a large doorlike crack, and sometimes a peep inside will reveal great riches. A woman passing near the spring of Ḥalḥûl just before the sun began to be visible, saw grazing beside the water a sheep which to her great astonishment had rushed out from a rather large crack. She looked through this opening and beheld to her amazement heaps of gold, silver and precious stones. Without hesitation she rushed in to get as much as possible of these worldly riches. But with one jump the sheep darted in, and the crack closed. She had to tear her clothing, which was caught in the crack, to get free.⁴

These spirits go out during the night and act quite free by; but they never go far from the spring. Some of them look for grass and herbs (sheep, camel, gazelle, donkey, etc). The hen takes her chickens and goes in search of grain. Brides and young females are mostly described as combing their hair. *Shêkhs welis* and saints are in meditation,

¹ In one case of a female and male spirit living together, 'ên el-farkha wid-dîk, (near Salt) inhabited by a cock and a hen (Imm. Elias H.)

² Other sources belonging to this subdivision are inhabited by camels, a flock of sheep, *djân* (pl. of *djinn*), the family *za'rûra* etc.

⁴ 'Omar Barghuti.

³ Imm. Djordj M.

while *abds*, *mârids* and *ghûls* roam around the source searching for their prey.¹

Very interesting is the story I heard lately from a woman of Siloam.² The spring of Jericho is inhabited by a woman who once a year for 10—12 hours has her menstrual period. At this time the water is tinted red. But this redness occurs only during the night of that day. At daybreak the normal colour returns. This is the only case I have known, where popular superstition gives female spirits the human capacity for menstruation. A vestige of this belief is perhaps to be found in the superstition regarding Bir 'ôna, inhabited by St. Mary.

The following belief about Hammâm esh-shifâ is a very primitive conception of the animation of water.³ The Mohammedan women of Jerusalem go on the tenth of Moḥarram⁴ and take a bath, as it is believed that the waters of Zemzem overflow on this day and mix with the waters of this bath,⁵ also called Hammâm 'ashûra.⁶ According to some even 'ên imm ed-daradj (Silowân) receives on this day some water from Zemzem.⁷

A Mohammedan lady⁸ whom I asked lately about Hammâm 'ashûra gave me another explanation, quite different from that which I have already mentioned. The prophet Job, who was afflicted with the worst kinds of skin eruptions, took a bath every day, but without any

¹ In some springs, 'ên Djariût for example, the passer-by will see a whole demon wedding procession, and is able to hear their songs and see their dances.

² Imm. Dâhûd the wife of 'Abd.

³ Cf. also Bir 'ôna and the signs on the Virgin's day.

⁴ The anniversary of the death of Ḥusên the son of Faṭmé, the daughter of the Prophet.

⁵ As a proof of the truth of their superstition the following story is told: An Indian pilgrim lost his water-cup in Bir Zemzem. One year afterwards he happened to be in Jerusalem, and while on the day of 'Ashûrah he was taking a hot Turkish bath in Hammâm esh-shifâ, the bath-keeper, drawing water from the well, fished out a cup. This was recognized at once by the Indian pilgrim to be his own cup, which fell down into Zemzem while he was at Mekka. This proved to everybody that the water of the holy Zemzem mixes on this day with the waters of this well.

⁶ From 'ashara, "ten," i. e. the tenth of the month.

⁷ Some Mohammedans believe that on this day the water of this holy well at Mekka mixes with all springs of Mohammedan countries, thus giving every Moslem the opportunity of drinking from Zemzem.

⁸ Ḥustun R.

result. It happened that on the tenth of Moharram he took a bath in Hammâm esh-shifâ with the result that he was cured. This of course proved to all that this water has on this day particular curative action. This offers a marked parallel to John 5 2.¹

Another observation is not without interest: 'ên Silwân was formerly inhabited—according to some peasants—by a demon in the shape of a camel. This camel died. In its place now lines a hen with her chickens, *i. e.* the place of one demon was taken by several, very much as in Matth. 12 45.² Everybody I asked informed me that no camel has ever appeared to anybody during recent years in that spring. The bubbling sound of the water is explained as being the sound of the chickens.³ Death of demons is also known in other cases.

Nobody dares to approach a spring and take water without first repeating the name of God or that of the saint living in that place.⁴ This rule is specially important during night-time or when one passes quite alone near water which flows in a deserted place. If such a precaution is not taken, one is sure to be troubled by the demons. If the guardian spirits are excited in any way the intruder will be surely punished. We have seen already some examples of this conception. Another one is that if a person urinates in flowing water he will get some genito-urinary trouble.

I do not doubt that several of the springs and wells which are thought at present to be inhabited were believed in former times to be sacred, and were devoted to the cult of one of the numerous gods of Palestine. And it is not improbable that some of the old deities continue to haunt the same springs, although ages have passed by. Of course the name, the character, and the manner of appearance have changed, but the fundamental thought still exists. This is only one of the many survivals which point to the primitive religious practises of Palestine and still more or less known at present.

This explains why many waters are used at present, as they were in Bible times, for medicinal purposes: the *'ûn el-ha'sr* have been

¹ While in John 5 2 the curative power was due to an angel, in this case the apparent cause is not seen. We must probably look for the explanation to Zemzem.

² Also Luke 11 26.

³ Hens and chickens represent bad spirits.

⁴ A custom which is becoming gradually less frequent.

mentioned; Siloam and the bath of Sitti Mariam¹—especially the first—are renowned for their help in cases of sterility in women.² In fever one resorts to bathing in 'ên imm ed-daradj. Some believe that Hammâm esh-shifâ cures certain skin eruptions. For the same reason we find that:

- (a) Offerings are brought in some cases to the guardian spirit.³
- (b) No unclean person (especially a woman) should approach such a spring, which is the abode of a holy spirit (probably that of a former deity).⁴
- (c) Prayers are offered and incense burned on some occasions.⁵
- (d) In 'ên esh-shêkh Yûsif,⁶ which is haunted by the spirit of that shêkh, one may even hear *ṣalâh u bakhhûr, u ṣôt djumhûr*, "prayers and incense and the voice of a gathering."⁷

A final observation has still to be made. The periodicity of several manifestations connected with the springs is very striking. The waters of Zemzem mix once a year with those of Hammâm 'ashûra and of Siloam. The lady of 'ên es-sultân has her menstrual flow once a year. St. Mary causes the above mentioned miraculous sign of Bir 'ôna only on her anniversary. A spring in Nâblus stops its flow once a week on Sundays, as it is inhabited by a monk, who must fulfil his religious duties on this day. In some periodical springs battles and victories take place regularly and periodically between good and bad spirits.

All the spirits inhabiting waters are known by the collective name *el-'afârîl*. Of course saints and *welis* do not come under this heading. Sometimes the word *raṣad*, pl. *irṣûd*⁸ is used. But this expression

¹ They take their bath in the *djurn* (stone basin) in which it is supposed that the Virgin Mary took a bath.

² Such a woman has to take with her seven *mashâkhiṣ* (see Canaan, *Aberglaube*), seven keys of doors which open to the south, and seven cups of water, each from a different cistern, where at no time of the day do the rays of the sun shine over its opening (Ḥusun R.).

³ To Hammâm sitti Mariam candles, flowers, etc. are vowed (Ḥusun R. and Imm. Djordj). To others oil lamps are lighted.

⁴ Examples of this have already been mentioned.

⁵ Cf. what has been said about 'Ên Djifnah.

⁶ To the north of Râmallâh.

⁷ Tiâb of Râmallâh.

⁸ Waters which run from places where hidden riches are to be found, are guarded by a *raṣad*.

stands also for other sorts of demons. An inhabited source is called *maskûné* or *marsûdé*.

At the close of this paper I have still to mention that not all statements one hears from different persons about on and the same spring correspond. But the fundamental idea, which is the basis of their belief, is as sound as any other one we meet with in Palestinian demonology.

The following is an analysis of the one hundred and twenty inhabited springs which I have noted:

In 24 cases the spirits are good.

4 of them are Christians saints.

29 are Mohammedan *welis*.¹

" 15 " very bad spirits are met with.

" 35 " we encounter brides and young women.²—

" 54 " the demons take a female shape.

" 29 " the *djinn* in animal forms are met with.

" 25 " several spirits live in one source.

6 times two antagonistic spirits haunt the same water.

19 times, more than two live together;

" 14 " the colour black is specified, and in 6 other springs one of the inhabiting spirits is black, while the other one is white;

" 7 " a cock, a hen, or a hen with her chickens guards the water;

" 5 " a camel,

" 8 " one or more sheep;

" 9 " the shapes which the *djinn* take are not specified.

In the *'iân el-haşr* the form is also not given.

The following is a list of eighty eight of the inhabited springs.³

I. Springs inhabited by good spirits:

1. By *Welis*, *Shêkhs* and Mohammedan saints:

Bir es-saḥar	Dêr Tarif	Weli Shu'êb. ⁴
En el-Bîrè	el Bîre	Shêkh.

¹ One of these springs is inhabited by an angel.

² The Virgin Mary and es-sitt Mu'minah, as well as a black woman are not added to this number.

³ Some of these springs are mentioned in Canaan, *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin*.

⁴ For further details see Canaan *l. c.*

Bir Ayûb	Siloam	en-nabî Ayûb.
Bir Sindjil	Sindjil	esh-shêkh Şâlih.
Bir Sindjil	Sindjil	en-nabî Yûsif.
Ên Qîna	Qîna	el-welî Abû el'ênên. ¹
Ên esh-shêkh Yûsif	N. of Râmallâh	esh-shêkh Yûsif.
Ên el-ḥadjjar	Dér Ghassâne	es-sitt Mu'minah. ²
Ên Djakûk	E. of en-nabî Şamwil	<i>Welî.</i>
Ên el-amîr	E. of en-nabî Şamwil	Şullâh and Awlia.
Ên Maşîûn	Râmallâh	An angel.

2. Christian Saints:

Ên er-Râhib	Nâblus	Monk. ³
Ên Kârim	Ên Kârim	The Virgin Mary.
Bir 'ôna	Bêt-djâla	The Virgin Mary. ²
Ên Kibiriân	W. of Bêt-djâla	St. Gabrianus.
Ḥammâm sittî Mariam	Jerusalem	The Virgin Mary. ⁴

II. Springs inhabited by very bad spirits:

A spring in wâdî Benî Ḥammâd	Wâdî Benî Ḥammâd	<i>Ghâl.</i> ⁵
Ên Ḥasbân	Transjor dania	<i>Ghâlê.</i> ⁵
Ên Djariût	Dêr Diwuân	' <i>Abdê.</i>
Ên Flêflê	Bir Zêt	' <i>Abd.</i>
Ên el-'arâq	Bir Zêt	' <i>Abdê.</i>
Bir Sridah	Dêr Ghassâné	' <i>Abd.</i>
Ên el-Ḥadjjar	Dêr Ghassâné	<i>Mârid.</i>
Bir abu Sarrîs	Dêr Ballût	<i>Shêtân.</i>
A spring Qârûs	Kefr Tût	<i>Shêtân.</i>
Ên in wâdî Ed-djâi	Dêr Diwân	<i>Mârid.</i>
Ên 'Abbâsîn	between Battîr and Ḥûsân	' <i>Abd.</i>

¹ This *welî*, it is said, does not always protect his property in the right way. Once a peasant, who was disappointed by this saint, offered him an oil lamp and vowed: "O, welî, if you do not protect your lamp this time I shall never offer you anything more". Next morning the peasant found near the spring a dead wolf with the lamp in his mouth. This, of course, was a sufficient proof that the saint had exercised his power.

² Inhabited at times by a bad spirit; see sect. V. The bad spirits appear very seldom.

³ Imm. Eliâs H.—from Jerusalem.

⁴ There is no spring in the bath. The belief about St. Mary I heard only from one person.

⁵ Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes*.

III. Springs inhabited by bad spirits (less harmful than the last group).

'Ên abu'l-karzam	Râmallâh	Black dog.
'Ên Misbâh	Râmallâh	Camel.
Bîr esh-Shâmî	Bêt-Iksa	Camel.
'Ên es Sef	el-Waladjé	Donkey. ¹
'Ên Silwân	Siloam	Formerly inhabited by a camel.
'Ên en-nasbé	Râmallâh	Camels.
'Birket Hâdjia	Jerusalem	<i>Rasâd</i> , who devours a victim every year.

IV. Springs inhabited by brides and young women:

'Ên es-sitt Hasna	Es-sifla. ³	'Ên el-qabû	el-Qabû.
'Ên el-Qaşr	Râmallâh.	'Ên 'Atân	'Atân.
'Ên el-Lôzé	Râmallâh.	'Ên Farrûdjé	Solomon's Pools.
'Ên Tarfida	Râmallâh.	'Ên Hammâm	Bîr Zêt. ⁴
'Ên Mindjid	Râmallâh.	'Ên Dabbâgha	Bîr Zêt.
'Ên Mizrâb	Râmallâh.	'Ên es-Sultân	Jericho. ⁵
'Ên el-Hannîyé	el-Hannîyé.	'Ên Hantash	NW. of Bêt-djâla.
'Ên el-Waladjé	el-Waladjé.	'Ên Djifna	Djifna. ⁴
'Ên Battîr	Battîr.	'Ên Kafriye	Râmallâh.
'Ên Harrâshé	Mazra'a gharbîyé.	'Ên Milke	near Bêt Hanîna.
'Ên el-Baqûm	Kefr Tût.	'Ên abu Ziâd	near Bêt Hanîna.
'Ên el-Qas'a	NE. of el-Bîré.	'Ên el-Djôz	Râmallâh.
Bîr abû S'hêl	Dêr Ghassâné.	'Ên-el-mâlha	el-Mâlha. ⁶

V. Springs guarded by several spirits:

1. By two antagonistic spirits:

'Ên ed-Djôz	Râmallâh	White and a black sheep.
'Ên Artâş	Artâş	White and a black sheep.
'Ên Fawâr	E. of Jerusalem	White and a black sheep.
'Ên Fawâr	E. of Jerusalem	Free man and a negro.
Bîr 'ôna	Bêt-djâla	St. Mary and at times an 'Abd.
'Ên el-Hâdjar	Dêr Ghassâné	es-Sitt Mu'minah and at the some time a <i>Mârid</i> .

¹ Lic. Kahle, P. J.² The female saints, two negresses and one *ghâlê* are not mentioned in this list.³ Lic. Kahle, P. J.⁴ The peculiarity about this spring was mentioned in the text.⁵ Has once a year her menstrual period.⁶ She wears an *izâr*.

2. By several spirits:

'Ên Ma'an	Ma'an	<i>Djinn</i> .
Tiberias	Tiberias	<i>Djinn</i> who heat the wells.
'Ên el-Halazon	near Bîr Zêt	Flock of sheep.
'Ên en-Naşbé	Râmallâh	Camels.
'Ên Djariût	Dêr Diwân	A <i>djinn</i> marriage procession.
'Ên Sâbûnah	Dêr Ghassâné	The family of Za'rûrah.
'Ên Hiddîyé	between Hûsân and Battîr	<i>Djinn</i> .
'Ên Djâmi	near Battîr	<i>Djinn</i> who carry fuel to the springs of Tiberias.
'Ên Djenân	Bêtûniâ	Hen with her chickens.
'Ên Liftâ	Liftâ	Hen with her chickens.
'Ên Silwân	Siloam	Hen with her chickens (for- merly by a camel).
Bîr Hâilé	Dêr Ghassâné	Hen with her chickens.
'Ên el-Farkha wid-dik	Salt	Young hen and a cock. ¹

VI. Springs which have not been mentioned:

'Ên 'Adjab	el-Qubêbé	White cock.
'Ên Qashqalé	Hebron	Cock.
Bîr el-Hummus	Hebron	Ram.
'Ên eð-djib	eð-Djib	Ram.
'Ên el-Farûmé	Bîr Zêt	Ram.
'Ên Halhul	near Hebron	Ram.
El 'Audja	N. of Jericho	Gazelle.
'Ên Surik	Bêt Surik	Mouse.
'Ên el-Wihra	Kefr Tût	Monkey. ²
'Ên Mardé	Marde	Serpent.
'Ên Sôba	Sôba	'ên haşr. ²
'Ên Abu Niâq	Dêr Ghassâné	'ên haşr. ²

¹ Imm Eliás H.² Has a curative action in supression of urine.

LA RÉPÉTITION DE LA RACINE EN HÉBREU

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I

IL existe un phénomène philologique des plus *primitifs*, très caractéristique pour le langage *enfantin* et le parler *populaire*, qui se rencontre également dans les idiomes de maintes peuplades sauvages et de certains peuples anciens. Les traces n'en sont pas rares même dans les langues modernes, surtout de la famille *romane*, qui, comme l'italien et le français, préfèrent souvent l'expression concrète et *intuitive* à l'abstraite.

Ce phénomène, si curieux dans sa *simplicité* naturelle, consiste à *répéter le mot* ou seulement la *racine* pour en *renforcer* la signification ou *y insister* d'une façon quelconque.

Un enfant, au lieu de dire «très petit», par exemple, dira *petit-petit*. Il en fera autant pour d'autres adjectifs, en prêtant à la répétition un sens *superlatif*. De même, en matière d'adverbes, il préférera *vite-vite* à «bien vite» ou «très vite». Dans les verbes, nous verrons indiquer ainsi surtout la *durée* ou l'*ininterruption*: il *court-court* signifiera donc dans ce langage «il court sans s'arrêter». Quant aux substantifs, c'est la grande *quantité* ou le grand *nombre* qu'on fait ressortir par ce procédé. Certains mots français, comme *bonbon* (superlatif) et *joujou* (itératif), par ex., doivent très probablement leur origine à ce langage enfantin.

Les mêmes remarques sont souvent valables pour le parler *populaire* ou *familier*, en général.

Parmi les langues anciennes, c'est le *sumérien* qui est le plus frappant à ce point de vue. En effet, moyen primitif par excellence, il forme régulièrement le *pluriel*¹ des substantifs, et même des

¹ Voy. Fr. Delitzsch, *Grundzüge der sumer. Grammat.*, p. 44.

adjectifs, par la répétition pure et simple du singulier: *tir* = forêt, *tir-tir* = forêts; *bal* = hache, *bal-bal* = haches. La répétition de l'adjectif peut, en outre, signifier le *superlatif*: *gal* = grand, *gal-gal* = très grand.

On croit même trouver en hébreu des restes de ce pluriel¹ dans les mots מִימִי les *eaux* et פִּיפִיּוֹת doubles *tranchants* qui ne seraient que des reduplications de מִי et de פֶּה. Mais, si nous préférons voir dans *mēmē*, au lieu d'une reduplication du singulier *maj*, un pluriel *secondaire* du pluriel *majim* (مَاجِم) comme il y en a, dans l'hébreu postbiblique, un autre avec terminaison féminine מִמּוֹת *mēmōth*. — nous pourrions trouver des exemples très sûrs en araméen et en syriaque: aram. *rav-r'vīn*, grands, du sing. *rav*; syr. *daqd'qē*, petits, du sing. *daq* inusité.

Or, si les langues sémitiques, notamment l'araméen et l'arabe, ont conservé des restes plus ou moins isolés de cette primitive habitude de langage, il sera d'autant plus curieux, *suggestif* peut-être, de constater la *portée générale* que ce phénomène a gardée en hébreu et de suivre toute l'intéressante *évolution* qu'il a pu subir depuis la Bible jusqu'à nos jours où il continue, d'ailleurs, de vivre et de créer. Se différenciant en plusieurs procédés grammaticaux ou syntaxiques, ou en séries-types d'expressions idiomatiques, la *répétition de la racine* a fourni à la langue hébraïque, par voie de formation *spontanée*, souvent même *populaire* et sous l'influence de l'action *analogique*, des ressources précieuses pour rendre d'une façon plus vive et intense, surtout plus *concrète et intuitive*, certaines nuances d'expression sur lesquelles on tient à insister sans les affaiblir par un langage abstrait.

Voyons d'abord le procédé le plus simple et primitif, c'est-à-dire la *répétition du mot tel quel*, sans changement sensible de forme grammaticale. Les exemples abondent dans la Bible² et dans la littérature postérieure pour les usages suivants:

1^o Dans les *interjections* pures, comme הִרְיֵהוּ (Am. 5 16), אֵי-אֵי (Ezech. 16 23), הָאֵה הָאֵה (Ps. 70 4), יֵיִי post-bib.

2^o Dans l'*apostrophe* ou discours direct affectant un nom propre aussi bien qu'un nom commun, par ex. מֹשֶׁה מֹשֶׁה oh! Moïse, אֲבִרָהם oh! Abraham, אֱלִי אֱלִי oh! mon Dieu, בְּנִי בְנִי oh! mon fils,

¹ Brockelmann, Grundriss der vergl. Gramm. der semit. Spr. I, page 440.

² Voy. D. Qimhi: מְכֻלִּל, p. 60—61, éd. Lucques. Ce grammairien entrevoyait déjà l'importance de la Répétition en hébreu pour renforcer le sens.

אבי אבי oh! mon père. Remarque. — On pourrait attribuer la cause de cette dernière sorte de répétitions au manque, en hébreu, d'une *particule vocative* spéciale comme *يا* *īā* en arabe ou *oh!* en français.

3^o Pour exprimer la *douleur localisée* dans un certain organe, par ex. ראשי ראשי oh! ma tête, עיני עיני oh! mon œil, מעי מעי (Jer. 4 19) oh! mes entrailles, etc.

4^o Pour indiquer le *superlatif* dans les noms et surtout dans les *adjectifs* et *adverbes*, par ex. צדק צדק תרדף (Deut. 16 20) tu suivras la *justice la plus exacte*, עמק עמק (Eccl. 7 24) très profond, האדם האדם (Gen. 25 30) = Pešitta: sūmqā sūmqā très *roux*, רע רע (Pr. 20 14) très mauvais, אתרון-אתרון (p. b.) le *tout* dernier; גבוהה גבוהה (1. Sam. 2 3) avec *beaucoup* de hauteur, יפה-יפה (p. b.) très bien, לאט-לאט *tout* doucement, מאד-מאד extrêmement, פתע-פתאם très soudainement, סביב סביב (aram. *s'hōr-s'hōr*) *tout* autour, סוף-סוף (p. b.) à la fin du compte, כלל כלל (p. b.) pas *du tout*, מְדוּר־דוּר de tout temps.

5^o Pour donner un sens *distributif*, *itératif* ou de *continuité* ininterrompue, aux noms, adverbess ou verbes, par ex. איש-איש quiconque, chacun, בארות-בארות חמר (Gen. 14 10) pleine de puits de bitume (vallée), המוניס-המוניס (Joel 4 14) des foules *qui se pressent*, אלף למטה אלף למטה (Num. 31 4) mille par tribu, שבעה-שבעה par sept, שנים-שנים par deux, איש אחד אחד למטה (Num. 13 2) un homme *de chaque* tribu, מעט-מעט (Ex. 23 30) *peu à peu* = Peš.: *b'qalil-qalil*, בדר בדר (Ex. 30 34) à parties *égales*, שוה בשוה (p. b.) idem; יום-יום *chaque* jour, פעם... פעם (Pr. 7 12) tantôt... tantôt, כפעם כפעם comme *chaque* fois (= comme toujours), מטה-מטה *chaque* matin, בערב-בערב *chaque* soir; מטה-מטה *toujours plus* bas, מעלה-מעלה *toujours plus* haut, ידון-ידון (Ps. 68 13) ils fuient *toujours*, סובב סובב (Eccl. 1 6) tournant *sans cesse*.

6^o Dans les *impératifs* pour insister, presser ou encourager, comme עמדו-עמדו (Nah. 2 9) arrêtez-vous *donc*, נחמו נחמו (Is. 40 1) consolez *donc*, סורו סורו (Thr. 4 15) retirez-vous *donc*, עברו עברו (Is. 62 10) passez *donc* par les portes, סלו סלו (item) aplanissez *donc* le sentier.

¹ Septuag.: δικάως τὸ δίκαιον διώκει; Vulg.: *Juste* quod *justum* est persequeris. Les deux tournent donc par un *adverbe*: tu suivras *exactement* la justice. Quoique ces traductions ne soient pas toujours grammaticalement adéquates au texte hébreu, il n'est pas exclu en cette occurrence qu'un des deux צדק ait eu originairement la valeur d'un *accusatif adverbial* (très fréquent en arabe).

Remarque. — On pourrait toutefois considérer ce genre d'expressions comme simple figure de rhétorique, *réduplication*, qu'on aurait le droit de traduire dans les autres langues par la même répétition.

7^o Parfois, pour signifier la *dissimilation* ou l'*imparité*, par ex.:

ואבן אבן *deux sortes de poids* = justes et faux,

ואיפה איפה *deux sortes de mesures* = idem,

בלב ולב ידברו (Ps. 12 3) ils parlent avec un *cœur double*.

8^o Pour mettre fortement *en relief* un nom, un pronom et même une conjonction, ou pour *exclure* le contraire et le différent, par ex.:

חי חי הוא יודך (Is. 38 19) *mais c'est* le vivant qui te célébrera (et non point les morts),

אני אני הוא (Deut. 32 39) moi *seul* je suis Dieu,

אנכי אנכי הוא מנחמכם (Is. 51 12) *voyez, c'est* moi qui vous console.

יען וביען (Lev. 26 43) *c'est bien* parce que . . .

II

C'est à ce phénomène primitif que doivent également leur origine tous les nombreux verbes — avec leurs dérivés — considérés comme *quadrilittères* et qui sont, en réalité, formés secondairement par *réduplication* d'une racine qu'on pourrait appeler *bilittère*, les deux membres du groupe restant accolés dans un radical commun au lieu d'être séparés en deux mots différents. Ces quadrilittères peuvent facilement tirer leur origine de toutes sortes de racines *faibles* aptes, par conséquent, à se débarrasser d'une de leurs trois radicales, mais avant tout des verbes *creux* et *gémînés*. La *réduplication* donne à ces verbes de formation secondaire une nuance nettement *itérative*: ils indiquent donc des actions, plutôt faibles, se produisant à *coups répétés*, à peu près comme les fréquentatifs *latins* à infinitif en *itare* (*crepitare*, *cantitare*, *volitare* etc.) et surtout comme les verbes français *craqueter*, *voleter*, *toussoter*, *pleurnicher*² etc. En hébreu, les exemples abondent dans la Bible aussi bien que dans la littérature postbiblique. Voyons-en les plus usuels:

¹ Ben-Jehuda: *Thesaurus*, p. 1051; ce הוא aurait perdu le *jod* initial par suite de rencontre avec le *jod* final du mot précédent. Le sens est ainsi parfaitement parallèle avec celui de l'hémistiche suivant: ואין אלהים עמרי.

² Comp. aussi les verbes allemands en *eln*, comme: *lächeln* sourire, *klingseln* tinter etc.

<i>nimneim</i> (p. b.), sommeiller,	de נום;
<i>gilgel</i> , faire avancer en roulant,	de גלל;
<i>bilbel</i> (p. b.), embrouiller, confondre,	de בלל;
<i>çilçel</i> (p. b.), sonnailler, tinter,	de צלל;
<i>tiſteſ</i> (p. b.), dégoutter,	de נטף;
<i>ligleg</i> (p. b.), tourner en dérision,	de לעג;
<i>liſher</i> , allumer la querelle, faire des intrigues,	de חרר;
<i>nidned</i> (p. b.), secouer, branler,	de נוד;
<i>nî'ana'</i> (p. b.), idem,	de נוע;
<i>tiſtel</i> , balancer, lancer de ci de là, cahoter,	de מול;
<i>nîſneſ</i> (p. b.), brandiller	de נוף;
<i>qilqel</i> , secouer des flèches, gâter (p. b.),	de קלל;
<i>liſhhalhal</i> , être saisi de tremblements d'angoisse,	de חיל;
<i>ſiſſeſ</i> (p. b.), frotter,	de שוף;
<i>qiſqeſ</i> (p. b.), tinter, frapper,	de נקש;
<i>zilzel</i> (p. b.), déprécier, mépriser,	de זלל;
<i>piçpeç</i> , fracasser,	de פצץ;
<i>kirker</i> , danser (en tournant),	de כרר;
<i>piſper</i> , effaroucher; p. b. gigotter, émietter	de פרר;
<i>hiſhmarmar</i> , s'exaspérer,	de מרר.

On voit bien que la grande majorité de ces verbes secondaires de la forme *pilpel* tirent leur origine d'une racine biblique, même quand ils sont post-bibliques. Certains de ces derniers ont pénétré en hébreu de l'araméen où, d'ailleurs, ces itératifs ne sont pas moins fréquents qu'en arabe.

Il faut rattacher à ce groupe, certainement comme les plus primitifs de procédé, les quadrilittères *onomatopœitiques* qui ne font que répéter deux fois un bruit naturel, comme: *çiſçiſ* gazouiller, *qirqer* (p. b.) glousser ou coasser, *gingem* (p. b.) bégayer, *hi'ka'* (p. b.) toussoter, *qirqer* (p. b.) crier (grillon). Ils se sont multipliés surtout dans l'hébreu moderne, par ex.: *zimzem*¹ bourdonner, *tiqteq* faire entendre le tic-tac (montre), *riſreſ* bruire (froufrou de feuilles ou d'étoffes), *digdeg* chatouiller = ar. كَغْدَغ, etc. De même, le substantif biblique *baqbūq*, bouteille, reproduit le glouglou de l'eau. Il va, d'ailleurs, sans dire que les quadrilittères, comme les autres verbes, nous ont fourni toutes sortes de noms dérivés, par ex. *galgal* roue, *zalzal*

¹ Ar. زَمَزَم = marmotter, parler entre les dents, barrir (chameau).

sarment (comp. ar. زَلَّجَ vaciller,¹ chanceler), ša'asū'im récréation de שַׁעֲשַׁע — שַׁעֲשַׁע. Pourtant, l'existence de ces noms peut être indépendante de celle de verbes quadrilittères correspondants, par ex. ša'asū'im gravures (comp. ar. صَاغَ former, façonner), šingeneth panier ou bocal, qanqan (p. b.) cruche.

Quant aux racines trilittères saines, ne pouvant pas facilement se répéter en entier, ce qui produirait un radical secondaire de six lettres inapte à la conjugaison, — elles se sont contentées de redoubler les deux dernières radicales pour former ainsi des soi-disant quinquilittères. Comme verbes, ils ont surtout un sens superlatif:

s'harḥar (Ps. 38 10) être très agité (cœur);

יִפִּית (Ps. 45 3) tu es plus beau qu'aucun...;

p'qah-qōah (Is. 61 1) ouvrir largement ou grande ouverture des prisons;

ahabhū-hebhū² (Hos. 4 18) = ahabhhebhū ne s'occuper que d'amour;

ḥomarm'rū me'ai (Thr. 1 20, 2 11) mes entrailles sont très-émues (= fermentent; comp. ar. حَمَرَ);

panai ḥomarm'rū (Job. 16 16) mon visage est tout-rougi, comp. ar. حَمَر;

hittamm'hū t'mahū (Hab. 1 5) soyez extrêmement étonnés. Dans ce dernier exemple, toutes les trois radicales ont été répétées.

Ces quinquilittères forment aussi un groupe d'adjectifs indiquant surtout les couleurs avec un sens itératif, comme si elles se répétaient par petites quantités: יִרְקַק verdâtre, שִׁחֲחַר noirâtre, אֶרְמַר rougeâtre; en hébreu moderne: צַהֲבָה jaunâtre (couleur d'or), כַּחֲלָח bleuâtre. Parmi les adjectifs du même genre n'indiquant pas de couleurs, citons comme exemples: עֵקֶלְקֵל tortueux, פִּתְלָח entortillé (faux).

De même que les quadrilittères ci-dessus mentionnés, les quinquilittères aussi ont donné naissance à maints substantifs dérivés, comme אֶסְפָּסוֹפ populace, חִלְקָלוֹת endroits très glissants (ou intrigues, arti-

¹ En hébreu, le nom seul est ici quadrilittère, mais le verbe reste trilittère au nif'al. Voy. Gesenius-Buhl: *Handwört.*, rac. I וָלָל, p. 199.

² Notons toutefois que les exégètes sont loin de l'unanimité générale en ce qui concerne notre expression. Voyez la Vulgate, aussi Ben-Jehūda (*Thes.*, אַחֲבָה). — Douteuse aussi, plus ou moins, l'expr. širḥaq-ḥoq (Mich. 7 11) il est très loin, où certains voudraient corriger ḥoq en ḥuqqi et traduire: ma frontière s'étendra loin (= s'élargira).

fices), חרברורות taches parsemées (panthère), חפרפרות (Is. 2 20) rats-taupes, etc.

Mais, si les verbes quadrilittères et les adjectifs quinquilittères sont des formes bien vivantes en hébreu jusqu'à nos jours même, les verbes quinquilittères sont tombés en désuétude dès les temps anciens, ne nous laissant dans la Bible que quelques rudiments isolés.

III

Si, après avoir examiné la répétition pure et simple du *mot*, nous venons maintenant à suivre l'évolution — ou plutôt la *différenciation* — subie par ce phénomène, notre attention sera tout d'abord retenue par les *substantifs* où nous aurons à distinguer plusieurs manières :

1^o Construction du *singulier avec le singulier*, accompagnée de changement de type nominal ou de genre, mais surtout d'adjonction d'un suffixe pronominal, par ex.:

קדם קדמתה ¹ (Is. 23 7) sa *haute* antiquité,

שבת שבתון (Ex. 31 15, 35 2) repos absolu,

תוד תוכו (p. b.) le fin fond de.

Notons que, parfois, le *génitif* peut être remplacé par une *particule*, comme dans אמת לאמתה (p. b.) la vérité *complète*.

20 Construction du *singulier avec le pluriel* pour indiquer l'excellence:

עַבְדֵּי עַבְדֵּי le plus vil des esclaves,

הבל הבלים la plus pure vanité,

שיר השירים le plus illustre de tous les chants,

קדש קדשים saint des saints, sacro-saint.

De même dans certaines locutions adverbiales, comme לנצח נצחים en toute éternité, לדור דורים pour toutes les générations. C'est ainsi que Dieu est désigné par la *triple* répétition: מלך מלכי המלכים le roi des rois des rois.

3^o Construction du *pluriel avec le pluriel*, surtout dans des expressions *adverbiales*, avec signification *superlative* dans un sens qualitatif ou quantitatif:

קדשי הקדשים (Lév. 21 22) la part des prêtres dans les dons sacrés,

שמי שמים *cieux sublimes.*

פלאי פלאים *grandes merveilles*,

¹ On pourrait rattacher à ce groupe l'expression post-biblique לַעֲתָה *en attendant* (m. à m. au temps de maintenant), où 'atta, morphologiquement l'accusatif adverbial du nom עַתָּה, remplit le rôle d'un nom au *génitif*.

תלים תלי des tas et des tas,
 פרטי פרטים (aram.) *beaucoup* de détails,
 נסי נסים *grands* miracles,
 חדרי חדרים en *grande* cachette,
 לעולמי עולמים à *tout* jamais.
 כפלי כפלים (duel) *plusieurs fois* le double.

La plupart des exemples de cette dernière catégorie sont postbibliques. Nous avons, d'ailleurs, l'occasion d'y rencontrer de curieux phénomènes d'*analogie* qui vont, pour ainsi dire, jusqu'à *braver la grammaire*.

En effet, une fois que la terminaison *masculine* du pluriel construit (ִי = *ē*) s'est fixée par l'usage comme *caractéristique* de ces sortes d'expressions superlatives, on l'appliqua également aux noms masculins dont le pluriel régulier est à terminaison *féminine*¹ וֹת = *ōth*, par ex.:

דורי דורות de longues générations,
 בקולי קולות (crier) à tue-tête,
 בסודי סודות très secrètement, en grand secret.

Plus encore, et c'est le comble de l'audace au point de vue grammatical, l'analogie est allée jusqu'à traiter de la même manière des noms purement *féminins* avec les terminaisons typiques *a* (ָה) au singulier et *ōth* (וֹת) au pluriel; par exemple:

שבועות שבועות² prêter mille serments ou jurer *sans discontinuer*,
 צרי צרות *grandes* misères,
 קללי קללות *toutes* sortes de malédictions,
 תנועי תנועות avec *force* gestes,
 רבי רבבות des myriades *sans fin*,
 חבילי חבילות un encombrement de paquets.

Enfin, d'une façon tout à fait inattendue, cette analogie a atteint des noms *abstraits* même et de vrais *adverbes* dans plusieurs locutions adverbiales, comme: בּוֹלִי זֹל (ou בּוֹלִי הַזֶּה) à *très* bon marché, בְּדִלִי דָלוּת sans le sou (dans la misère *noire*), בַּחֲנִי חֵנֶם pour rien, presque gratis. Ces expressions et plusieurs des précédentes semblent bien être de formation plus ou moins *populaire* qui seule aurait pu se permettre une pareille *liberté dans l'analogie*. En effet, tout en étant très

¹ Même phénomène morphologique, mais sans la différenciation de sens ici en question, à constater dans les expressions talmudiques: *wladē wladōth* (*Bekhor.* 24) des petits de deuxième génération, *perē perōth* les revenus des revenus.

² Dans *Ezech.* 21, 28, cette expression est peu claire; par contre elle est très courante dans l'hébreu post-bibl. dans le sens indiqué ici.

usuelles même dans le langage *judéo-allemand*, elles n'ont pas beaucoup cours dans le style *littéraire* hébreu et ne sont pas, pour la plupart, enregistrées par les dictionnaires.¹

Donc, pour résumer ce qui concerne les substantifs, nous pouvons dire que les trois manières citées — constructions du sing. avec le sing., du sing. avec le pluriel, du plur. avec le pluriel — ne sont que des variations du même principe général qui attribue un sens *superlatif* à l'état construit avec répétition.

Un deuxième principe, général seulement pour la 3^{ème} manière, c'est que la terminaison *masculine* ē (ׁ.) du pluriel construit peut s'appliquer, sans exception, à tous les noms quels qu'en soient le genre ou le pluriel absolu.

Enfin, il ne serait peut-être pas inutile de signaler entre les expressions, surtout du 2^e et du 3^e groupes, une certaine différence dans le *mécanisme*, pour ainsi dire, de la répétition; d'autant plus que cette différence n'est pas sans en entraîner une dans notre *façon de percevoir* l'acception de ces locutions. En effet, dans le troisième groupe, basé sur la construction du plur. avec le pluriel, la répétition est *régressive*: étant donné un plur. *absolu*, nous le faisons *précéder* de son état *construit*, de פלאים *merveilles* nous faisons פלאי פלאים *grandes merveilles*. Tout en percevant l'expression comme un seul mot à *réduplication*, nous finissons pourtant par distinguer que la *nouvelle nuance* de signification — le superlatif — a été produite par la partie ajoutée *en avant*. Or, il n'en est pas de même du 2^e groupe où la répétition est *progressive*: nous sentons sans difficulté que, dans les expressions comme 'ebed 'abadīm vil esclave, c'est le premier mot, au singulier, qui est le principal et que c'est le pluriel dont on l'a fait *suivre* qui lui ajoute le sens superlatif, ou d'excellence, en remplissant ainsi le rôle d'un *adjectif* spécial qui, lui aussi, aurait dû *suivre* le nom.

¹ Ben-Jehuda, *Thes.* p. 945, ne signale que l'exp. b'dallē dallūth chez quelques rabbins du moyen-âge, entre autres chez Raši, qui, d'ailleurs, négligeant toute préoccupation littéraire, nous ont souvent conservé des façons de parler *populaires*. — J'ai, moi-même, eu l'occasion d'entendre des rabbins *espagnols* se servir de l'expression לפחי פחות *tout au moins*, comme si l'adverbe pahōth était un nom pluriel. Ils m'ont affirmé que c'était là une façon de parler très courante chez eux, employée surtout par les gens de la *vieille génération*, qui n'ont pas appris leur hébreu dans les écoles modernes.

IV

Si nous nous adressons maintenant aux *adjectifs* proprement dits, nous rencontrerons d'abord un superlatif *postbiblique* qui, pour unir les deux termes de la répétition dont le 2^e est généralement un *pluriel*, remplace l'état construit par la *double* particule *שֶׁ* qui (*puisse se trouver*) + *ב* dans (*parmi*); par ex.:

קל שבקלים de très peu d'importance,

עני שבעניים extrêmement pauvre,

מעלה שבמעלים le plus remarquable,

פחות שבפחותים le plus bas (vil),

חדש שבחדשים le plus nouveau (moderne), récent.

Cette façon caractérise plutôt le style *familier*.¹ Elle provient, très probablement, d'une *double origine* consistant dans la superposition du superlatif *araméen* hébraïsé au superlatif *biblique*. En effet, la préposition *ב* *ba* est la caractéristique de ce dernier, comme dans *hajaafa bannašim* (Cant. cant 1 s) la plus belle des femmes. Quant à la particule *שֶׁ* *še* dont l'usage se fait déjà bien sentir dans les derniers livres de la Bible, elle correspond au relatif *ד* (*d'*, *di*) qui, remplaçant l'état *construit*, caractérise également — d'ailleurs avec répétition du nom — le superlatif *araméen*, par ex.:

ריון גדול משופרא דשופרא du plus beau, etc.

En outre, il n'est pas sans intérêt de noter qu'à ce superlatif *araméen* correspond plus exactement encore un autre superlatif *post-biblique*, beaucoup moins usité il est vrai, dans lequel c'est la préposition *min*, de, qui unit les deux termes de la répétition. Cette dernière peut, d'ailleurs, comme en *araméen*, affecter un *singulier* aussi bien qu'un *pluriel*: c'est une sorte de répétition *pure et simple*² à l'aide d'une préposition, par. ex. *dagga min haddagga* (Joma 4 9) très fine, *hamm'hadd'rîn min hamm'hadd'rîn* (*Šabbath* 21) les plus exacts, méticuleux ou empressés (dans l'observance).

Or, les *adjectifs* ont un procédé de répétition bien plus *original*: il ne consiste pas, comme on pourrait le dire pour les deux cas précédents, dans une sorte de *périphrase*, aussi brève qu'elle soit, de l'état *construit*, mais il exprime le superlatif *absolu* (sans comparaison)

¹ C'est sur ce type qu'a été formée aussi l'expression *injurieuse* courante dans le langage *populaire*: כלב שבכלבים *chien de chien*!

² À noter pourtant l'article qu'on ajoute toujours au *deuxième* membre de la répétition.

par voie plutôt *morphologique*. Le principe est très net: on répète la racine de l'adjectif sous forme d'un *participe passif* quelconque, en accordant la préférence à la forme *intensive*. Les exemples ne manquent point depuis la Bible:

ישן נושן (Lév. 26 10) très vieux,
 חכמים מחכמים (Prov. 30 24) extrêmement intelligents,
 רשע מרשע¹ (pop.) très méchant.

Il en est de même pour des *substantifs abstraits* à sens adjectif ou participe:

מוסד מוסד² (Is. 28 16) fondation *solide*,
 צרות צרורות (pop.) *grandes* misères.

Les deux termes peuvent aussi être unis par un *waw* conjonctif: *בטל ומבטל* complètement nul ou annulé,
 ברוך ומבורך *mille fois* béni,
 יחיד ומיוחד *absolument* unique,
 שונה ומשונה *tout ce qu'il y a de plus* différent,
 מלא וממלא *archi-plein*,
 רחוק ומרחק³ très éloigné, etc.

¹ כשל מבשל במים (Ex. 12 9) *cuit, préparé à l'eau* n'a rien à voir ici, n'étant pas une répétition pour *renforcer* le sens. En effet, מבשל במים n'est qu'une *parenthèse* ou une *apposition* pour déterminer l'acception précise de כשל à laquelle on fait allusion dans ce passage, le même terme étant employé ailleurs dans le sens de *cuire au feu*, rôtir (2. Chr. 35 13). — Quant à חפש מחפש (Ps. 64 7), le texte y est trop douteux et trop obscur pour nous permettre de reconnaître la vraie valeur de cette expression.

² מוסד n'est pas, comme l'admet Gesenius (Handw., יסד), un *hof'al* qui rendrait *superflue* la reduplication de la 2^e radicale. Car, si la Massora nous a conservé ce *dageš fort* malgré l'apparente exception, c'est que nous sommes en présence d'un *archaïsme*. En effet, la voyelle précédant ici la reduplication n'est longue qu'en apparence; en réalité, c'est un *u bref* (ü = ו) qui a reculé pour remplacer un *sheva mobile*: מוסד provient de מוסד, müssad < m'wussad. Le phénomène est, d'ailleurs, bien connu comme affectant, dans les mêmes conditions, la lettre *alef* qui devient alors *quiescente* comme notre *waw* ici; par ex. ראשים < ראשים, מאתים < מאתים, etc. Or, m'wussad est la forme *archaïque* de m'jussad, le verbe appartenant aux פ"י. Donc, c'est le partic. passif de la forme *Intensive* (pu'al) sous laquelle, d'ailleurs, ce verbe est si usité dans la Bible. Une bonne raison contre le *hof'al* est déjà ce fait que nous ne trouvons guère יסד sous la forme causative. — Quant au phénomène même du *recul vocal*, il n'est pas isolé chez le *waw*; nous le retrouvons dans Job 5 7: יללד provenant de יללד, passif du *gal*.

³ Le même procédé a très probablement présidé à la formation des expressions *nominales* abstraites: בוקה ומבוקה (Nah. 2 11) *grande calamité* = באִשָּׁה, שמה ומשואה

Ce dernier type d'expressions nous fera saisir facilement comment a pu se former l'étonnant *juron*, répandu chez les Juifs espagnols, pour taxer quelqu'un de la plus grande méchanceté: *רע ומצורע méchant et lépreux*. On se demande ce que le *lépreux* pourrait bien avoir à faire ici, car on ne voit guère en quoi la *lèpre* caractériserait la méchanceté. Or, la chose est bien simple. Notre *lépreux* est tombé ici par un pur hasard, victime d'une *analogie* malencontreuse: voulant renforcer *רע méchant*, selon la manière habituelle, par la répétition sous forme de *partic. pass. intensif*, on se heurta contre une difficulté phonétique ou grammaticale sortant un peu de l'ordinaire, l'adjectif en question dérivant d'une racine *gémignée* avec 2^e et 3^e radicales *gutturales*, *רעע*. Or, dans ces circonstances, rien n'était mieux fait pour trancher la difficulté que le qualificatif *מצורע lépreux*, donnant par sa *forme* satisfaction à tous les besoins de l'analogie: il *répète* par sa dernière syllabe l'adjectif à renforcer, il a aussi la *forme intensive* du *part. pass.*, requise dans ces occasions. De plus, le sens propre de *m'çora'*, ne représentant également rien d'appétissant, ajoutait à l'expression une nouvelle nuance pour rendre aussi le *dégoût* inspiré par la méchanceté.

Pour des raisons analogues, nous rencontrons dans l'usage moderne l'expression *יזר ומזר* ¹ tout à fait *étranger*, quoique *מזר*, employé isolément, ne signifie que *bizarre*.

V

Si nous passons aux verbes, nous pouvons y rencontrer le même procédé que chez les adjectifs. Pour *renforcer* le sens, on répète le verbe à un *autre thème*, en préférant l'*Intensif*, par ex.:

אם תעירו ואם תעורו ² (Cant. 2 7; 3 5; 8 4) que vous n'éveilliez point ni ne réveilliez!

(Soph. 1 15) grand malheur = *סוּא*. — Le *waw* conjonctif remplit, en outre, un rôle assez important, dans ce que l'on pourrait appeler la *répétition mixte*, où il sert à unir des *catégories* grammaticales bien sensiblement *différentes*, par ex.: *'iddan w'iddanīm* (aram.) bien longtemps, *haftē wafelē* c'est merveilleux, *lifnaḡ w'lifnām* tout à l'intérieur, *rōš w'rīšōn* le tout premier. Nous le retrouverons aussi plus loin, dans les verbes.

¹ *מזר* ne se trouve qu'une fois dans la Bible (Ps. 69 9). La version *syriaque* traduit *ונוכריא* = hébr. *זר* et *étranger*. Les modernes corrigent *כמו זר* comme un étranger. Le mot, prétendu donc douteux, est pourtant très courant dans l'usage post-biblique.

² Il serait un peu risqué de ranger ici les deux express. peu claires d'*Is. 29 9*: *השתעשעו ותמהו, התמהמו ותמהו* (comme *triple* répétition alors); car d'autres sont tentés d'y chercher des verbes *différents*, mais simplement *homonymes*. — Pour la même raison, nous laisserons encore de côté ici *התקוששו וקישו* (Soph. 2 1).

סגרת וּמִסְגֶּרֶת (Jos. 6 1) close et fermée *avec soin*,
 מִי שֶׁהוֹמָה וְהוֹמָה (Lév. Rabba 22 1, 2) qui désire *ardemment*.

Nous arrivons ainsi au procédé original et classique dont dispose la langue hébraïque pour renforcer le verbe et dont les traductions anciennes ne savaient que rarement rendre les nuances. C'est une *répétition* qui se fait par l'*Infinitif*, surtout par celui du thème qui affecte le verbe intéressé, par ex.: הָקָם תִּקָּם (Deut. 22 5), הָשֵׁב תִּשָּׁב (Deut. 24 2, 13), *hibbōq libbōq* (Is. 24 3), *šallem i'shallem* (Ex. 22 13), גָּבַב גִּבְבָּתִּי (Gen. 40 15). Mais cet Infinitif peut aussi, sans égard au thème du verbe qu'il répète, se mettre au *Qal*, comme dans: *saqōl issaqel* (Ex. 21 28), *ṭarōf ṭoraf* (Gen. 37 33), *ganōbh igganebh* (Ex. 22 11), *mōt hithmot'ṭa* (Is. 24 19) etc. Notons que c'est presque toujours l'*Infin. absolu* et que, généralement, il précède son verbe.

Quoique le fait même de cette *Répétition infinitive* soit classique et qu'elle relève plutôt de la syntaxe, essayons au moins d'esquisser les principales *nuances de signification* qu'elle sert à exprimer et qu'on ne saurait rendre dans une autre langue qu'à l'aide de particules *conjonctives* spéciales ou d'expressions *adverbiales*.

Signalons tout d'abord deux nuances déjà rencontrées souvent au cours de cette étude et qui, sans être bien caractéristiques du verbe, s'y rencontrent pourtant également. Ce sont l'*Intensité* et l'*Itération*. C'est dans un sens *intensif* qu'il faut entendre des expressions comme: *sōs asīs* (Is. 61 10) je me réjouirai beaucoup; *halōkh halakhta* (Gen. 31 30) Vulgate: ire *cupiebas* = tu tenais à t'en aller; *nikhsōf nikhsafta* (item) Ostervald: tu souhaitais *avec passion*. Mais, seul le sens *itératif* conviendra à d'autres exemples: *bakhō tibhkē ballaḵlū* (Thr. 1 2) Osterv.: elle *ne cesse* de pleurer pendant la nuit; *aqōbh ia' aqobh* (Jer. 9 3) idem: il *fait métier* de supplanter, etc.

La plupart des nuances de sens mentionnées jusqu'ici sont *objectives*. En effet, quantité ou nombre, distribution, continuité, itération, intensité — toutes ne nous renseignent que sur des modifications

¹ La vocalisation biblique, donnant à סגרת la forme *active*, semble bien surprenante. Il se peut bien que nous soyons en présence d'un ancien partic. *passif* du *qal*: *sugereth* à l'instar de *ukkal* (Ex. 3 2) = *ukal*; mais, un phénomène de *dissimilation*, produit par le verbe *passif* immédiatement suivant, aurait changé *sugereth* en *sogereth*.

affectant le monde *extérieur* au sujet pensant. Or, le vrai rôle, spécial à la Répétition infinitive, est de caractère *subjectif* et *énergique*: elle exprime des *relations du sujet* qui n'obligent en rien la réalité même, notamment elle fait mieux ressortir différents degrés d'*énergie* dans l'*affirmation* et dans l'*antithèse*.

Dans l'*Affirmation*, positive ou négative, la répétition infinitive peut servir à rendre:

1^o des déclarations exprimant une certitude, une conviction, une promesse ou une *assurance*, par ex.:

'elōhīm paqōd i fqod 'ethkhem (Gen. 50 24) Osterv.: Dieu ne manquera point de vous visiter;

tarōf toraf jōsef (Gen. 37 33) idem: certainement Joseph a été déchiré;

jakhōl tūkhal (1. Sam. 26 25) tu viendras sûrement à bout;

הַיָּמָה אֵימָה עִמָּךְ (Gen. 32 13) je promets de te faire du bien.

2^o un *droit* accordé (ou refusé) ou un *devoir* vivement recommandé, par ex.:

וּמָכַר לֹא תִמְכְּרָנָהּ (Deut. 21 14) Vulg.: nec vendere poteris = mais tu n'auras pas le droit de la vendre;

לוֹ הַשֵּׁב תִּשְׁבְּנוּ (Ex. 23 4) tu devras le lui ramener.

3^o une *loi* juridique ou un *ordre* imposé pouvant, au besoin, être exécutés par voie coercitive, par ex.:

šallem š'allem (Ex. 22 13) Vulg.: reddere compelletur = il sera obligé de rendre;

mōth jūmath (Ex. 21, passim) il sera puni de mort inmanquablement.

Quant à l'*Antithèse*, la répétition infinitive sait lui donner plus de relief de plusieurs manières:

1^o sous forme de *question énergique* à laquelle on attend une réponse *négative* par ex.:

הִיֶּעֱלֶה־פֶּה מִן־הָאֲדָמָה וּלְכוֹר לֹא יִלְכֹּד (Am. 3 5) lèverait-on le filet de dessus la terre avant d'avoir rien pris du tout?

הַמֶּלֶךְ תִּמְלֹךְ עָלֵינוּ (Gen. 37 8) est-ce que vraiment tu règneras sur nous?

2^o en relevant des cas *particuliers* ou des circonstances *spéciales*, par ex.:

אם חבל תחבל שלמת רעד (Ex. 22 25) *dans le cas où tu prendrais en gage le vêtement de ton prochain;*

'im ṭarōf iṭṭaref (Ex. 22 12) *dans le cas où il (bœuf, âne etc.) aurait été déchiré.*

3^e en *comparant* ou en *opposant* entre eux deux états ou actions contraires, comme:

הלך ילך ובכה... בא יבא ברנה (Ps. 126 6) *il ira en pleurant . . . il reviendra avec un cri de joie;*

ה' ארך אפים . . . ונקם לא ינקם (Num. 14 18) *Dieu est lent à la colère . . . mais il ne laisse point (le coupable) impuni.*

VI

Si nous venons maintenant à résumer les différents phénomènes de *répétition de la racine* passés en revue dans cette étude, nous pourrons les grouper assez nettement en cinq catégories, comme il suit:

1^o la Répétition *pure et simple*;

2^o la Réduplication sous forme de radicaux *quadrilittères* et *quinquilittères*;

3^o la Répétition *génitive*, ou construite;

4^o la Répétition *paronymique*, ou sans construction;

5^o la Répétition *infinitive*.

Comme phénomène de Répétition le plus simple, on pourrait signaler la *réduplication de la 2^e radicale*, qui constitue à elle seule — par la répétition d'une seule consonne — le thème *Intensif* des verbes. Mais, s'il s'agit de déterminer le phénomène de répétition le plus *primitif dans le temps*, il faudra certainement s'adresser à la «Répétition pure et simple» du mot, sans aucun changement de forme.

La tendance paronymique étudiée jusqu'ici, étant basée sur l'*étymologie*, a donc un double caractère, *sémantique* aussi bien que *phonétique*. En se dissociant, elle peut donc engendrer deux autres phénomènes de répétition:

1^o la Répétition *synonymique*, ne se préoccupant que du sens, qui est très répandue en *hébreu*, par ex.:

השך ואפלה obscurité complète,

שקר וכזב absolument faux,

מוכן ומזמן tout prêt,
אין אפס rien de rien, etc.;

2^o la Répétition *paronomastique*, faisant cas surtout de la *ressemblance des sons* sans s'occuper de leur étymologie, qui a fourni à l'*arabe* une assez riche végétation d'expressions à l'allure *fantasque*, comme:

شذر مذر (*šadar mādar*) dispersé ci et là,
جذع مذج (*ǧidā' midā'*) de tout côté,
سائع لائع (*sā'ig lā'ig*) de facile déglutition,
حيث حيث (*haiṭha baiṭha*) dispersé,
قليل قليل (*qalīl baṭīl*) peu;

ou à l'air plus raisonnable, comme:

بَرًّا وَبَحْرًا par terre et par mer,
حَسَبَ وَنَسَبَ (*ḥasab wanasab*) mérite propre et noblesse d'origine, etc.

Mais ces deux nouvelles espèces de répétitions sortent complètement du cadre de la présente étude.

A COLONY OF CRETAN MERCENARIES ON THE COAST OF THE NEGEB

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WE read Deut. 2²³: And the 'Awwîm, who dwelt in villages (or, fortified camps¹) as far as Gaza—the Kaftôrîm who came from Kaftôr destroyed them and dwelt in their stead. Jos. 13³ also mentions the 'Awwîm as an appendix to a list of the inhabitants of the five Philistine cities, but the name may be merely an archaistic ornament, and not indicate that this mysterious people² was still in existence at the time of composition. In all our sources Gaza appears as the southern limit of the Canaanites proper. Gen. 10¹⁹ states:

¹ The term *ḥaṣerîm* (sing. *ḥaṣêr*) means properly "enclosed camps," being etymologically related to the place-name *Ḥaṣôr*. The cognate Arabic word is *ḥaṣîrah*, "enclosure for cattle, sheep-fold," though *ḥaḍar*, "fixed settlement," in distinction to Bedu camp, which appears in Aramaic as *ḥêrtâ* (whence the place-name al-*Hîra*) "permanent camp" may have fallen together with it in Hebrew. In Gen. 25¹⁶ (AV, "castles") and Is. 42¹¹ the word refers unmistakably to the permanent, and hence enclosed, or fortified camps of Arabia Petraea. This seems also to be the meaning in our passage. Later, in Palestine proper, the word comes to mean "village" in distinction to the walled, "mother" cities (cf. esp. Lev. 25¹¹).

² 2 Kings 17³¹ we hear that 'Awwîm were among the peoples transported by the Assyrians to Samaria, where they still paid honour to their gods, Nibḥaz and Tartag. Hommel (OLZ, XV, 118) has pointed out that the gods are clearly identical with Ibaḥaza and Dagdadra, which appear in an Assyrian list of Elamite divinities, though never mentioned in Susian texts, and hence certainly not Elamite in the narrow sense. His association of the 'Awwîm with the city of Awan on the Elamite-Babylonian frontier hardly commends itself, though the city is unquestionably one of the most ancient in Mesopotamia. While the perfect agreement in name may be purely accidental, it is worth bearing in mind. Nor is it impossible that the Ghawwîm (so read, since the *ṡ* in non-Semitic words usually indicates a *gh*) of the Negeb were really a Zagros folk whom the Hyksos settled here, and whom the Pharaohs of the Eighteenth Dynasty replaced with Cretan mercenaries.

And the territory (lit. border) of the Canaanites was from Sidon, as thou goest in the direction of Gerar (*i. e.*, southward) as far as Gaza. Similarly, as Gardiner has pointed out (JEA¹ VI, 104) the southernmost town of the Canaanites, called by Sethos I *dmwt n p3 Kn'n*, "city of 'the' Canaan," was Gaza. But beyond Gaza were arable stretches of ground, gardens, and palm-groves,² which, combined with the profitable caravan trade, supported many flourishing towns,—Gerar (perhaps Tell Jemmeh, in the Wâdi Ghazze, two miles south of Umm Jerrâr) Raphia (Eg. *Rph*, mod. Rafa'), Sharuhén (variant Sillîm, which the Eg. *Šr(l)h* indicates should be pronounced Sillôn), etc. Since the term "Canaanite" seems to have been very elastic, it is strange that this district is not assigned to them.

The answer to this problem is indicated by the passage in Deuteronomy already cited. The author of this work from the seventh century, whether using older sources or not, is obviously endeavouring to place himself in as archaic a background as possible. Accordingly, he takes care not to put in Moses's mouth anything incompatible with the historical situation as he conceives it to have been. Knowing that the Philistines were later intruders who did not occupy the coast until many decades after the Judæo-Israelite conquest of the hinterland, he does not mention them at all; the Caphtorim who occupy the coast south of Gaza have nothing to do with the Philistines who came in during the twelfth century, but were an independent body of much earlier immigrants.

Now we are ready to understand 1 Sam. 30¹⁴, where the Egyptian slave of the Amalekite says, We made a raid upon the Negeb belonging to the Krēti (Cherethites) * * * and upon the Negeb belonging to Caleb. The latter is the region of Beersheba, and the former is the district between it and the sea. Verse 16, however, refers to the land of the Cherethites under the general head, "land of the Philistines." This is perfectly natural, since both the Philistines and the Caphtorim are said to come from Caphtor or Crete, and

¹ Note the abbreviations JEA = *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, OLZ = *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*.

² Every traveler on the railway from Egypt to Palestine remembers that even today there are long stretches of arable lands in the country between El-'Ariš and Gaza, a distance of fifty miles. The palm-groves of El-'Ariš are wonderfully beautiful in the autumn.

hence possessed similar cultures, whether their languages were similar or not. The same loose usage is shown by the prophets; Ezekiel (25 16) and Zephaniah (2 5) use the terms *Pelistim* and *Krētīm* synonymously.

The twenty-sixth chapter of Genesis can now be interpreted with some hope of success. As is well-known, the parallel story told in Ch. 20 of Abraham is merely an Elohist doublet to our Judaic document, and has no independent value. Isaac, representing the Hebrew tribe of the Benê Yiṣḥaq, has a controversy over some lands and wells with the subjects of Abimelech, the "Philistine" prince of Gerar. Isaac dwells in Beersheba, thirty-five miles southeast of Gerar in a straight line, and makes a treaty with Abimelech after being compelled to yield ground. There is no reason to doubt the essential historicity of the account, nor of the names. Phichol, or Pikhôl (פִּיכֹל) the prince's military aid, bears, as Spiegelberg has seen, an Egyptian name, of a common type, meaning "The Syrian" (cf. Phinehas, "The Nubian").¹ However, the modern term "Philistine", has been substituted for the more archaic "Kaftôri," or "Krēti." If we may judge from the name, the Cretan colonists had lost, or were losing their language, and adopting the Canaanite vernacular, Hebrew, just as the Philistine did in his turn. The date of our episode is quite uncertain, and it may have happened anywhere between 1700 and 1300 (cf. the writer's article on "A Revision of Early Hebrew Chronology"), though a date in the Eighteenth Dynasty is perhaps more likely than one in the Hyksos period.

We have already noticed the Egyptian military colouring of the Cretan colonists in Gerar. We may further note that as late as David's reign the Cretans (Cherethites) are regarded as particularly reliable mercenaries, and hence serve as David's personal bodyguard, just as Rameses III. has a Sardinian bodyguard, and the Byzantine emperors their Varangian guard of Norsemen. David may have won their attachment during his early days in Ziklag, just as he won the

¹ In Egyptian *P3-H3rw*, a very common name in the New Empire. The Egyptian term *Hl*, for Palestine, is just as obscure as *Rtn* and *Dh*, and we may suspect that they are heirlooms from the most remote antiquity. At all events, *Hl* cannot be explained as identical either with the name *Hôrīm*, or with the *Harri*, a Mitannian people who occupied Palestine during the first half of the second millennium, to judge from the proper names of the Amarna period.

affection of Ittai and the men of Gath, but the fact is characteristic. If the Cretans had considered themselves as Philistines, his proverbial hostility to the Philistines would be dangerous, to say the least. The evident truth is that they did not.

The Cretan colonists on the coast of the Negeb are to be regarded as an Egyptian frontier garrison. Evidence regarding the use of foreigners for this purpose in the Eighteenth Dynasty is unfortunately lacking, though the extensive use of mercenaries in this period is certain, and in the Saite period we know that Carians and Jews were employed to garrison the frontiers. The Egyptians have never been a military people, though quite capable of savagery in a riot. The proof of our thesis comes from an indirect source.

Gardiner, JEA VI (1920) 99—116, has published a very important article on "The Ancient Military Road between Egypt and Palestine." In the Nineteenth Dynasty there was an elaborate chain of fortresses stretching along the military road from Sele ("Zaru"), the modern Qanṭarah, to the Egyptian frontier at Raphia, still, curiously enough, the official frontier. On this route there were some twenty-two fortresses, an average distance of two hours, or a Babylonian *bēru*, apart. The list of names in the reign of Sethos I. (1313—1292) shows that he had renamed most of them; probably they had fallen into disrepair or ruin during the preceding half-century. The existence of such a chain of forts and stations was a prerequisite for the success of the campaigns of the great Pharaohs of the Eighteenth Dynasty. We can trace them to a still earlier date. The Hyksos Empire, partly in Asia and partly in Egypt, with its capital at Avaris, in the northeastern corner of the Delta, required a strong line of fortresses to insure an unbroken liaison between the two halves of the realm, so we may safely assume that it goes back to their rule, and that the Egyptians of the Eighteenth Dynasty merely maintained a system to which they had fallen heir. After the loss of Avaris, the Hyksos retired to the Syrian end of this line, and were able to hold Šilhôn (see above) three years against the attacks of Amosis I., as we learn from the famous inscription of the admiral Amosis son of Iḥn. We may suppose that the Cretans passed from Hyksos to Egyptian service without difficulty, just as the Jews of Elephantine passed from Egyptian to Persian a millennium later.

We are justified in asking the question, at least, What was the real relation between the Pelištîm, the Kaftôrîm, and the Krētîm? Some have sought an answer to it in Gen. 19 13f.: And Mišrâyîm begot the Lûdîm, and the 'Anamîm, and the Lehabîm, and the Naftûhîm, and the Patrûsîm, and the Kaslûhîm, and the Kaftôrîm. There can be no reasonable doubt that the words "from whom came forth the Pelištîm" are a misplaced gloss explaining Kaftôrîm, owing to the fact that Amos says the Philistines came from Caphtor. In interpreting our passage we must bear in mind that, for all its archaistic tone, the tenth chapter of Genesis was written, at least in its present form, as shown by vv. 2-3 and 12, about 700, or perhaps a little later. Four of these names are known. The Lûdîm are elsewhere the Lydians (it is hard to divine the theory which made our author include Lûd among the Semitic peoples in v. 22); the Lehabîm are the Libyans of Marmarica; the Patrûsîm (correctly Patrêsim) are the inhabitants of Pathros, or Upper Egypt (Eg. *p3 t3-ršy*, Assy. Paturisi); the Kaftôrîm are the inhabitants of Crete, according to the almost universal view of scholars, for which new evidence will be adduced below. The Naftûhîm and the Kaslûhîm have not been explained, and the attempts so far made had better be relegated to oblivion; the similarity in ending with the Katmûh (whence the name Commagene) and Kardûh (Carduchians) of Armenia is doubtless accidental, despite its closeness. The name 'Anamîm appears, I believe, along with Kaftôr in a remarkable cuneiform geographical manual from the reign of Sargon II. of Assyria (722-705), published by Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts* (Leipzig, 1920), No. 92. Lines 41-44 read: *A-na-mi* (text *AZAG*, which is impossible) *-ki Kap-ta-ra-ki KÛR-KÛR BAL-RI [A-A] B-BA AN-TA Tilmun-ki Ma-gan-na-ki KÛR-KÛR BAL-R [I] A-AB-BA KI-TA ù KÛR-KÛR TA a BABBAR-Ê* (sic) *EN a BABBAR-ŠU-A ša Šarru-gi-na šar kiššati adi sâlši-šu qât-su ik-šu-du* = "Anami and Kaptara, lands beyond the Upper Sea, Tilmun and Magan, lands beyond the Lower Sea, and the lands from the sunrise to the sunset, which Sargon, king of the world, subdued up to the third (year of his reign)." In view of the character of the orthographic mistakes occurring repeatedly in our tablet, I cannot believe that any other reading except *Anami* is tenable; a similar slovenliness in the writing of *KAP* has prevented Schroeder from recognizing the cuneiform

equivalent of Caphtor. Our text adds this much to the discussion of the problem, that Caphtor is certainly not Cilicia, as Wainwright proposed.¹ Nor can it be Cyprus, which is always Yadanān in late Assyrian inscriptions. We can feel a renewed sense of security; Caphtor is Crete. If Peiser's very probable suggestion be adopted,² the Assyrian Nusisi, mentioned on a text of Esarhaddon discovered at Assur, and published by Messerschmidt, is Cnossus, the old capital of Crete; Chapman's identification with the Peloponnesus is improbable.³ Anami would seem to represent Cyrene, which is very near Crete; moreover the 'Anamīm (note the Hamitic *y*) are mentioned just before the Libyans of Marmarica, between Cyrene, modern Tripoli, and Egypt.

It has been suggested, among others by Sir Arthur Evans, that our passage implies the African origin of the Cretans, but no archaeologist or anthropologist working without bias has been able to find more concrete basis for this extraordinary hypothesis. The Biblical writer may have had some such theory in his mind, like the Greek speculation regarding the Egyptian origin of their own culture, but there is a much more natural explanation. In surveying the different peoples in Egypt and the adjoining territory, he noted the Cretan and Lydo-Carian military colonists, and supposed that they were related to the Egyptians in race. The Kaftōrīm, or Krētīm, had been on the northeastern frontier, and perhaps elsewhere, for many centuries; the Anatolian mercenaries appear in Greek sources as Carians, but in Hebrew as Lydians (so unquestionably in Jer. 46 9 and Ez. 30 5, both of the sixth century. Though the Lydo-Carians first appear under Psammetichus II., they must have been employed as mercenaries much earlier.

¹ See *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, Vol. VI, pp. 69–75. It may be observed, in this connection, that Wainwright's archaeological arguments against the identification of the *Kftyw* with the Cretans are sound; *Kftyw*, however, is not the same word as *Kaftôr*, though perhaps combined with it by popular etymology, but is an Egyptian appellative, meaning "strangers," or "barbarians," from the verb *kf*, "to ward off," and is thus a parallel formation to *Hftyw*, "foes," and *Ywntyw*, "enemies." The term was early specialized to designate "northern barbarians," and thus included the Cretans, along with other Mediterranean peoples.

² See OLZ, XIV, 475, and XV, 246.

³ See OLZ, XV, 59, and XVI, 347–349.

It is hardly likely that there is any intimate connection between the Philistines and the Cretans, aside from the fact that they both came from Crete. In my paper, "A Revision of Early Hebrew Chronology," I have shown philological reason for identifying the Philistines with the Pelasgians; the historical and archaeological argument has convinced many, despite the philological difficulty. For the Pelasgians, Crete was merely a station on their career of conquest, but though many of them migrated again from Crete at the time of the Achæan invasion, we still find them on the island in the age of Homer. In a famous passage of the *Odyssey* the poet says (τ, 175): that there were five peoples, all speaking different tongues, on the island,—Achæans, Eteocretans, Cydonians, Dorians, and Pelasgians. Of these we may safely identify the Eteocretans, or "true" Cretans, Cretan aborigines, with the Caphtorim, or Cherethites. Greek tradition, based on Cretan sources, derives the Iapygians, or Messapians, as well as the Lycians, from Crete; the little known of the language spoken by the Messapians of southeastern Italy shows it to have been nearly the same as Lycian (*e. g.*, the Messapian genitive suffix *aihi* and *ihi* is identical with the Lycian *ahi*, *chi*). Hence we may suppose that the Caphtorim spoke a dialect of the same tongue. On the other hand, we know nothing yet of the Pelasgian language. It may have been related to Lycian-Cretan-Messapian; it may belong with Hittite-Luyya (*i. e.* Lujja)-Lydian-Carian,¹ or with the so-called Proto-Hattian, which seems to have been the native Cappadocian tongue. It is not so likely that it belongs to the Harrian-Mitannian-Chaldian group. The renewed study of the place-names in the light of the Boghazkeui material may help somewhat, though it is not alone enough to settle the affiliations of the Pelasgian language and people. For this we may have to wait until the decipherment of the Cretan inscriptions, begun

¹ The Hittite and Lydo-Carian proper-names are closely related, and Forrer (*Die acht Sprachen der Boghazköi-Inschriften*, Berlin, 1919) has shown that the two languages are related; cf. esp. p. 1035. Forrer's Luvian should be however, Luyyan, as Hrozný has pointed out (*Über die Völker und Sprachen des alten Chatti-landes*, Leipzig, 1920, p. 39). One can hardly doubt that Greek Ludia and Hittite Luyya, whose inhabitants speak essentially the same language, and worship the same god Sandon, are identical; the native form of the name may have been *Lujja* (*i. e.*, *Ludžža*).

auspiciously by Evans and Sundwall, is completed. The Palestinian archaeologist may contribute by exploring the mounds under which lie buried the remains of the civilization transplanted to Palestine by the Cretan, Pelasgian, and Sicilian colonists.¹

¹ This long-desired task has now been begun by the Palestine Exploration Fund, under the very competent direction of Garstang and Phythian-Adams, now at work (May, 1921) in the Philistine strata of Ashkelon. In this connection the writer wishes to express his indebtedness to Mr. Phythian-Adams, since it was under the stimulus of his keen and independent criticism of current views that the foregoing paper grew.

METHEG HA-AMMAH

By S. TOLKOWSKY

וַיְהִי אֶת־רִיבֹן וַיִּךְ דָּוִד אֶת־פְּלִשְׁתִּים וַיִּכְנְעֵם

וַיִּקַּח דָּוִד אֶת־מֶתֶג הָאָמָה מִיַּד פְּלִשְׁתִּים

(2 Samuel 8 1)

FEW passages of the Bible have caused greater difficulty to translators and commentators than the present one. This is how *Hasting's Dictionary of the Bible* (1900) summarises the various renderings proposed:

AV and RVm in 2 S. 8 1 "David took Metheg-ammah (מתג האמה) out of the hand of the Philistines." AVm has "the bridle of the mother city." This last rendering is pronounced to be "probable" by Driver (*Text of Sam.*), who points out (see his references) that **אם** has the sense of *mother city* or *capital* in Phoenician. "The bridle of the mother city" would mean the authority of the metropolis or capital of the Philistines, namely Gath (so Ges., Keil, Stade). Budde (in *SBOT*) makes various objections to this, and leaves the expression blank in his Heb. text as irrecoverably corrupt. The LXX reads τῆς ἀφωρισμένης, which *may*, according to Wellhausen, imply a reading מתגרשה. Wellh. himself (*Sam.* 174) emends to גַּת הָאָמָה "Gath the mother city," comparing 1 Ch 18 1 גַּת וּבְנוֹתֶיהָ ("Gath and her daughter towns"), which he argues may have arisen from the text he postulates in Samuel. Klostermann attempts to obtain from the two texts (of S. and Ch.) אֶת־גַּת וְאֶת־גְּבוּלָהּ יָמָה "Gath and her border to the west." Thenius emends to מֶתֶג הַמָּדָה "bridle of tribute," i. e. "David laid the Philistines under tribute." Löhr despairs of recovering either the meaning or the text. Cheyne (*Expos. Times*, Oct. 1899, p. 48) emends to אֶת־אַשְׁדּוֹד מְחוֹז הַיָּם, "Ashdod, the city of the sea." Sayce (*EHH*, 414n)

suggests that **מֶתֶגַּ הָאֲמָה** is the Heb. transcription of the Bab. *mētēg ammati* (for *mētēq ammati*) = "the highroad of the mainland" of Palestine. The reference would thus be to the command of the highroad of trade which passed through Canaan from Asia to Egypt and Arabia; but the appearance of such distinctly Babylonian words in Hebrew of this date is extremely improbable.

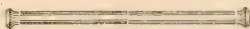
(Cf. *HDB* s. v. 'Metheg Ammah'.)

The most natural translation of this verse would be the literal one, viz. "the bridle of the cubit," according to the usual translation of **מֶתֶגַּ**.

The particle **אֵת** in **אֵת מֶתֶגַּ הָאֲמָה** denotes that **מֶתֶגַּ** must be the name of a definite kind of object well known to the public. This object stands in some connection to the cubit (**אֲמָה**), the unit of measurement common in the country at the time of the compiler of the Second Book of Samuel; if it referred to any other cubit than that commonly used at the time the writer would have defined it and would not have called it, in a matter-of-course way, *the* cubit. Furthermore the object described as "the **מֶתֶגַּ** of the cubit" must have been of great importance in the eyes of the Hebrews. This is evidenced by the following two facts. 1. The action of taking the **מֶתֶגַּ הָאֲמָה** out of the hand of Philistines was considered by the author of the passage worthy of being recorded in history. 2. The taking away of it is represented as the only lasting result of a victorious campaign, for **וַיִּכְנַעֵם** does not necessarily mean placing the vanquished people under permanent subjection; indeed David's campaign partakes rather of the character of a raid than of that of a regular war, and in contradistinction to what is claimed about the Moabites, the author does not pretend that the Philistines became tributary to David. The net result of the successful raid seems thus clearly to have been the mere carrying away of the **מֶתֶגַּ הָאֲמָה**. The conclusion seems therefore justified that the **מֶתֶגַּ הָאֲמָה** was something of very great importance to the Hebrews. On the other hand it cannot have been considered of very great importance by the Philistines, for otherwise they would certainly have taken steps to recover it; as a matter of fact it is never mentioned again. It may be noted in this connection that the translation "David took the Metheg-ha-Ammah out of the hand of the Philistines" may convey a wrong impression; the Hebrew text

מִיַּד פְּלִשְׁתִּים may simply mean "out of the hand of Philistines," a rendering which would accentuate again the unimportance of the object in question to the Philistines. As to the nature of the מֶתֶג itself, it seems certain that it was a movable object, such as could be easily taken hold of and carried away in the course of a rapid raid.

What is the meaning of מֶתֶג? The word is used five times only in the Bible, viz. in 2 S. 8 1 (the passage under consideration), 2 K. 19 28, Is. 37 29, Prov. 26 3, and Ps. 32 9. In all these passages it is translated "bridle." Rabbi David Kimḥi defines מֶתֶג as follows: "the long iron which is put into the mouth of the animal to guide it, and it is what is called in the vernacular פֶּרִין, and it is similar to a רֶסֶן but is not made after the same pattern." Now, the word פֶּרִין of Kimḥi (= *frein*) is the French name for our "bar bit;" and according to his description he has in view more particularly the very plainest pattern of a bar bit, the one which the French call *mors troyen* (= Trojan bit), and which is the typical bit used by the ancient chariot drivers, as illustrated for instance on the



מתג

Egyptian monuments. On the other hand the רֶסֶן is nothing other than the "ring bit" used to this day in Palestine and the East for saddle horses; its shape is quite different and more complicated. רֶסֶן occurs four times in the Bible, viz. in Is. 30 28, Ps. 32 9, and Job 30 11 and 41 5. It will be observed that the earliest mention of the bit in any of its two forms occurs in the passage now being dealt with, a fact which can only be explained on the assumption that the Hebrews possessed no horses before that time; indeed the earliest mention of the use of the horse by them occurs precisely in the Second Book of Samuel, and in the very same chapter, verse 4, where it is shown that David began its use by reserving one hundred captured chariots with their horses; in 2 Sam. 15 1 we further learn that "Absalom prepared him chariots and horses." The Philistines however had horses and chariots as the most important part of their military equipment, and it is only natural to assume that it is from them that the Hebrews first acquired the knowledge of the bit and that they called it by the same name by which the Philistines used to call it. The word מֶתֶג would thus be a foreign word, which seems to accord with the fact that there is in the

Hebrew language no other word of the same root. We are thus safe in assuming that **מתג** was the name by which the Philistines used to call the particular bit used by their chariot drivers and that it had the shape of a plain iron bar. I am also tempted to believe that they used the same word for any iron bar in general; even in the Bible **מתג** seems to occur once with the meaning of a bar or rod, viz. in the parallelism contained in Prov. 26 3: "a whip for the horse, a **מתג** for the ass, and a rod for the fool's back." I therefore translate **את מתג האמה** "the iron rod of the cubit." Accepting the arguments above set forth, I deduce that David in the course of his raid over the Philistine border got hold of a certain iron rod which was well known to the Hebrew public at the time of the composition of the Second Book of Samuel as standing in some definite relation to the ell or cubit commonly used in their time. It may be noted in this connexion that, according to 1 Chr. 22 3, David "prepared iron in abundance for the nails of the doors of the gates (of the Temple), and for the joinings."

Now, what could have been the exact nature of the "iron rod of the cubit" which David brought back from his raid into the Philistine country? If we accept the common view that the civilisation of the Philistines was derived from Crete or the Aegean, and if we admit with H. R. Hall¹ that "it is to Egypt, if anywhere, that we must look for the origin of the Aegean weights and measures," we are at once led to think of the ancient ells that have been unearthed in that country. It is known that in Egypt there were two cubits: a larger one called the "royal" cubit and a smaller one called the "common" cubit; the relation between the two was as 7 : 6. Now, the ancient wooden ells unearthed in Egypt are marked with two distinct measures. On the one side the whole length of the rod is marked by an inscription as being the "royal ell," and it is divided into two half-cubits, one of which shows also the measure of one handbreadth and its four fingerbreadths. On the other side of the rod is marked the "common" ell, designated as such by an inscription; this ell is only $\frac{6}{7}$ ths of the length of the royal ell marked on the other side of the rod, and it is divided into fingerbreadths which in their turn are subdivided into $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, and so on until $\frac{1}{16}$ th part

¹ See H. R. Hall: *Aegean Archaeology*, London 1915, p. 232.

of a fingerbreadth. It is clear that we have here not merely a comparison of the two ells used in Egypt, but the systematic and legal subdivision of the larger royal ell whose length is equal to seven handbreadths of the common ell.¹ Both cubits were used in Egypt at the same time; but whilst the larger one, the royal ell, was more particularly used for building purposes, the smaller common ell, with its subsidiary divisions, was in all probability used for more delicate work and for measuring goods and other objects the size of which was to be determined with a greater amount of precision. For the same reason—greater precision—it seems likely that with the advance of civilisation the common ell should gradually displace the older and less precise royal ell; perhaps that is the reason of its designation as “common.” Now, if the Philistines had received, directly or indirectly, from Egypt their weights and measures, there is every likelihood—since they were the immediate neighbours of that country—that they also borrowed from it rods of the ell similar to those which we have just described, or at least the idea of such ells, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that David, who is stated to have lived for years as a refugee in the Philistine country, must have seen such rods there and must have had occasion to convince himself of their superiority, as an instrument of measure, over the primitive method, used in his native country, of measuring “after a cubit of a man” (באמת איש Dt. 3¹¹).

I thus believe that the *מתג האמה* which David brought back from his raid was neither more nor less than an exact reproduction in iron of the wooden ells which existed in Egypt. And now we shall understand why the historian considered the bringing home of this trophy sufficiently important to deserve specific mention in the book. Previous to David the Hebrews had been a collection of disunited and sometimes mutually hostile tribes; it was he who welded them together and made them into an organised state. During his stay in the Philistine country David had had the opportunity of convincing himself of the importance attached, in any well organised state, to the completest possible uniformity in measures of weight and length and therefore to the possession of accurate standards of these measures. It is thus only natural to suppose that, as soon as his kingdom

¹ See F. Hultsch: *Griechische und Römische Metrologie*, Berlin 1882, pp. 350 ff.

was consolidated and its organisation had reached some degree of perfection, he should have felt the wish to set up a legal standard, if possible recognised already by other well organised nations, and by which should be determined the exact length of the cubit and its subdivisions on the "measuring-lines," "measuring-rods" and "measuring-sticks" used throughout his kingdom. For the manufacture of such standards one generally chooses a material which is subject to little alteration; in olden times iron was largely used for the purpose (*cf.* in England the "Iron Ulne of our Lord the King"-Edward I.) It was a common custom with the ancients to deposit the standards of their weights and measures either in the palaces of their kings or in their sanctuaries. We are justified in supposing that in strict accordance with this general custom David, once he had secured the **מתג האמה** from the Philistines, kept it first in his palace or fortress and later directed it to be placed for safe custody in the Temple that was to be built. For we learn from 1 Chron. 23 26-29 that "by the last words of David" the Levites were appointed "to wait on the sons of Aaron . . . for all manner of measure and size;" the Talmud also (*Men.* 98*a*) refers to two ells mentioned as having been kept in the hall *Šušana* of the Temple.

We have already pointed out that the ells which have been found in Egypt had both the royal and the common ell marked on them; and if my assumption that the **מתג האמה** was an exact copy of these ells is right, the Hebrews may have got from it first hand acquaintance of both these measures. In strict accordance with the Egyptian precedent it was to be expected that the larger "royal" ell should be used by Solomon in building the Temple; and that in the course of time, as civilisation in the kingdom progressed and a more accurate measure became necessary, the larger ell should give way to the smaller one with its more minute subdivisions, so that after a certain time this smaller ell became the "common" ell while the older "royal" ell ceased altogether to be used. That this really was the case is evident from Ezekiel 40 5 and 43 13, as well as from 2 Chron. 3 3. "Ezekiel implies that in his measurement of the Temple . . . the ell was one handbreadth larger than the ell commonly used in his time . . . The fact that Ezekiel measured the Temple by a special ell is comprehensible and significant only on the assumption that this ell was also the standard of measurement of the old Temple of

Solomon. This is confirmed by the statement of the Chronicler that the Temple of Solomon was built according "to cubits after the first measure" (2 Chron. 3 3), implying that a larger ell was used at first, and that this was supplanted in the course of time by a smaller one."¹ And the Talmud (Men. 98a) says again: "Why were two (ells) necessary?—One for silver and gold and one for building purposes."

The translation of מתג האמה by "the iron rod of the cubit," as now suggested, seems therefore to be very reasonable. Moreover the importance attributed by the author of the Second Book of Samuel to the acquisition of this iron *standard* rod appears to be fully justified by the functions which that iron rod came to play subsequently in the economic life of the Hebrew state. Accordingly, so far from being "in all probability corrupt beyond restoration" I venture to think that the Hebrew text of 2 Samuel 8 1 has been transmitted to us in its original purity.

¹ See *Jewish Encyclopedia*, art. "Weights and Measures."

CLASSIFICATION OF JEWISH COINS

SAMUEL RAFFAELI
(JERUSALEM)

THERE is still much indecision in the classification of certain of the Jewish coins. G. F. Hill, for example, is inclined to attribute the "thick shekels" to the First Jewish Revolt (66—70 A. D.), but confesses that their date can only be a matter of conjecture.¹ He allots to the same period the two small bronze coins bearing the legends שנת שנים חרות ציון (Year two, freedom of Zion) and שנת שלוש חרות ציון (Year three, freedom of Zion); while to Simon Maccabeus who first issued Jewish coins he attributes only the Fourth Year bronze coins. The present writer ventures to traverse these views,² and submits the following scheme of classification.

Simon Maccabeus succeeded his brother Jonathan in 143 B. C. (1 Macc. 13 8), and in the third year of his reign (141 B. C.) received



that historic letter from Antiochus VII. (Sidetes) who wrote: "And I give thee leave to coin money for thy country with thine own stamp, and Jerusalem and the sanctuary shall be free" (1 Macc. 15 7).

¹ G. F. Hill, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Palestine*. London, 1914.

² See *P. E. F. Quarterly Statement*, Jan. 1915; and S. Raffaeli, מטבעות היהודים, Jerusalem, 1913.

Elul 141 B. C. to Nisan 140 B. C. was the first year in which these coins were issued, and so we find the silver shekel with the letter **ס** on obverse for the Year One, and also the half-shekel with the letter **ס** on obverse (*Fig. 1 and 2*).

(2)

Rev.

Obr.

ירושלם קדשה

Jerusalem the Holy

חצי השקל

The half-shekel

These were struck during the third year of Simon Maccabeus, being the first year in which these coins were issued.

Attributable to this same year are the larger bronze coins with the legends: *Year one of the redemption of Israel* and *Simon prince of Israel*.

(3)

Rev.

Obr.

שנת אחת
לגאלת ישראל
*Year one
of the
redemption
of Israel*



שמעון נשיא
ישראל
*Simon
prince of
Israel*

(4)

Rev.

Obr.

(As above.)



(As above.)

(5)

Rev.

Obv.

(As above.)



(As above.)

It is questionable whether any other Jewish ruler would have assumed the title of *Simon prince of Israel* but Simon Maccabeus. When he succeeded his brother he proclaimed himself an independent ruler, and no vassel to the king of Syria, Demetrius II.: and the historian (1 Macc. 13 41) writes: "The yoke of the heathen was taken away from Israel. and the people of Israel began to write in their instruments and contracts 'In the first year of Simon the great high priest and captain and leader of the Jews'."

In the Second Year (Nisan 140 to Nisan 139 B. C.) silver shekels and half-shekels were issued with inscriptions similar to those of the First Year silver coins, but bearing on the obverse the letters ש ב for the year two:

(6)

Rev.

Obv.

ירושלים הקדושה

Jerusalem the Holy

שקל ישראל

Shekel of Israel

(7)

Rev.

Obv.

ירושלים הקדושה

Jerusalem the Holy

חצי השקל

The half-shekel

Bronze coins also were issued in this year:

(8)

Rev.

Obv.

שב לחר ישראל

*Year two of the
freedom of Israel*

שמעון נשיא ישראל

*Simon prince of
Israel*

(9)

Rev.

Obv.

שנת שתיים

Year two

חרת ציון

Freedom of Zion

For the Third Year (Nisan 139 to Nisan 138 B. C.) we have silver shekels and half-shekels inscribed as before, but with the letters ש ג for the year three:

(10)

Rev.

Obv.

שקל ישראל

Shekel of Israel

ירושלים הקדושה

Jerusalem the Holy

(11)

Rev.

Obv.

תצי השקל

The half-shekel

ירושלים הקדושה

Jerusalem the Holy

Also a small bronze coin:

(12)

Rev.

Obv.

שנת שלוש

Year three

חרות ציון

Freedom of Zion

and the only silver quarter-shekel.

For the Fourth Year (Nisan 138 to Nisan 137 B. C.) there are similar silver shekels and half-shekels with the letters ש ד for the year four:

(13)

Rev.

Obv.

ירושלים הקדושה

Jerusalem the Holy

שקל ישראל

Shekel of Israel

(14)

*Rev.**Obr.*

ירושלים הקדושה
Jerusalem the Holy



חצי השקל
The half-shekel

(15)

*Rev.**Obr.*

ד
... (year) four



רבע השקל
The quarter-shekel

And also bronze coins:

(16)

*Rev.**Obr.*

לגאלת ציון
*Of the redemption
of Zion*



שנת ארבע
Year four

(17)

*Rev.**Obr.*

שנת ארבע רביע
*Year four;
quarter*



לגאלת ציון
*Of the redemption
of Zion*

(18)

*Rev.**Obr.*

שנת ארבע חצי
*Year four;
half*



לגאלת ציון
*Of the redemption
of Zion*

Why these last two bronze coins are inscribed רביע (quarter) and חצי (half), is not fully known. Some have thought that these were quarter-shekels and half-shekels issued in bronze instead of silver; but now

that half-shekels and quarter-shekels of the fourth year have been found of silver, some other explanation is necessary.

Simon died in the winter of 135 B. C. in the month Shebat, and therefore was still able to issue coins of the Fifth Year (Nisan 137 to Nisan 136 B. C.). To this year is attributable the only silver shekel with the letters $\eta \psi$ for the year five:



Until the actual discovery of such a coin it is not possible to assert that coins were issued during Simon's last year. But it seems certain enough that he was responsible for annual coinages during the five successive years which followed the permission of Antiochus VII.

The theory that these coins could have been issued during the First Revolt (from Elul 66 to Ab 70 A. D.) cannot be accepted, since not only could there not have been five years' coinage, but not even four years in full.

The Jews thus issued coins only during two periods, periods 260 years apart. The first was by Simon Maccabeus; the second by Bar Kokhba who secured a temporary independence in the time of Hadrian. In both the purpose was to proclaim the entire liberty of the land and people; and just as Simon Maccabeus stamped his coins with the legends *Freedom of Zion*, *Freedom of Israel*, *Redemption of Zion*, *Redemption of Israel*, so did Bar Kokhba make use of such expressions as *The Redemption of Jerusalem*, *Freedom of Israel*, *Freedom of Jerusalem*. The Jews had little cause to inscribe coins with *The Freedom of Zion* such time as Zion was hemmed in by Vespasian and Titus.

The first period of coins bearing Hebrew characters ended with Mattathias Antigonus; and the second began with Bar Kokhba's revolt. The coins of this second period were issued under the titles שמעון (Simon), ירושלם (Jerusalem), and אלעזר הכהן (Eleazar the Priest).

Coins in silver and bronze were uttered in three series:

- (1) לחרות ירושלם Of the freedom of Jerusalem.
- (2) שנת אחת לגאולת ישראל The first year of the redemption of Israel.
- (3) שב לחר ישראל The second year of the freedom of Israel.

Between these two periods, the Herod family and the Roman Procurators from C'uponius to Antonius Felix issued coins stamped with Latin and Greek legends, but no coins appeared in Hebrew characters.

POLITICAL PARTIES IN SYRIA AND PALESTINE (QAISÎ AND YEMENÎ)¹

E. N. HADDAD
(JERUSALEM)

THE customs of this country are transmitted orally, from father to son, and not through the medium of writing. In the past few decades European civilization has entered the country, and though, for the sake of the progress of my native land, I am one of its admirers and supporters, I cannot but be filled with regret at the disappearance of the customs which bring so close to us the spirit and the meaning of the Bible. The peasant of today still preserves a great number of primitive customs, just as the plough of today is nearly like the plough employed by the Israelites.

Every visitor to Palestine regards it as a hot-bed of party strife and fanaticism. But it is, in large part, political rather than religious. While there was religious prejudice between the different communities, as in Europe, even the hostility between Muslims and Christians was basically political, under the veil of religion. The Turkish government saw a danger in its Christian subjects, because it knew that they looked for protection to the Christian nations of Europe. The Turkish authorities therefore welcomed and fostered religious fanaticism on the one hand, and party strife on the other, in order to prevent the union of the Arabs, whom they feared, because they were in the majority in Syria.

Two very old, and still clearly defined political parties exist, once spread over the whole of Syria—the Qaisî and the Yemenî,²

¹ I wish to express here my indebtedness to Dr. W. F. Albright, of the American School of Oriental Research, for help and encouragement in connection with this paper.

² قيسی و یمنی

consisting of members of every religion and sect. In the days of Ottoman weakness, the Turks followed the principle, "Divide and rule,"¹ and supported each party in turn. With the increasing strength of the central government during the last century, their power gradually disappeared, until there are now only vestiges left. Until a short time ago, all local political authority was in their hands in Syria proper, and in Palestine it remained so until less than fifty years ago. Their chiefs are still influential here, though almost stripped of actual power.

One may ask a peasant about the history of the Qaisî and Yemenî, and receive an answer in either of two forms. One will say that the history of the two parties began a long time ago, "and God knows best." Others will tell the story of their origin, but no two accounts agree. Among these traditions is one recounted by Ismâ'il Mûsâ Hammûdî, former chief mukhtar of Liftâ, one of the men most renowned for hospitality around Jerusalem. He has a guest-house in his own residence, southwest of the Syrian Orphanage, kept at his own expense. He says:—In the time of Ḥusein ibn-'Alî ibn-Abû Tâlib, the Arabs quarreled over the Caliphate. The people of Kûfa and 'Irâq recognized Ḥusein as Caliph, and he accompanied them from Medîna to 'Irâq to fight with Yezîd ibn-Mo'âwiyah, the second 'Ommeyyad caliph. When Ḥusein reached Kerbelâ and Kûfa, his men betrayed their covenant with him, and the men of Yezîd killed Ḥusein and his followers, and carried Ḥusein's head on a lance. Afterwards the men of Yezîd returned from 'Irâq to their capital, Damascus, the residence of Caliph Yezîd, but during their journey the Bedawîn attacked them and defeated them. Then a division arose; the men of Yezîd became the Qaisî and the men of Ḥusein the Yemenî. From that time the rule was in the hands of the chiefs, and the Yemenî, for instance, when there was war against them in Palestine, were assisted by the Yemenî from other districts.²

Palestinians have never tried to write the history of these two parties, but the Libanese have written about it in a number of books. For instance, the Sheikh Nâşif el-Yâzîjî,³ in his work *Majma' el-Bahreîn*,

¹ فَرَّقَ تَسَدَّ

² This, like most Arab historical traditions, has an obvious ultimate literary source (W. F. A.).

³ الشيخ ناصيف اليازجي

in the forty-first *maqāmāh*, entitled *et-Tihāmūyeh*, says:—Qais was a man of the Benî 'Adnân between whom and a man of the Benî Qaḥṭān called Yemen there was a quarrel. Each of them founded a party,¹ and war arose between them. The division spread to the sedentary Arabs, as well as to the Arabs of the Ḥijāz and Yemen. The people of Ḥumṣ are of the Yemenite party, and there was only a single Qaisī among them, who was very much despised, until he became proverbial of contempt. For this reason the Arab proverb says, "More despised than the Qaisī of Ḥumṣ."²

There was regular, organized warfare between the two parties, as all testimonies inform us. Little is known regarding these events in Palestine, but we have many witnesses to them in Syria.

In 1633 there was war between the Qaisī and the Yemenī; the former were led by the Amīr Miḥem, son of the Amīr Yūnis el-Ma'ni,³ and the latter by the Amīr 'Alī 'Alam ed-Din.⁴ The Qaisī defeated their opponents at Mejdal Ma'ūš.⁵ In 1636 the Amīr 'Alī 'Alam ed-Din, the Yemenite, rebelled against the Turkish government, and retreated before the Turks and their Qaisī allies toward Kesrawān,⁶ where the latter defeated him, and compelled him to retire to 'Akkār,⁷ north of the Lebanon.

In 1660 there was a general war between the Turks and the Qaisī, who were led by the Amīrs 'Alī eš-Šihābī, Maṣṣūr eš-Šihābī,⁸ the sheikhs of Ḥimādeh,⁹ and others. The Yemenites took part on the Turkish side under the leadership of the Amīr 'Alī 'Alam ed-Din, and his two sons, the Amīrs Moḥammed and Maṣṣūr, with their confederates Ibn eš-Šahyūnī¹⁰ and the Muqaddam¹¹ 'Alī eš-Šā'ir.¹² The Qaisī were defeated. Four years later war recommenced

¹ عصابة

² ادل من قيسي حمص

³ الامير ملكم ابن الامير يونس المعني

⁴ الامير علي علم الدين

⁵ متجدل معوش

⁶ كسروان

⁷ عكار

⁸ الامير علي الشهابي ومنصور الشهابي

⁹ مشايخ الحمادة

¹⁰ ابن الصهيوني

¹¹ Rank between Amīr and Sheikh.

¹² علي الشاعر

in Syria and the Lebanon between the Qaisî and the Yemenî, and continued for two years, until the Qaisî were victorious. In the year 1667 there was a battle at Burj Beirût¹ near Ghalghûl² between the two parties.³

In these wars no attention was paid to religion, but merely to party affiliations. When the Turkish government fought one party it received the help of the other. The men of each party in the north received aid from their copartizans in the south and east when it became necessary. The distinction between Qaisî and Yemenî has almost disappeared in Syria, and in many districts no one knows of the former party rivalry. While the Qaisî and the Yemenî have vanished from the Lebanon, we still find remnants of the two parties Yezbekî and Junblâtî,⁴ which date from 1762, originating in a quarrel between the Amîr Manşûr and his brother Aḥmad, in the time of the Amîr Miḥem. The first leader of the Junblâtî was the Sheikh 'Alî Junblât, from whom they received their name, while the first Yezbekî leader was Sheikh 'Abd es-Salâm. Between the two parties systematic warfare was carried on, and when the struggle between them grew intense, the rivalry between Qaisî and Yemenî disappeared. In the southern part of the Lebanon, the leadership of the Yezbekî is now in the hands of the Arslan family in 'Ain E'nûb, and of the Junblâtî with the Junblât family in Muḥtarah. Both families are Druse.⁵

The principal leaders of the Yemenî in Palestine come from the family Abû Ghôš in the village of Abû Ghôš (Qaryet el-'Inab),⁶ who are chiefs of their party in the *liwâ* of Jerusalem. Among the

¹ برج ببيروت
² غلغول

³ The foregoing material has been taken from different parts of the *History of Syria* by Yûsuf ed-Dibs, archbishop of the Maronites in Beirût. Similar accounts are found in the work of the Maronite and Libanese patriarch, Istifânus ed-Duweihî, entitled *Kitâb ed-Duweihî*.

⁴ يزبكى وجنبلاتى

⁵ Yûsuf ed-Dibs, *History of Syria*, Part IV, Vol. VII, p. 1930. Butrus Bustânî states, *Encyclopaedia*, s. v. *Janbulat*: In the year 1777 the Amîr Yûsuf eš-Sihâbî stirred up a rebellion in the southern Lebanon by imposing taxes. The rebels were supported by the Sheikh 'Abd es-Salâm el-Imâd, and became the Yezbekî party. The other, larger party passed under the leadership of the Sheikh 'Alî, and became the Junblâtî.

⁶ ابو غوش

chiefs of the Qaisî are the family of 'Azzah¹ in the hill-country of Gaza, Ibn Simhân² in Tell eş-Şâfi,³ and the family Derwiš⁴ in Mâlha.⁵

The Bedawin are divided into two parties, under the same designation, Qaisî and Yemenî, also. Among the principal sheikhs of the Yemenî is Ĥumâd eş-Şûfi, and the tribes under his leadership: in the district of Gaza the Tayâha, the Tarâbin, the 'Azâzme, the Ĥanâjre, the Oĥeidât; in the Ghôr the 'Edwân; in Kerak the Majâli.⁶ The sheikhs of the Qaisî are from the Benî Şaĥr,⁷ and the tribes under their leadership: the Şarârât, east of the Belqa; the Benî 'Aṭiya, south of Kerak; the Benî Ĥumeida between Kerak and the Belqa.⁸

In Jerusalem the headship of the Qaisî is in the hands of the Ĥâldî⁹ family, of the Yemenî with the Ĥuseini.¹⁰ There are still traces of the old party rivalry; when the peasants get into trouble with the Government, or find themselves in pecuniary difficulty, they resort for help to the patrons of their respective parties. In nearly every village there are members of both parties. In some districts most of the inhabitants belong to one faction, as for example in the district of Hebron, where the majority is Qaisî. In Bêt Jâlâ most are Qaisî; in Bethlehem, on the other hand, most are Yemenî. In Şôba all are Yemenî, and in 'Ain Kârem¹¹ all are Qaisî.

The Yemenite flag is white, and for this reason their garments are usually of this colour. The Qaisî flag is red, and their garments are therefore mostly red. Everyone is free to wear either colour except the bride, and in many places they observe the distinction between the colours only in the case of the bride. When a Qaisî woman marries a Qaisî or a Yemenî she wears the Qaisî colour, but

¹ العزة

² ابن سمحان

³ تل الصافي

⁴ درويش

⁵ ملحة

⁶ التياهة والطرابيين والعزازمة والخنجرة والوحيديات والعدوان والمجالبي

⁷ بني صخر

⁸ الشراوات وبني عطية وبني حميدة

⁹ الخالدي

¹⁰ الحسيني

¹¹ عين كارم

when the procession passes a Yemenî quarter, or a Yemenî village, the bride must hide her red garments with a cloak of any hue not either red or white. The case of a Yemenî bride is similar. If the bride wears her own bridal colour in passing a village or a quarter of the opposite party, it is considered as great a disgrace for the latter as if she had raised her own banner in their territory. In the past, the fact that a bride has worn the colour of her own party in the territory of the other has often been the cause of conflicts. Otherwise, they always live in peace, except when there has been a quarrel between individuals of the two parties. If Yemenî are invited by members of the Qaisî party to be their guests, the latter are expected to put honey or syrup¹ over the *haiṭaliyeh*,² a dish made of starch, sugar, and milk, to cover its white colour, which is the colour of the Yemenî flag.

Ismâ'il Hammûdî told me that he saw in Bire,³ not long before the War, a fight between the Qaisî and the Yemenî. Each party tried to dishonour the flag of the other party, and the women also took sides. The Yemenî women took a red cock, and beat him before the Qaisî women, as a sign of contempt for the banner of the latter. The Qaisî women at once caught a white cock and beat him before their opponents.

The Hajj Mohammed el-Makhal⁴ from 'Aizariyeh⁵ told me the following story. A Qaisî woman from the Hebron region once placed a number of eggs under a hen. On hatching, all the chickens were white. When the woman saw this she said, "This may mean calamity, because they may turn out to be Yemenî soldiers." So, to make sure that she was safe, she buried them in the ground.⁶

¹ ديس

² هيطليّة

³ البيرة

⁴ الحاج محمد المكحل

⁵ العيزرية

⁶ The literature on the Qaisî and the Yemenî in Palestine is still very limited. Beside stray references to the subject in the works of various European writers, especially Baldensperger, we seem to have only the historical material published by Macalister and Masterman (*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly*, 1905, 343 ff.; 1906, 33-50). These accounts were translated from native Arabic MSS, inspired and gathered by the Rev. John Zeller, one of the earlier Protestant missionaries in Palestine (W.F.A.).

NOTES AND COMMUNICATIONS

DES erreurs très fâcheuses se sont glissées dans la note relative à l'inscription juive d'Ain Douk (Vol. 1, pp. 33—35). Les corrections suivantes s'imposent:

p. 34, l. 10, lire: *la lettre ' après פ*. Il s'agirait du nom פִּנְסָה au lieu de פִּנְחָה que certains savants lisent פִּרְנָסָה. Seulement la forme de la seconde lettre et les deux pieds qui restent de la dernière lettre et qui rappellent plutôt une ה, s'y opposeraient. La leçon פִּנְסָה nous semble être fournie par une inscription lue dans un tombeau de Jérusalem que M. Ben Zevi publie dans le recueil de la "Jewish Palestine Exploration Society" No. 1.

p. 35: אֶתְרָה קְדִישָׁה = Lieu saint. Cette formule ne se retrouve pas dans le *Kaddish* (comme on l'avait fait observer pendant la discussion, mais dans le *Zohar*, que est de date postérieure. Pour l'époque où nous en sommes (vers le troisième siècle) elle confirmerait l'opinion du R. P. Vincent concernant le caractère sacré très ancien du sanctuaire en question.

NAHUM SLOUSCH



REPORTS OF MEETINGS.

THE Third General Meeting of the Society was held at the British Archaeological School on Wednesday, November 3, 1920, with the President, Père Lagrange in the Chair. At the Morning Session, commencing at 9.30 a. m. the following papers were read and discussed:—

Répétition idiomatique de la racine en hébreu

Mr. Israel Eitan.

Revision of early Hebrew Chronology

Dr. W. F. Albright.

Une inscription hébraïque trouvée à Jérusalem

Dr. Nahum Slousch.

Solomon and the Shunamite

Dr. C. C. McCown.

At the Afternoon Session, commencing at 3.30 p. m. the reports of Secretary, Treasurer and Editorial Committee were read, new Members elected, and the following officers appointed for the year 1921: Prof. John Garstang, President; Père Dhorme and Dr. W. F. Albright, Vice-Presidents; the Rev. H. Danby, Secretary; Dr. Nahum Slousch, Treasurer; and Père Orfali, Director for three years in place of the retiring Director, Père Dressaire. Mr. E. J. H. Mackay and Mr. Samuel Raffaelli were elected as Auditing Committee, and Mr. Norman Bentwich, Mr. W. J. Phythian-Adams, and the Rev. H. Danby as Committee of Arrangements.

The reading and discussion of papers was then resumed:

The British Archaeological School

Prof. J. Garstang.

Une synagogue en basalte à Khirbet-Keraze (Corozain)

Le Rév. Père Orfali.

Notes on Palestinian Ethnology

Mr. W. J. Phythian-Adams.

Prehistoric Palestine

Mr. L. Lind.

Blood Revenge among the Arabs

Mr. E. N. Haddad.

Use of Ellipsis in "Second Isaiah"

Mr. David Yellin.

Plantes pharmaceutiques chez les Arabes

Mr. Ephraim Rubinovitch.

The Fourth General Meeting was held at the District Governorate, Jerusalem, on Wednesday, January 19, 1921, Père Dhorme taking the Chair in the absence of the President, Professor Garstang. At the Afternoon Session, commencing 2.30 p. m. the following contributions were read and discussed:

Traditions secondaires sur la grotte de Machpélah (Hebron)

Le Rév. Père Abel.

Political Parties in Palestine: Qaisi and Yemeni

Mr. E. N. Haddad.

Le sacrifice dans la tribu des Fuqara

Le Rév. Père Jaussen.

La ville de Ramsés d'après les documents égyptiens

Le Rév. Père Mallon.

At the Evening Session, beginning at 5.30 p. m. the following were read:

The Excavations at Tiberias (with illustrations)

Dr. Nahum Slousch.

The Melodic Theme in Ancient Hebrew Prayers (with musical examples)

Mr. A. Z. Idelson.

Haunted Springs and Water-Demons in Palestine

Dr. T. Canaan.

A Visit to Petra by an Englishman in 1852

Mr. L. G. A. Gust.

The Fifth General Meeting took place on Wednesday, March 30, 1921, at the Dominican Convent of St. Stephen's, with Père Dhorme in the Chair. Beginning at 3.0 p. m. the following contributions were read and discussed:

L'inscription grecque d'Ophel

Le Rév. Père Vincent.

Judicial Courts among the Bedawin

Omar Effendi Barghuti.

Byzantine Caravan Stations in the Negeb

Dr. T. Canaan.

Modern Palestinian Parallels to the Song of Songs

Mr. Hanna Stephan.

The Classification of Jewish Coins

Mr. Samuel Raffaeli.

Les maladies du pays aux temps de la Bible et du Talmud

Dr. Aaron Mazié.

Nouveautés Concernant la Flore de la Palestine

Mr. Ephraim Rubinowitch.

The Sixth General Meeting was held at the British School of Archaeology on Wednesday, May 4, 1921, in the presence of H. E. the Right Honourable Sir Herbert Samuel, High Commissioner of Palestine, and Patron of the Society. Professor Garstang gave his presidential address, taking as his subject "The Year's Work in Palestine." The following papers were then read and discussed:

Un hypogée juif à Bethphagé

Le Rév. Père Orfali.

Solomon as a Magician in Christian Legend

Dr. C. C. McCown.

Methods of Education and Correction among the Fellahin

Mr. E. N. Haddad.

Sites of Ekron, Gath and Libnah

Dr. W. F. Albright.

The Editorial Committee desire to take this opportunity of informing readers of the Journal that criticism and comments on any of the

contributions included in the Journal will be welcomed and, if desirable, printed in the succeeding number, with a reply by the author of the article.

The Editorial Committee do not necessarily pledge themselves to issue numbers of the Journal at regular quarterly intervals. They propose to publish them, more or less frequently, at such times as the requisite material becomes available. They also propose, if the Society's funds make this possible, to undertake the publishing of more extensive monographs on subjects which come within the scope of the Society.

It will greatly assist in the mapping out of future work of this kind if Members will kindly be a little more punctual in the payment of their Subscriptions.

HERBERT DANBY
(Secretary)

REPORT OF THE TREASURER OF THE PALESTINE ORIENTAL SOCIETY

January 1920—May 30, 1921

Receipts

Life subscriptions	P.T. 9190.00
Annual subscriptions for 1920	17104.20
Donations to the funds of the Society	900.00
Annual subscriptions for 1921	7319.00
Sale of Journal	30.00
	<hr/>
	P.T. 34543.20

Expenditure

Postage	P.T. 2016.00
Stationery	852.00
Clerical work	218.00
Refreshments	484.50
Nile Press, Jerusalem, printing of circulars, programmes	2880.00
Rafael Haim ha-Cohen, printing of circulars	680.00
Nile Press, Cairo, printing Journal, vol. 1, no. 1	4480.00
Nile Press, Jerusalem, printing Corrigenda slips to Journal, vol. 1, no. 1	100.00
Drugulin, Leipzig: advance towards printing of Journal, vol. 1, nos. 2-3	2200.00
<i>Balance in hand, May 30, 1921</i>	20632.70
	<hr/>
	P.T. 34543.20

NAHUM SLOUSCH

Treasurer

Audited, May 30, 1921, and found correct, and accompanied by the proper vouchers

SAMUEL RAFFAELI

E. J. H. MACKAY

Auditing Committee

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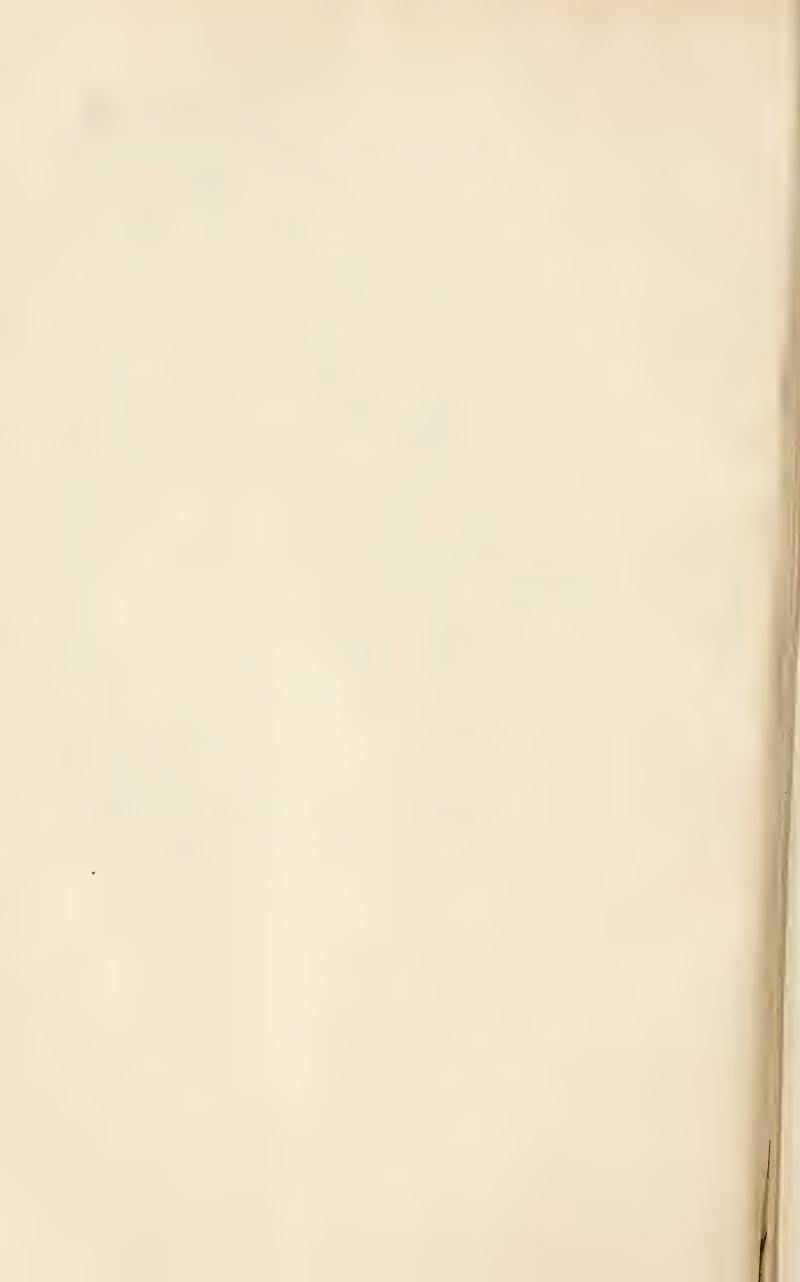
¹ This list has been corrected up to August 1, 1921. Members are asked to notify the Secretary of any change of address or any other inaccuracy.

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 E. M. Epstein Esq., The "Palestine Weekly", Jerusalem.
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THE CHRISTIAN TRADITION AS TO THE MAGICAL WISDOM OF SOLOMON

C. C. McCOWN
(JERUSALEM)

THE student of history frequently has to deal with traditions whose origin and development are most puzzling. His method of treating them must be determined by knowledge of other traditions the course of whose growth is more easily followed. Few have a richer and more varied documentation than that which glorifies the wisdom of Solomon. It may well serve as an example of the manner in which the human mind works in certain fields.

I. ITS PRE-CHRISTIAN BASIS

With the facts behind the tradition I am not concerned. The reputation which the great king actually deserves may be left to students of the Old Testament. The literary starting-point for the legends that have developed touching the king's wisdom is to be found in 1 Kings 3, in the story of Solomon's dream.¹ In this passage, as Benzinger well says, the writer has in mind the judicial wisdom of the ruler. On the contrary in ch. 5 9—14 (4 29—34) he not only thinks of "religious wisdom in practical life" but, in comparing Solomon's wisdom with that of "the children of the East," and the "wisdom of the Egyptians," he intends to imply that Solomon was master of the magical and astrological knowledge in which the ancients were supposed to excel.² It is difficult to date precisely

¹ 1 Kings 3 4-14; paralleled without important changes in 2 Chr. 1 7-13, except that Solomon's superiority is promised only over other *kings*. The tradition has not yet begun to grow.

² As the book of Exodus, for example, testifies. See Benzinger's *Könige* (1899) 23 f., on 1 Kings 5 9-14.

this earliest allusion to the magical knowledge of Solomon. But the verses in question probably belong to the final redaction of the Book of Kings.¹ In any case, since the passage is in the Septuagint, it must have come into the Hebrew Bible two centuries or more before the beginning of our era. Thus in leading circles of Palestinian Judaism Solomon had thus early come to be accepted as a magician.

Whether the interpolator of the passage thought of him also as the author of magical books is less certain. Without doubt many readers would understand *ὠδαί* to mean, not psalms, but *carmina*, incantations, and would take discourses "of trees" (*ὕπὲρ τῶν ξύλων*) to include their medical, or what then amounted to the same thing, their magical uses.² These verses are an excellent example of "how much wood is kindled by how small a fire," for they are the excuse for the ascription to Solomon of a whole library of books on almost every conceivable subject.

How shall we explain the development of the relatively simple story of the dream of Solomon into the much more complicated and detailed claims of this passage? It seems to me most natural to suppose that already in his lifetime Solomon had enjoyed a reputation for proverbial wisdom and that by the time these verses were written collections of proverbs and verses dealing with some of the subjects enumerated were already in circulation. This must remain, however, only an assumption, for no decisive proof is at hand.³

Indeed Wisdom 7 17—22, the next reference to Solomon's magical knowledge, makes no allusion to writings. But the context does not call for it and the passage plainly involves a claim for the author of knowledge of astrology, of the nature of beasts and spirits, as well as of men, of the *ἐνέργεια στοιχείων*, the *διαφοραὶ φντῶν*, the *δυνάμεις ριζῶν* and of "all things that are either secret or manifest." Thus a

¹ So Benzinger, *loc. cit.* Kautzsch, *Heil. Schr. des AT*, seems to imply that the passage belongs to the earlier sources of Kings. Stade and Schwally in Haupt's polychrome Hebrew Bible color it as a "non-Deuteronomic addition of unknown origin." Steuernagel, *Ein. AT* 356 and *ZATW* 1910, 70, favors a very late date.

² So Christian writers; see below p. 10.

³ For an analysis of 1 Kings 5 9-14 (4 29-34) see Salzberger, Georg, *Die Salomossage in der semitischen Literatur: ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Sagenkunde*. I. Teil. Diss. Heidelberg. Berlin 1907, pp. 9—12, 94—97, 99.

thoroughly educated and highly cultured Jew of the Dispersion interprets the language of the Septuagint. To him such wisdom as the Book of Kings claimed for Solomon necessarily implied a knowledge of all the "science" of his day, and that included astrology, magic, medicine, and sorcery.¹

An allusion to Solomon's authority over the demons is found in a work of a very different sort, the *Citharismus regis David contra daemonum Saulis*, which Dr. James, the editor, assigns to the first century of our era. David is represented as singing to the demon which has possessed Saul: "Later times will demonstrate from what race I was born, for hereafter there will be born from me one who will control you."² Dr. James says: "In this last sentence it seems at first sight as though we had a prophecy of Messiah and possibly a Christian touch. But a little consideration will show, I think, that the 'vanquisher of demons' who is to spring from David is not Messiah, but Solomon the king of the Genies, the wizard" of Josephus and the Testament of Solomon.³

Josephus contributes the cornerstone of the Jewish foundation upon which the Christian tradition regarding Solomon rests. Without his explicit statements one might even be inclined to doubt the foregoing interpretation of earlier writers. After repeating with some embellishments the scriptural statements regarding Solomon's wisdom and writings he adds: "God also gave him to know the art that is used against the demons for help and healing to men. He composed incantations by which diseases are rebuked and left kinds of exorcisms by which demons are bound and driven away never to return. And this treatment is most successful among us up to the present time." And Josephus proceeds to relate how a certain fellow-countryman of his, Eleazar, in the presence of Vespasian and his court, expelled a demon from a man by "holding under the nostrils of the demoniac his ring, which had under the seal one of the roots indicated by Solomon," and by "mentioning Solomon and repeating the incantations which he composed." "By this

¹ I have followed the translation of Siegfried in Kautzsch, *Apokr. u. Pseudep. des AT* I 490, and Holmes in Charles, *Apocr. and Pseudep. of the OT* I 546.

² *Arguent autem tempora noua unde natus sum; de quo nascitur post tempus de lateribus meis qui uos domauit.*

³ *Texts and Studies* II, 3 (1893); *Apocrypha Anecdota* p. 183 and 184.

event," he says, "the power and wisdom of Solomon are clearly established."¹

Josephus thus gives evidence of a living, popular tradition as to Solomon magus. He also tells us that books were in circulation giving his recipes. His very slight alteration of the biblical account of the writings of Solomon is most instructive. It bespeaks a knowledge of what was actually in circulation. Solomon, he says, "also composed books of odes and songs, five besides the thousand and three thousand books of parables and comparisons, for he spoke a proverb upon every kind of tree, from the hyssop to the cedar, and in the same manner also concerning beasts and all the terrestrial animals and the aquatic and the aerial, for he was not ignorant of the nature of any of them neither did he pass over any without consideration, but philosophized on all and showed his knowledge of their peculiar characteristics to be of the highest."²

It is possible that in speaking of "parables and comparisons" (παρὰβολῶν καὶ εἰκόνων) Josephus is merely rhetorically tautological and means nothing more than proverbs. But the word εἰκών, which means "parable, comparison," as well as "image," was later used as the title of works on the medicinal, or magical, virtues of plants, such as the εἰκόνες κατὰ στοιχείων of Pamphilus. It seems very likely then that Albrecht Dieterich was right in supposing that Josephus knew of works under such a title ascribed to Solomon.³

¹ Παρέσχε δὲ αὐτῷ μαθεῖν ὁ θεὸς καὶ τὴν κατὰ τῶν δαιμόνων τέχνην εἰς ὠφέλειαν καὶ θεραπείαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. ἐπὶ πόδας τε συνταξάμενος αἰς παρηγορεῖται τὰ νοσήματα, τρόπους ἐξορκώσεων κατέλιπεν, οἷς ἐνδούμενα (Naber: οἱ ἐνδοούμενοι Niese) τὰ δαιμόνια ὡς μηκέτ' ἐπανελθεῖν ἐκδιώκουσι. καὶ αὕτη μέχρι νῦν παρ' ἡμῖν ἡ θεραπεία πλείστον ἰσχύει· ἱστορήσα γάρ τινα Ἐλεάδαρον τῶν ὁμοφύλων, Οὔεσπασιανοῦ παρόντος καὶ τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ χιλιάρχων καὶ ἄλλου στρατιωτικοῦ πλήθους, τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμονίων λαμβανομένους ἀπολύοντα τούτων, ὁ δὲ τῆς θεραπείας τρόπος τοιοῦτος ἦν. προσφέρων ταῖς βίαι τοῦ δαιμονιζομένου τὸν δακτύλιον, ἔχοντα ὑπὸ τῇ σφραγίδι βίβαν ἐξ ὧν ὑπέδειξε Σολομών, ἔπειτ' ἐξέειλκεν ὀσφρουμένῳ διὰ τῶν μυκτῆρων τὸ δαιμόνιον, καὶ πεσόντος εὐθὺς τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ μηκέτ' εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπαυλῆξεν ὥρκου, Σολομώνος τε μεμνημένος καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ πόδας ὡς συνέθηκεν ἐκεῖνος, ἐπιλέγων . . . γνωμένου δὲ τούτου σαφὴς ἡ Σολομώνος καθίστατο δύναμις καὶ σοφία. *Ant.* viii 2, 5 (45—49).

² Συντάξατο δὲ καὶ βιβλία περὶ φῶδων καὶ μελῶν πέντε πρὸς τοῖς χιλοῖς, καὶ παρὰβολῶν καὶ εἰκόνων βιβλίου τρισχιλίας· καθ' ἕκαστον γὰρ εἶδος δένδρου παρὰβολὴν εἶπεν, ἀφ' ὧν ὕσσῳπον ἔως κέδρου, τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ περὶ κτηνῶν καὶ τῶν τ' ἐπιγείων ἀπάντων ζῴων καὶ τῶν ἠκτιῶν καὶ τῶν ἀερίων· οὐδεμίαν γὰρ τούτων φύσιν ἡγνόησεν οὐδὲ παρῆλθεν ἀνεξέταστον, ἀλλ' ἐν πάσαις ἐφιλοσόφησε καὶ τὴν ἐπιστήμην τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς ἰδιωμάτων ἀκραν ἐπέδειξατο. *Ant.* viii 2, 5 (44).

³ *Abrazas* 142f., *Leid. Pap.* 780 ff.

II. THE SEMITIC TRADITION

An instructive difference develops in the course of time between the Jewish and Arabic tradition on the one hand and that of Christendom on the other. In all alike Solomon is celebrated as a magician. Targum Sheni Esther, for example, says that "Solomon ruled over the wild beasts, over the birds of the heaven, and over the creeping beasts of the earth, as well as over the devils, the spirits of the night; and he understood the language of all these according as it is written, 'and he talked with the trees.'" ¹ This substitution of talking *with* the trees for the *of* which is found in 1 Kings 5 13 (4 33) and of *ruled over* for the *spake of* in the following verse is an interesting example of the development of legend. Both the Quran and the Arabian Nights have made the legends of Solomon's rulership over the jinn, his use of them in building the temple, and his sealing the rebellious in bottles common property in both the East and the West.² In *Abt Vogler* Browning speaks of the time

"when Solomon willed

Armies of angels that soar, legions of demons that lurk,
Man, brute, reptile, fly,—alien of end and of aim,

Adverse, each from the other heaven-high, hell-deep removed,—
Should rush into sight at once as he named the ineffable Name,

And pile him a palace straight, to pleasure the princess he loved."

Equally a commonplace of folklore and literature is the might of the ring of Solomon and its magic seal. Josephus' account of Eleazar's performance before Vespasian implies a Solomonic ring as part of the known tradition, but it is a root under the seal and not the seal which is powerful.³ In the great Paris magic papyrus is an often quoted passage, which the heathen magician no doubt copied from Jewish sources. One of the incantations runs, "I adjure thee by the seal which Solomon laid upon the tongue of Jeremiah and he spoke."⁴ The meaning of the lines is as yet an unsolved riddle. I am inclined to the opinion that behind it lies a legend of Solomon's

¹ Salzberger, *Salomosage* 93 f., from f. 440, ed. David p. 8.

² Quran, Sura 38: 35 ff., *SBE* IX (II) 179 (cf. Sale, *ad loc.*), 27:7, *SBE* IX (II) 101. *Nights* 566 f., ed. Lane-Poole III 110 f., ed. Burton VI 84 f.

³ See note above, p. 3 (note 3).

⁴ Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. grec. no. 574, 11, 3039 f.: ὁρκίζω σε κατὰ τῆς σφραγίδος ἧς ἔθετο Σολομών ἐπὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν τοῦ Ἰερημίου καὶ ἐλάλησεν.

dealing with some demon who refused to speak until the ring was laid upon his tongue, and whose name has been corrupted in the papyrus.¹ In any case we have here a very early reference to the magic ring. The papyrus was written in the third or fourth century of our era. Albrecht Dieterich is surely right in saying that the passage is not earlier than the time of Eupolemos.² It is of course much earlier than the time of its use by the heathen magician who copied the papyrus, doubtless from a Jewish source in this section. Scores of amulets and incantations from all ages witness to a living faith in Solomon as a great magician who had power over demons and disease. The seal of Solomon and the jinn of Solomon are mentioned in Aramaic incantation texts.³ Museums have many amulets, and mediaeval manuscripts reproduce many charms in Syriac, Arabic, and Hebrew, as well as in Greek, Latin, and modern European languages, which demonstrate his popularity.⁴ Dr. Canaan has shown that his name is still one to conjure with among the peoples of Palestine.⁵

In doing honor to Solomon the magician, the West and the East, Christian, Moslem, and Jew agree. It is in the use of Solomonian books of magic that they part company. Jews and Moslems know little or nothing of the kind. According to the Talmud Hezekiah "suppressed the book of recipes,"⁶ and this according to Maimonides and Rashi means a book which Solomon wrote. Maimonides held that it was a book of magic,⁷ Rashi that, though it was only a book

¹ Professor Deissmann (*Licht vom Osten* p. 187, n. 15, *Light from the Ancient East* p. 257, n. 10) thinks the passage may allude to some legend connected with the Septuagint of Jer. 16-10. As a possible allusion to such a legend as I have in mind I may quote an equally enigmatic line from an amulet given in a manuscript of the Bologna University, No. 3632, f. 360a and a Vienna manuscript, Phil.-Graec. No. 108, f. 361a, as follows: ἰδοὺ Σολομῶν υἱὸς Δαβὶδ δράκοντος γλῶσσα ἔχων βασιλέως ἐγκέφαλον.

² *Abraxas* p. 142 ff., *Leid. Pap.* 780 ff.

³ Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur*, 80, 170, 173, 232, 248.

⁴ See, for example, Sachau, *Katalog d. Syr. HSS. Berlin*, I 367, No. 10 n, f. 54b; Sorlin Dorigny, "Salomo als Reiter," in *Rev. des Études Grecs* IV (1891) 217-296; Schlumberger, *ibid.* V (1892) 84; Heim, "Incant. magica," *Jahrb. für class. Philol. Sup.* XIX (1893) pp. 463-576, Nos. 56 = 169, 61, 62, 236, 237.

⁵ *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin im Lande der Bibel*, p. 27, 100, 113, 121.

⁶ נגן ספר רפואות, *Berakoth* 10a, *Pesachim* 56a (Goldschmidt I 35, II 520; cf. Jer. 30 13. See A. Wünsche, *ZDMG* LXVI (1912) 414.

⁷ Surenhusius, *Mishna* II 149, *de Paschali* iv 9.

of medical recipes, it was evil because it led men not to pray to God.¹ It would appear that this sort of tradition was avoided in official Judaism, for elsewhere rabbinic literature does not, to the best of my knowledge, refer to such works. Indeed Moses becomes the representative wise man in Jewish literature and folklore, as Solomon does for Christians, and magical books of various kinds are written in his name.² Dr. Gaster has edited the *Sword of Moses*, an Aramaic collection of incantations coming from early in the Christian era.³ Professor Albrecht Dieterich and before him Leemans edited a Leiden Papyrus in Greek of magical contents called the "Eighth Book of Moses."⁴ If this papyrus book, written in the third or fourth century, really goes back to the second, as Dieterich maintained, we have here early evidence for the acceptance of Moses as a magician in Jewish circles, for Christian influence upon the heathen compiler of the work could not be expected at that date.

When we reach the Middle Ages, Solomon reappears in Jewish literature as the wise man and magician. Writers of the twelfth and following centuries regard him as the source of all wisdom, including medicine, magic, and astrology.⁵ Since this tradition seems to have disappeared from Judaism for a time, it is natural to assume that it reappears under the influence of Moslem and Christian folklore and literature. Shemtob ben Isaac of Tortosa (1260) gives a "description of the wisdom of Solomon, especially in natural science," in his paraphrase of Zahravi's *Tasrif* (xi cent.), called ספר השמות. In Zahravi he found mention of a "covenant" (ברית) of Solomon which "was engraved on a tablet of white marble upon the wall of his palace, as well as various recipes (נוסחאות ופוקדות) which were explained by the moderns (האחרונים); Shemtob had learned more about the matter from Christians 'here in Marseilles' than he found

¹ Grünbaum, *ZDMG* XXXI 200.

² Kohler in *JE* IV 518. So already Eupolemos; cf. Eusebius *Praep. Ev.* ix 26.

³ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1896, also separate.

⁴ Leiden Pap. W.; Leemans, *Papyri Graeci Musei Antiqu. Publici Lugd. Bat. Lugd. Bat.* 1885, vol. II, pp. 77—198; A. Dieterich, *Abrazas*. Leipzig 1891, pp. 154—166, 169—205. The title as given in the papyrus is βιβλος ἱερὰ ἐπικαλουμένη μωϋσῆς ἢ ὁδὸν μωϋσεως περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ ἁγίου.

⁵ Citations in Steinschneider, *Hebräische Übersetzungen des Mittelalters* p. 936, Nos. 225, 226, p. 849 f.

in Zahravi.¹ The "covenant" and the "engravings" are both well known to Christian writers, as we shall see later.

In the seventeenth century that strange collection of astrology, demonology, and magic called the "Key of Solomon" appears in Hebrew. Dr. H. Gollancz, who has edited it,² thinks it may well have been written originally in Hebrew and brought from the East by the followers of the Pseudo-Messiah Sabbatai Zevi, though the manuscript, which is in an Italian hand, has obvious later additions.³ Jewish cabbalistic works early began to appear in European languages, and many, like *Sepher Raziel* and the *Grimorium Verum* were ascribed to Solomon by their translators or compilers, but I do not know that this was done by Jewish cabbalists.

Among Moslem writers the official tradition amounts to a complete denial to Solomon of any kind of magical writing. As a passage in the Quran and the comments upon it demonstrate, magical writings ascribed to Solomon were in circulation. Sura 2 95 ff. reads, "And when there came unto them a prophet from God confirming that *scripture* which was with them, some of these to whom the scriptures were given cast the book of God behind their backs as if they knew it not: and they follow *the device* which the devils devised against the kingdom of Solomon; and Solomon was not an unbeliever, but the devils believed not, they taught men sorcery." Yahya and Jallalo'ddin record a tradition that the devils wrote books of sorcery and hid them under Solomon's throne. After his death they discovered them and spread them abroad among the people as his in an attempt to blacken his character, pretending that it was thus he had obtained his power and wisdom.⁴ This official condemnation of Solomonic magical writings proves their existence among the Arabs of Mohammed's time and also probably in the time of the commentators who record the tradition, and makes their use among Jews in the East more than likely.

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 740—743. Zahravi is variously called Açararius, Azaravi, etc.

² *Clavicula Salomonis*. London 1903.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 16 ff. But see pp. 19 and 34. It seems to me as likely that the work is a translation from the Latin or Greek of some Christian; this better explains the protestation of the author regarding the cross.

⁴ So Sale, *ad. loc.* Palmer's note, *SBE* VI (Quran II) 14, does not so well explain the passage, as it is concerned solely with books. Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud.* V. T. Hamburg. 1713, I 1050, has a slightly different version of the tradition.

III. THE CHRISTIAN TRADITION

I have given so much attention to the Jewish and Arab traditions regarding Solomon in order to throw light on the Christian transmission of the body of legends, partly by way of comparison, partly by way of contrast. In Christendom there is no hesitation in ascribing books of magic to Solomon and the literary and the living tradition, if I may so distinguish them, that which depends upon quotation from previous writers and that which reflects the actual use of Solomonic magic, are equally full.

1. THE LITERARY TRADITION

One element of the Christian literary tradition depends upon Josephus, and his statements as to the use of incantations composed by Solomon. It is a question whether Origen's reference is based upon personal knowledge or is adapted from Josephus. He says: "It is customary to adjure demons with adjurations written by Solomon. But they themselves who use these adjurations sometimes use books not properly constituted; indeed they even adjure demons with some books taken from Hebrew."¹ Apparently the first to quote Josephus expressly is Georgios Monachos. He sharply abbreviates his source, merely saying, "And indeed Josephus mentions many of these works as having been reduced to writing, how that Solomon composed incantations against demons and exorcisms," and giving a brief account of Eleazar's cure of the demoniac.² Kedrenos in one place quotes Josephus quite in full, in another the summary of Georgios Monachos.³ Zonaras makes his own abbreviation of Josephus, or else of Kedrenos, giving a rather better summary than Georgios Monachos.⁴ Glykas quotes Josephus as summarized by Georgios Monachos and then adds Wisdom 7 20, which speaks of

¹ A Salomone scriptis adjurationibus solent daemones adjurari. Sed ipsi qui utuntur adjurationibus illis, aliquoties nec idoneis constitutis libris utuntur: quibusdam autem et de Hebraeo acceptis adjurant daemonia. In *Mattheum comm. ser.* (tract. 33) 110, Migne, *Patr. Graec.* 13, 1757, to Mt. 26 63.

² Georgios Monachos, or Hamartolos, *Chron.* ii, 42, 4, Migne, *Patr. Graec.* 110, 249, c. 850.

³ Migne, *op. cit.* 121, 156B and 196D, c. 1100.

⁴ *Annal.* ii 8, Migne, *op. cit.* 134, 168, c. 1150.

Solomon's knowledge of plants and animals.¹ All these chronographers add other materials also, as we shall see.

Another element in the Christian tradition takes its rise directly from the Old Testament account of Solomon's superior wisdom. In the tenth of his *Quaestiones* on 1 Kings Theodoret explains that Solomon's wisdom was greater than that of all the ancients and of the Egyptians, because it was given him of God.² In Question 18 he goes on to claim that the knowledge of medicine was entirely derived from Solomon. As the passage is decisive as to the meaning which was ordinarily put upon the Old Testament account of Solomon's wisdom, and as it also is quite illuminating as to the character of ancient medicine, I will quote parts of it. Theodoret asks, "What is to be understood by the expression, 'He spake concerning the trees...?'" and answers, "It means that he described the natures and powers both of plants and trees and indeed of the irrational animals also; whence I think also the medical books that have been written have their source for the most part....telling for what disease this part of this animal is an antidote, as the gall of the hyena, the fat of the lion, the blood of the bull, or the flesh of lizards. For the wise among the physicians have written concerning these things, taking the starting point of their first works from the writings of Solomon."³

Prokopios of Gaza, without acknowledging his debt, quotes the answer to Question 10 of Theodoret word for word and that to Question 18 as far as "for the most part" (πάμπολλα).⁴ Anastasios Sinaites repeats Question 18 and its answer almost word for word.⁵

¹ Migne, *op. cit.* 158, 349, after 1150.

² *Quaestiones in III Reg.*, Qu. x, Migne, *op. cit.* 80, 676.

³ Πῶς νοητέον τὸ "Ἐλάλησε περὶ τῶν ξύλων..."; Καὶ τὰς φύσεις καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ τῶν βοτάνων καὶ τῶν δένδρων καὶ μέντοι καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων πεφυσιολογηκέναι αὐτὸν εἴρηκεν· ἐντεῦθεν οἶμαι καὶ τὰς ἱατρικὰς βιβλούς συγγραφότας ἐρανίσασθαι πάμπολλα... καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ ζώου τότε τὸ μόριον τίνος πάθους ἀλεξίφάρμακον· οἶον ἡ ὑάλνης χολή, ἢ τὸ λεόντειον στέαρ, ἢ τὸ ταύρειον αἷμα, ἢ τῶν ἐχιδνῶν αἱ σάρκες. περὶ τούτων γὰρ οἱ σοφοὶ τῶν ἱατρῶν συγγεγράψαν, ἐκ τῶν Σολομῶντι συγγεγραμμένων εἰληφότες τῶν πρώτων τὰς ἀφορμὰς. In *III Reg. Quaest.* xviii, Migne, *op. cit.* 80. Jerome perhaps has the same idea. See his *Quaest. Hebr. in libr. III Reg.* (Migne. *Patr. Lat.* 23, 1365 f.): Disputavit enim de naturis lignorum, jumentorum, reptilium, et piscium, de vi videlicet et naturis illorum...

⁴ *Com. ad III Reg.* 2 35 and 4 33; Migne, *op. cit.* 87 1, 1152, 11.

⁵ *Quaest.* xli, Migne, *op. cit.* 89, 589 f.

Georgios Monachos and Kedrenos make use of Question 10,¹ and they unite with Glykas in passing on the claim that the origin of all medical books was to be found in the writings of Solomon.²

A third item in Christian tradition regarding Solomon is the account of the suppression of a part of the books he had written by Hezekiah. Speculation was natural as to what had become of all the books which Solomon had written, the three thousand proverbs and the one thousand and five songs, not to mention his medical, magical, and other scientific works. So far as our sources are preserved, the first to answer this question was Hippolytos in his commentary on Canticles, parts of which are preserved in Armenian, Syriac, Slavic, and Georgian.³ The *Quaestiones* of Anastasios Sinaites give a quotation or summary of a discussion found in the Georgian translation. In Question 41 Anastasios collects several ancient references to the wisdom and the writings of Solomon. To the quotation from Theodoret which we have already mentioned he adds Sap. 7 16–21 and 1 Kgs. 5 9ff., and then continues: "From the writing of Hippolytos on the Song of Songs. And where is all this rich knowledge? Where are these mysteries? Where are the books? For there have been handed down only the Proverbs (and Wisdom) and Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs. What then? Do the Scriptures lie? God forbid! But a certain considerable portion of the writings had become mere ballast, as the expression 'song of songs' shows, for it signifies that whatever the five thousand odes contained has been included in the one. But in the days of Hezekiah some of the books were chosen and some were rejected..."⁴

¹ Migne, *op. cit.* 110, 249; 121, 197D f.

² These are the writings which were suppressed by Hezekiah. See Migne, *op. cit.* 110, 249; 121, 242; 158, 248.

³ See Bonwetsch, *Hippolyts Kom. z. Hohelied in Texte u. Unters.* NF VIII (23, H. 2, 22f.) and the Kirchenvater Kommission, ed. I 343ff.

⁴ Ἰππολύτου ἐκ τοῦ εἰς τὸ ἄσμα τῶν ᾠμάτων. Καὶ ποῦ πᾶσα ἡ πλουσία αὐτῇ γνώσις; ποῦ δὲ τὰ μυστήρια ταῦτα; καὶ ποῦ αἱ βιβλοὶ; ἀναφέρονται γὰρ μόναι αἱ παροιμίαι [καὶ ἡ σοφία] καὶ ὁ ἐκκλησιαστής καὶ τὸ ἄσμα τῶν ᾠμάτων. τί οὖν; ψεύδεται ἡ γραφή; μὴ γένοιτο· ἀλλὰ πολλὴ μὲν τις ὕλη γεγένηται τῶν γραμμάτων, ὥς ὅλοι τὸ λέγειν ἄσμα ᾠμάτων· σημαίνει γὰρ ὅτι ὅσα περιέχον αἱ πεντακισχίλια ᾠδαὶ ἐν τῷ ἐνὶ διηγῆσατο. ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἐζεκιῶν τὰ μὲν τῶν βιβλίων ἐξελέγησαν, τὰ δὲ καὶ περιώφθησαν... Migne, *op. cit.* 89, 589f. The *Quaestiones* in their present form are not original but that does not affect the foregoing discussion since the material is quoted. See Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byz. Lit.* 64ff.

It is evidently the same tradition which Jerome has in mind when he speaks of certain "writings of Solomon which were antiquated and did not continue in memory."¹

When we come to the end of Question 41 of Anastasios we make the interesting discovery that he ascribes to the "archaeological history of Eusebios Pamphilos" an account of a drastic revision of Solomon's writings by Hezekiah. "The books of Solomon", he says, "written by him concerning the parables and odes, in which he discoursed concerning the nature of plants and all kinds of animals, land, winged, and aquatic, and cures of every disease, Hezekiah suppressed because the people secured the treatments for their diseases there and failed to ask and look away to God for their cures".² Is this appeal to the authority of Eusebius misleading? We do not know the date or authorship of the *Quaestiones* in their present form, but whoever the writer of Question 41 was, he quotes accurately from Theodoret and from a lost work of Hippolytos. The presumption is that he may be trusted also in his quotation from Eusebius, who may well have known what was evidently the official Jewish opinion regarding the revision of Solomon's works by Hezekiah, referred to in the Talmud and explained by Rashi as here. It is worth while adding that there seems to be a Slavic "Archaeology of Eusebios Pamphilos" which strangely enough begins with a reference to Solomon.³

Succeeding Christian writers combine the tradition given by Hippolytos with that of Eusebios, or, sometimes, report them separately. The encyclopaedia of Josephos Christianos called the *Hypomnestikon* mentions the revision of the Proverbs in chapter 120 and the suppression of the magical writings in chapter 74.⁴ Georgios Monachos

¹ Aiunt Hebraei cum inter cetera scripta Salomonis quae antiquata sunt, nec in memoria duraverunt, et hic liber (Eccl.) obliterandus videretur . . . ex hoc capitulo meruisse autoritatem. *Com. in Eccl.* 12 13f.

² Εὐσεβίου Παμφίλου ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαιολογικῆς ιστορίας. Τὰς δὲ βίβλους τοῦ Σολομῶντος, τὰς περὶ τῶν παραβολῶν καὶ ψδῶν, ἐν αἷς περὶ φυτῶν καὶ παντοίων ζῴων φυσιολογήσας (ἰ. ἐφυσιολόγησα) χειραίων, πετεινῶν τε καὶ νηκτῶν, καὶ λαμάτων, πάθους παντός, γραφέας αὐτῷ, ἀφανεῖς ἐποίησεν Ἐζεκίας διὰ τὸ τὰς θεραπειὰς τῶν νοσημάτων ἐνθεν κομῆσθαι τὸν λαόν, καὶ περιορᾶν αἰτεῖν καὶ παρορᾶν ἐντεῦθεν παρὰ θεῷ τὰς ἰάσεις. Migne, *op. cit.* 89, 592 D f. Cf. Maimonides and Rashi, above p. 6.

³ Bonwetsch, in Harnack, *Altchr. Lit.* I ii, 900.

⁴ Migne, *op. cit.*, 106, 124, and 89 C. Unfortunately there is room for difference of opinion as to the date of the work. Schürer, *Gesch. des jüd. Volkes*⁴ III 420, seems to incline to 800 or earlier.

combines part of the quotation from Eusebios mentioning its source.¹ Kedrenos quotes Monachos with an additional clause borrowed from Synkellos or Suidas.² Glykas presents a somewhat independent account of Solomon's glory and wisdom, but his account of Hezekiah's revision is so confused as to seem to make it fall after Ezra. As authorities he appeals to "the most wise Psellos," in which he is mistaken, and to Eusebios.³ These three so introduce a clause from Anastasios Sinaites as to make it appear that the books which Hezekiah suppressed were those from which all the medical wisdom of antiquity was derived.⁴

A fourth and independent *motif*, like that which Shemtob found in Zahravi and among the Christians of Marseilles, is introduced by Georgios Synkellos and Suidas. The former, when describing Solomon's reign, contents himself with writing most concisely of his wisdom and his fall. In his account of Hezekiah's reign, after expanding 2 Kings 184, he adds, "And there was a certain writing of Solomon engraved on the gate of the temple containing a cure for every disease, and the people, turning to this and thinking to have their cures from it, despised God. Wherefore also Hezekiah chiseled it away in order that the sick might turn to God."⁵ Suidas shortens the account and puts βιβλος ιαμάτων for γραφή.⁶ Kedrenos seems to have some idea of this tradition for he speaks of a "book of healing of Solomon for every disease which was engraved," where, he does not say, and he makes Hezekiah "burn and destroy" it.⁷

The story of Hezekiah's destruction of Solomon's magical writings crops out in a most interesting way in the latest recension of the *Testament of Solomon*,⁸ and what is still more remarkable it is

¹ Migne, *op. cit.* 110, 149, 273.

² *Ibid.* 121, 200 B, 224 C. See below.

³ *Ibid.* 158, 348 f. For Psellos see *ibid.* 122, 537, 540.

⁴ For example Glykas says: τὰς τοῦ Σολομῶντος βιβλους, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ οἱ τῶν ἰατρῶν παῖδες τὰς ἀφορίας ἔλαβον . . . παρὰ δὲ Ἐζεκιῶν κακαῦσθαί φησιν ὁ πολυμαθὴς καὶ πολυτίστωρ Εὐσέβιος. Migne, *op. cit.* 158, 348 D.

⁵ ἦν δὲ καὶ Σολομῶντος γραφή τις ἐγκεκολαμένη τῇ πύλῃ τοῦ ναοῦ παντὸς νοσήματος ἄκως περιέχουσα, ἣ προσέχων ὁ λαὸς καὶ τὰς θεραπέας, νομιζόμενος ἔχειν κατεφρόνει τοῦ θεοῦ. διὸ καὶ ταύτην Ἐζεκίας ἐξεκόλαψεν ἵνα πάσχοντες τῷ θεῷ προσέχωσιν.

⁶ *Lexicon* s. v. Ἐζεκίας.

⁷ βιβλίον Σολομῶντος ἱαματήριον παντὸς πάθους ἐγκεκολαμένον ἐξέκαψε καὶ ἠφάνισε. Migne, *op. cit.* 121, 200 B, 224 C.

⁸ See below p. 17.

implicitly combined with the idea of a contract between the demons and Solomon engraved on stone, exactly the same collocation of ideas that Shemtob took from Zahravi and the Christians of Marseilles.¹ Aside from a "Prologue" and a few verses at the beginning, Recension C of the *Testament of Solomon* runs very much like the earlier ones until near the end of chapter 9. From this point on an entirely different set of demons and of ideas is introduced. In chapter 13, then, the attempt is made to authenticate this "new testament" in a unique fashion. Solomon's chief familiar, here named Paltiel Tzamal, requests him to promise that this, the real testament, shall be left to his sons only, and that, after his death, (sic) he shall make for Hezekiah another testament for the world at large, while this, the true one, shall be hidden and not open to the common herd, "for," he adds, "Hezekiah, O king, will burn many books handed down from the fathers and many others he will hide, and he will establish the world and the superfluous he will cut off." Solomon then secures the name of the angel which truly frustrates all the demons — it is *agla* — and makes an agreement with the demon that Hezekiah shall burn all but one copy of this true testament, which is to be engraved on stone, but shall spread abroad in the world the other testament which the demons shall give him as a joke and delusion.² It is, I think, quite evident that the author of this recension has gone out from the two ideas which Shemtob brings together, of a contract between Solomon and the demons which along with medical recipes was engraved on white marble and the added idea, common both to Christian and Jewish tradition, that Hezekiah was to destroy or at least lessen the number of Solomon's magical writings.³

An interesting aspect of the literary tradition regarding Solomon magus is to be found in the anti-Jewish polemics of Christian writers. The earliest reference of this kind I know is to be found in the *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila*, which dates probably from the

¹ See above p. 7.

² This recension is found in MS No. 3632 of the Bologna University Library, ff. 475 ff., and No. 2419, Anc. fonds grecs, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, ff. 266 ff. See the forthcoming edition by the writer, to be published by Hinrichs in Professor Hans Windisch's *Untersuchungen zum NT*.

³ Glykas uses the word *ἀλιγώρησεν*. See above p. 13.

first half of the fifth century. The Christian is arguing the messiahship of Jesus and applies to him the second Psalm. The Jew replies that this psalm referred to Solomon, not to the messiah. To meet this statement the Christian attacks the reputation of Solomon, quoting parts of the speech of Ahijah to Jeroboam,¹ and concluding with an appeal to the story of Solomon's fall as "written in his Testament," the Jewish-Christian work of the third century.² Aside from the light it throws on anti-Jewish polemics, this passage is interesting mainly because it shows the earliest and most important of the pseudo-Solomonic magical works fully accepted and highly honored among the Christians of the fifth century. The writer of the *Dialogue* claims a greater trustworthiness for the *Testament* than for the Book of Kings. "On this I take my stand with confidence, because this is not revealed at the hand of the historian but is known from the mouth of Solomon himself."³

Jewish polemics did more than apply many passages which the Christians regarded as messianic to Solomon. They also claimed that Solomon had subdued the demonic hosts, thus undermining the Christian argument that Jesus was the messiah because he had overthrown the kingdom of Beelzebul. The *Testament of Solomon* seems on the whole to be entirely unaware of this conflict of claims. All that distinctly appears in what can be confidently claimed as its original form as a Christian document is that Christ, or Immanuel, or the cross are the accepted means for frustrating the evil machinations of the demons. The fact that Solomon fell is not allowed to weaken faith in the charms he has discovered, on the contrary it is turned to account by making a demon foretell it and by that very means convince him, and the reader also, of course, that all that he had learned from the demons is true.⁴ Christ is represented merely as the one who will eventually rule the demons, as in a sense a greater successor to Solomon.⁵

¹ 1 Kings 11 31-36.

² See below p. 17. The *Dialogue* is published by F. C. Conybeare, in *Anecdota Oxon.* Classical ser. VIII; see p. 70.

³ ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ ἐστὴν πιστοποιῶν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐν χειρὶ ιστοριογράφου ἐφανερώθη τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σολομῶντος ἐγνώθη τοῦτο. *Loc. cit.*

⁴ Ch. 15 8-14.

⁵ Ch. 15 11. This is found only in the manuscripts of Recension B and may be secondary, Paris, Anc. fonds grecs 38, Jerus., S. Sab. 422.

Christian writers who have been more thoroughly indoctrinated take a different tone. Leontios of Constantinople in his sermon *In mediam Pentecosten*, while discussing the cure of the man with a legion of demons, suddenly begins an anti-Solomonic polemic. "To whom," he says, "did the legion of demons say, 'If you cast us out, allow us to enter the herd of swine'? To Solomon who built Jerusalem, or to the Lord Christ who holds all things in his hand? But the demon-loving Jews will say at once, "What then? Did not Solomon master the demons? Did he not shut them up one and all? Do they not fear him to this day?' But, O demon-deceived Jews, you appeal to these arguments in vain. For the Lord Christ alone bound the strong one with might and plundered his goods. For Solomon not only did not royally master the demons but even was mastered and destroyed by them at the end. For, loving the lust of polygamy, seduced by the procuration of the devil, . . . he defiled the marriage-bed of divine knowledge . . . How then is the servant of demons master of demons?"¹

The same argument appears in the *Disputation* wrongly ascribed to Gregentius of Taphar. Herban, the Jew, claims that Solomon had ruled all the demons. The archbishop is made to reply, "Solomon humbled demons? You do not know what you are maintaining. For a time he did secure them in his vessels and sealed and buried them. But look with me at the time that he was completely defeated by the demons themselves and, being overthrown, was in danger of losing his salvation, in that he offered incense to the abominations of deceit."² Where there were no arguments with Jews, and that includes the greater part of Christendom, this conflict of claims did not arise and Solomon was viewed as a great magician whom God had endowed with wisdom for "help and healing to men."

2. THE LIVING TRADITION

Turning now from the literary tradition, that handed down by quotation from earlier sources, to the living tradition, that which

¹ See Migne, *l. c.* 86, 1980. According to Krumbacher, *Gesch. d. byz. Lit.* 55 and 191, this homily is to be ascribed to a Constantinopolitan presbyter, Leontios, and not to any one of the better known fathers of that name. His date is uncertain.

² Migne, *l. c.*

gives contemporary evidence of an actual faith in Solomon's magical powers and wisdom, we find our earliest document in the *Testament of Solomon*, already mentioned. Josephus and the magical papyri are witnesses to a living faith among Jews and to a certain extent among the heathen. The *Testament* witnesses to faith among Jews and Christians, for it consists of Jewish material worked over and combined with heathen and Christian material by a Christian. The basis is the story, no doubt borrowed from the Jews, of Solomon's use of demons in building the temple, really an attempt to glorify the temple by representing it as the product of more than human skill.² As the work proceeds, a vampire attempts to hinder it by attacking the chief architect, a favorite slave of Solomon. To save him Michael brings the famous ring from heaven and with its help Solomon calls all the demons before him, learns their characteristics, including the diseases and ills they cause, and the angel name or charm that frustrates them, and sets them to work at various difficult tasks about the temple.

The original purpose of the writer was to collect about the name of Solomon all the magico-medical knowledge he had. Of the story which he made the framework of his "novel with a purpose" we have two late Christian recensions. A comparison of these works with the *Testament* shows how far tradition had already gone before the time of the *Testament* in collecting stories of Solomon's dealings with the demons. The writer of the *Testament* gave a mighty impulse to this development by ascribing to Solomon a large number of demonological and magical traditions that came from the most diverse sources, Babylonian, Persian, Jewish, Greek, and Egyptian. The successive recensions of the original story and of the *Testament* show this process still going on. For example, the second recension of the *Testament* and a late modern Greek recension of the story both add an account of Solomon's shutting the demons up in vessels, the latter going on to tell how the Chaldeans, when they took Jerusalem,

¹ The *Testament* is, to be sure, the earliest document referring to this legend, and Jewish legend does not, I think, make so much of it as does Arabic. Yet it hardly so likely that it would develop among Christians as among Jews.

opened the seals hoping to find treasure, and thus let the demons out again to prey upon mankind.¹

Next to the *Testament*, the most important magical work ascribed to Solomon is the *Clavicula*, the "key of Solomon," which all during the Middle Ages and down into modern times enjoyed a reputation which the *Testament* never had. A mass of manuscripts in Latin, French, Italian, English, and other European languages, shows what tremendous popularity it had. In occultist circles it is still thought worthy of translation and publication in these days of science.² Various recensions exist also in Greek and deserve publication for the light they throw on astrology and magic. The work is really a treatise on these subjects, as the *Testament* is a treatise in story form on medical magic. The most striking feature in the many manuscripts I have seen is the large number of "pentacles," drawings, usually circular in form, often including magical words or sentences, and intended as charms or amulets against evil spirits, diseases, or other woes to which the flesh is heir. These are sometimes said to be the seals on the ring of Solomon, sometimes the "signs" of the demons. Recension C of the *Testament* has borrowed from this literature twelve seals for the ring and a list of fifty demons and their "signs." Perhaps the most valuable element in the *Clavicula* is to be found in the numerous prayers to the planets, which seem to contain ancient material. The date of the *Clavicula* and of the *Υπομαντεία*, as it is often called in Greek manuscripts, has not been determined. It is certainly later than the *Testament*, but goes well back into the first millennium of our era.³

It is impossible even to catalogue the many works ascribed to Solomon in the Middle Ages, such as *Sepher Raziel* and *Semiphoras*.⁴ They are a sadly confused and wearisome mass of cabbalistic and

¹ See the writer's *Testament of Salomon*, already mentioned above, p. 14. The interesting modern Greek version is found in codex No. 290 of the St. Sabbas manuscripts in the library of the Greek Patriarchate in Jerusalem.

² S. L. M. Mathers, *Clavicula Salomonis*, London, 1888. For a Hebrew translation see above p. 8.

³ See Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 186 f., and *The Testament of Solomon*, Introduction II 4 and VIII 3.

⁴ See Steinschneider, *Hebr. Übers.* 937, Scheibel, *Das Kloster* III 289 ff., Horst, *Zauberbibliothek passim*, Seligsohn, art. "Solomon, Apocryphal Works," in *Jewish Enc.* (XI 447).

occultist superstitions which do neither Solomon nor their authors credit. But they testify to the high esteem in which Solomon magus was held and their number as well as the frequency of copies of the more popular ones prove that the practice of magic in Solomon's name was widespread.

Equally important evidence on this point is to be found in the lists of prohibited books. In the *Decretum Gelasianum*, the *Collectio Herovalliana*, and pseudo-Isidor, *de Muneris*, mention is made of a *Salomonis interdictio*, or *contradictio*, and of *phylacteria* which contain the names, not of angels, but of demons.¹ There can be little doubt that the *Clavicula* is one of the books thus forbidden. Whether the *Testament* is intended in the title *Interdictio* is questionable. In any case the prohibition proves that Solomonic books were in popular use.

Again there are allusions in mediaeval Christian writers which are not merely quoted from some older authority but come from the authors' own knowledge as to the use of Solomonic books or incantations. The *Hypomnestikon*, for example, following its reference to the suppression of Solomonic writings by Hezekiah, continues, "But those which drive demons away and cure diseases and discover thieves the 'fakirs' of the Jews guard among themselves most carefully, although the faithful of the holy church do not use these, since they have been taught by their faith in Christ to keep themselves pure."² Whoever he was and whenever he wrote—and there is no reason why the passage should not come from the fifth or sixth century—the author is not quoting any known description of Solomonic magical works, but, in all probability, telling of books he knew from personal knowledge.

At the end of the twelfth century Niketas Akomines, or Choniates, a high official in the Byzantine court, knew an interpreter, sycophant and magician at court named Aaron. He had a "Solomonic book which, when it was unrolled and gone through, collected the demons by legions and made them stand ready, answering continually for what they were to be called upon, hastening to carry out the thing

¹ See E. von Dobschütz, "Das Decretum Gel., etc.," in *Texte u. Unters.* (1912) 13, 11, 332—335; 84, 11, 112f.; 74, 11, 242—245, see also p. 319.

² Migne, *op. cit.* 106, 89C. See above p. 12.

enjoined, and observing zealously that commanded.”¹ This is an almost exact description of the *Clavicula* and of the new part of Recension C of the *Testament*. There can be little doubt that Niketas, who wrote from personal recollection, had actually seen a performance in which some such book was used.

It is equally clear that Michael Glykas knew the *Testament*. He says that Solomon “also made a book of his concerning demons, how they are brought down and in what forms they appear. He wrote also their natures and peculiarities, and how they are bound and how they are driven away from places they love to inhabit. Wherefore he enjoined upon them work of carrying burdens and forced them, as it is said, to fell timber and required them to carry that which was brought on their shoulders, and swollen bowels he cured by incantations or by binding herbs about them.”² Only the name is lacking to make the identification of this “book about demons” with the *Testament* complete, for it is throughout concerned with bringing demons down, with describing their forms, natures, and peculiarities, with telling how they are driven from their lurking-places, how they are set to work, carrying burdens and cutting wood, among other things, and how cures are wrought by means of incantations and herbs.

Turning from books to amulets and talismans, one finds an equal abundance of material. Every large museum has evidence that the books of Solomon “pentacles” in their manuscript collections were not mere *jeux d’esprit* on the part of monks or others who had no better employment than drawing pictures. Amulet after amulet proves that Solomon’s was in truth a name “to conjure with.” It appears in many different connections, only a few examples of which can be given here. It is found, for example, on so-called Gnostic amulets. On a bronze nail in the British Museum is the inscription: (1) ABARAXAS· ASTRAEL* (2) IAO SABAO* * (3) (Drawing of serpent) (4) SOLOMONO* *.³ It is combined with heathen

¹ Migne, *op. cit.* 86, 641f.

² Migne, *op. cit.* 158, 349.

³ Cf. H. B. Walters, *Cat. of Bronzes in the Brit. Museum, Greek, Roman, and Etruscan*. London 1899, p. 370, No. 3192. Henzen, *Bull. d. Inst. di Corr. Arch.* 1849, p. 11, cites from a magic nail AO SABAO SOLOMONO, and Wessely, *Ephesia Grammata* 22, 202, *ιαο σολομων σαβαιο* from Montfaucon, *Tab.* 164. The nail given in the text is no doubt the one mentioned by Jahn, “Aberglaube des bösen Blicks,” *Ber. d. sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss.* 1855, p. 108.

deities. Another nail in the British Museum carries a long inscription beginning DOMNA ARTEMIX and concluding TER DICO TER INCANTO IN SIGNU DEI ET SIGNU SOLOMONIS ET SIGNU DOMNA ARTEMIX.¹

Solomon often appears in the role of St. George, dressed as a knight in mediaeval armor riding a horse and piercing a dragon or some other enemy with his lance, for example on a hematite amulet in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. The obverse bears the legend Σολωμων, the reverse σφραγίς θεου.² Schlumberger cites a similar amulet with the same legends in which the rider is spearing a seated, naked woman.³ Another Schlumberger bought in the bazaar at Smyrna. In a circle around the edge of the medal was the legend, Σφραγίς σολομωνος αποδιοξον παν κακον απο του φορουντο<s>. In the field was the word φθονος, in the center an eye, above it three daggers pointing at it, on each side a rampant lion, below an ibis (or an ostrich), a serpent, and a scorpion, with the figure of a female demon at the bottom. On the other side was a figure of a rider spearing the same demon and the circular legend φευγε μεμισιμενι σολομον δε διοκι σισινριος σισινναριος. Thus Solomon is to protect from the demon of envy that works in the evil eye.⁴

A similar but more complicated amulet from Cyzicus bears on one side the legend, μηχανηλ, γαβριηλ, ουριηλ, ραφαηλ, διαφυλαξον τον φορουντα αγιος αγιος αγιος ιησους RPSSS, and on the other, φευγε μεμισιμενι σολομον διοκι σε (και) αγγελος αρααψ. The interpretation of details both in the legends and the figures is difficult but apparently the maker wished to combine as many powers as possible in his effort to counteract the evil eye, and Solomon was one that he could not afford to ignore.⁵

¹ See Walters, *loc. cit.*, No. 3191, and Jahn, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

² Chabouillet, *Cat. des Camées de la Bib. Imp.* p. 299, No. 2218; cf. also No. 2219.

³ *Revue des Études Grecs* V (1892) 84.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 93.

⁵ Dorigny gives this amulet in *Revue des Études Grecs* IV (1891) 287—296 under the title "Phylactère Alexandrin contre les epistaxis," basing his interpretation upon an ingenious but, I am sure, fanciful explanation of the word αρααψ, which he reads αρααφ and derives from רעף, "to run drop by drop." Ἄγγελος Ἀραάφ is, therefore, the demon of nosebleed. It is difficult to determine whether the last letter of the word is ψ or φ. But the chief objection to this interpretation is that an etymology based upon a word written in Greek letters is altogether too uncertain unless there is other strong confirmatory evidence,

Appeal is made to the seal of Solomon for protection times without number. Aside from the occurrences already mentioned above one may take as examples another of Schlumberger's amulets which bears on the obverse the figures of an angel and a dog (or lion?) attacking a demon with the circular legend, *φενγε μεμιστριμεν αρλαφ ο αγγελος σε διοκι*, and on the reverse various signs and figures with the legend, *σφραγεις σολομονος φιλατε τον φορουντα*.¹ De Longpérier gives an amulet of chalcedony with the inscription *σφραγεις σαλωμ<ο>ν κυριος ΝΑΙ'Η'Τ*.²

Likewise appeal is made to the "covenant" of Solomon with the demons in a gold amulet from Italy. It was seen and copied by Amati in 1829 in the shop of an antiquity dealer in Rome. Amati gave a copy to Professor Emiliano Sorti and this was published in 1880 by Professor Gaetano Pellicioni. The copy was made in imitation of the very crabbed letters of the original. Beginning with a line of magical, or at least non-Greek letters, it exorcised all kinds of demons and magical potencies "by the great and holy name of Δτψ (whoever that may be), the Lord God of Adam and Abram and Adonai and Iao and Sabaoth not to touch the woman who wears this exorcism," "remembering the covenant they made with the great Solomon and Michael the angel, that they swore the great and holy oath by the name of God and said, 'We will flee, we will not violate the oath'."³ So we find a persistent, living tradition as to the "covenant" which Solomon made with the demons, references to which we have already found in the literary sources.⁴

Thus in Solomonic tradition as elsewhere in Greek Christian literature the two meanings of *διαθήκη* meet and cross. Were there

and such is wanting in this case. For other examples of Solomon as a knight see the collection in the Berlin Museum, Saal X, Schautisch F 2, Nos. 9932, 10640, 10641, *Ausführliches Verzeichniss* 1894, p. 297, and see Dorigny, "Salomō als Reiter," in *Rev. des Études Grecs* IV (1891) 217—296.

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 93. The reading of Heim, *Incant magica* (*op. cit. supra*, p. 6), p. 481, Nos. 61 and 62, *φενγέ με, μισουμενή*, is indefensible.

² *Comptes rend. des séances de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lett.* 1880, pp. 275 ff. See the article *Σφραγεις Σολομώνος*, by Perdrizet in *Rev. des Études Grecs* 1903, 42 ff.

³ *πᾶν πνεῦμα μνησθέντα τῆς διαθήκης ἧς* (so my copy, not *ἧν* or *ῆ*) *ἔθεντο ἐπὶ μεγάλου Σολομώνος καὶ Μεχείλου τοῦ ἀγγέλου ὅτι ὤμοσαν τὸν μέγαν καὶ ἅγιον ὄρκον ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ εἶπαν ὅτι φευξόμεθα, ὄρκον οὐ ψευδόμεθα.* *Atti e memorie delle RR. deputazioni di storia patria per le provincie dell' Emilia.* Nuova Serie, vol. V, parte I (Modena 1880) 177 ff. Cf. Wessely, in *Wiener Studien* VIII (1886) 179, Schlumberger, *Rev. Ét. Gr.* V 87.

⁴ See above pp. 7, 14f.

originally two separate *motifs*, one of the "covenant" between Solomon and the demons, the other of the last will and "testament" which the wise king left telling all he had learned about them? Or did one of these ideas arise out of the other by misunderstanding or conscious development? So far as I have been able to discover, the *Testament* is older than any allusion to the "covenant." That may be pure accident. Yet it is easier to see how from the stories of the *Testament* the tradition of the "covenant" should arise than *vice versa*.¹ In Recension C the *Testament* insensibly passes over into a "covenant." On the other hand the tradition as to the "covenant" seems the more wide spread. Not only are there the allusions already adduced from Christian, Hebrew and Arabic sources, but Bezold gives "eine arabische Zaubersformel gegen Epilepsie" from the margin of a Berlin manuscript which mentions the contract between Solomon and the devils.² And Vasiliev gives a Greek incantation which contains a reference to the demons' oath.³

Weighing probabilities one is inclined to conclude that the idea of a covenant between Solomon and the demons arose by natural development out of the stories of his dealings with them, and that the "testament" was independently suggested to some mind already familiar with such documents as the Testament of Abraham, the Testament of Adam, and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. To the author, then, of Recension C of the *Testament* occurred the brilliant idea of combining the two and thereby gaining added circulation for his document.

In the early Christian centuries a living tradition showed itself in a field so fertile that it is strange it was not longer cultivated. To one who is familiar with the "sacred places" of Palestine it is not astonishing to learn that the pilgrim of Bordeaux in the fourth century was shown the cave where Solomon tortured the demons,⁴ and that St. Sylvia saw his ring in Jerusalem during the same

¹ It is an interesting fact that the first translator of the *Testament* rendered the title „covenant," although in the recension that lay before him the idea is not to be found. This was J. Fürst, *Der Orient*, 5. Jahrgang 1844, 7. Jahrgang 1846, *Literaturblatt*, cols. 593, 663, 714, 741, "Der Bund Salomos."

² In *ZA* XX 3-4 (Aug. 1907) pp. 105 ff., from Cod. (113) Sachau 199 (*Königl. Bibliothek, Berlin*), ff. 24^b-27^a; cf. esp. pp. 110 f.

³ *Anecdota Graeco-byzantina*, p. 332.

⁴ Tobler, *Palest. descript.* 1869, p. 3; Schürer, *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes*¹ III 418.

century.¹ It is strange some enterprising guide did not discover some of the brass vessels in which the demons were sealed.

Long as this paper is, it gives but a part of the material that comes from Christian sources and does not attempt more than to touch the Semitic. It has been confined largely, moreover, to the Greek and Latin world. Many details might be added by one who knew Coptic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Georgian, and the Slavic languages. Again the subject was restricted to the tradition regarding the magical wisdom of Solomon, thus leaving untouched a large field that has to do with his judicial and his scientific wisdom, the many books ascribed to him in this field, and the stories of his dialogues with human or semi-demonic interlocutors.

Enough, however, has been adduced to illustrate several features of the growth of tradition. Its almost insensible beginnings, gathering slowly about a historical nucleus, the gradual accretions from sources where similar *motifs* were at work, the adding of traits due sometimes merely to the *Lust zum Fabulieren*, sometimes to a patriotic motive, sometimes to literary ambition, sometimes to "scientific," medical or magical interest, the cross currents of theology and polemics which tended to hinder development in one direction, while stimulating it in another, the mutual fructification resulting from the occasional contact of the literary and the living tradition, the omnivorousness of such a tradition, once it has well grown, its ability to seize and apparently assimilate the most diverse and contradictory elements, these are some of the features, common to all folklore, which one sees in the Christian tradition regarding Solomon. Studies which include other languages and peoples and comparisons with other traditions would bring out still other characteristics of the development of folklore. Along with that of Alexander the tradition of Solomon offers one of the most fruitful fields of investigation.

¹ Peregrinatio of St. Sylvia, or Ettorea, published by Gannurrini. I owe the reference to Dr. F. C. Conybeare.

LE TOMBEAU D'ISAÏE

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(JERUSALEM)

LA mise à mort du prophète Isaïe par le roi Manassé est un des éléments de la tradition juive les mieux attestés. Le Talmud de Babylone y revient par deux fois, contenant les deux particularités que l'on retrouve dans le Talmud de Jérusalem: la cachette d'Isaïe dans un cèdre qui sera scié, et la référence au texte de 2 Rois 21 16 «Manassé répandit beaucoup de sang innocent jusqu'à en remplir Jérusalem d'un bout à l'autre». Malgré le vague du renseignement ce verset peut comprendre implicitement un fait précis qu'on a jugé bon de dissimuler et se référer à une tradition authentique. Il en va autrement du sciage d'Isaïe dans le cèdre, trait qui appartient au domaine du folklore iranien. Les rabbins ont seulement atténué le réalisme horrible du supplice tel que le décrivait le récit primitif, d'après lequel le héros réfugié dans l'arbre est coupé avec lui. Dans les récits talmudiques, on coupe le cèdre pour extraire le condamné de sa cachette, ou bien le prophète meurt au moment où la scie va l'atteindre.

«Lorsque Manassé se leva et se mit à courir après Isaïe pour le tuer, celui-ci put s'enfuir et se cacher dans un tronc de cèdre. Comme des franges de son vêtement dépassait l'arbre, on s'en aperçut, on le reconnut, et on vint en faire part au roi qui dit: Allons scier l'arbre; ce qui fut fait et l'homme fut découvert.»¹ Plus loin, la part du roi dans l'exécution du prophète est clairement indiquée. «N'est-il pas écrit: Manassé versa aussi beaucoup de sang etc.? Or est-il possible à un être humain de remplir Jérusalem de sang

¹ Talmud de Jérusalem, Sanhédrin, X, 2. Cf. T. de Babylone, Sanhédrin, 103^b; Yebamoth, 103^b.

innocent d'un bout à l'autre? On veut dire par là que le roi tua Isaïe...» Une tradition relevée dans *Yebamoth*, 49^b mentionne la cachette du prophète dans le cèdre, mais lorsque la scie fut arrivée à la bouche de la victime, son âme la quitta.

Que l'allusion de l'épître aux Hébreux (1137) aux saints qui ont été sciés concerne véritablement Isaïe, c'est ce que l'on admet aujourd'hui communément avec d'autant plus de facilité que l'existence au 1^{er} siècle d'un opuscule d'origine juive traitant du martyre de ce prophète paraît solidement établie. La tradition qu'il représente, dépouillée de la circonstance légendaire du cèdre qui se referme, était vraisemblablement reçue dans les milieux juifs avant l'ère chrétienne. Ce *Martyre* a servi de source au compilateur chrétien qui, aux environs de 150, rédigea l'*Ascension d'Isaïe*. Le fragment utilisé représente le prophète en butte à l'hostilité d'un certain Balkirâ, originaire de Samarie, sur lequel on est bien aise de rejeter l'odieux de la conduite du roi. Circonvenus par l'imposteur, Manassé et les princes de Juda se décident à faire arrêter le Voyant qui a prétendu voir le Seigneur et qui a infligé le nom infâme de Sodome à Jérusalem et traité de peuple de Gomorrhe les princes de Juda. «Ils prirent donc (ajoute le récit) Isaïe, fils d'Amos et le scièrent avec une scie de bois. Manassé, Balkirâ, les faux prophètes, les princes et le peuple, tous se tenaient debout le regardant... Et tandisqu'il était scié, Isaïe ni ne cria ni ne pleura, mais sa bouche parla à l'Esprit-Saint jusqu'à ce qu'il fut scié en deux.»¹ Cette narration qui jouit d'un grand succès dans la littérature ecclésiastique ne comporte aucune donnée topographique.²

Si l'œuvre originale du *Martyre* contenait quelque indication de lieu, le rédacteur de l'*Ascension d'Isaïe* l'a complètement négligée et il est nécessaire pour la retrouver de recourir au curieux document intitulé *Vies des Prophètes* dont nous possédons plusieurs recensions grecques et quelques abrégés syriaques. La plus connue de ces recensions est celle que l'on attribue à S. Epiphane. On a tenté de placer à l'origine de ces notices un opuscule hébreu ou araméen, mais les tournures sémitiques s'expliquent suffisamment par le grec aramaïsant parlé en Palestine. Pour sa notice sur Isaïe, l'auteur a

¹ TISSERANT, *Ascension d'Isaïe*, V, 11—14, p. 131.

² Outre les allusions de Justin, Tertullien, Lactance, Hilaire, Ambroise etc., on a des mentions explicites dans Origène et Jérôme.

pu puiser ses renseignements dans des traditions locales déjà anciennes. Il semble avoir connu le *Martyre* d'Isaïe. On est incapable d'affirmer cependant qu'il y ait puisé des circonstances topographiques omises par l'*Ascension*. Sans méconnaître l'incertitude qui règne au sujet de la date des *Vies des Prophètes*, on ne risquerait pas de se tromper beaucoup en optant pour le second siècle de notre ère, époque de l'éclosion de maint apocryphe judéo-chrétien et des *Mémoires* d'Hégésippe, réserve faite d'additions postérieures manifestement chrétiennes. Le texte de la notice vaut d'être cité en entier :

1. «Le prophète Isaïe, fils d'Amos, naquit à Jérusalem de la tribu de Juda; ayant été mis à mort par Manassé, roi de Juda, scié en deux, il fut enseveli sous le chêne de Rogel, près du passage des eaux que le roi Ézéchias avait fait disparaître en les comblant. Dieu fit le miracle de Siloé en faveur du prophète, qui, pris de défaillance avant de mourir, demanda à boire de l'eau. Aussitôt il lui en fut envoyé de cette source, laquelle, pour cette raison, fut appelée Siloé qui signifie «envoyé»»

2. «Du temps du roi Ézéchias, avant que celui-ci n'eût fait creuser les citernes et les piscines, il était sorti un peu d'eau à la prière du prophète Isaïe, le peuple étant investi par les étrangers, afin que la ville ne pût pas de soif. Les ennemis se demandaient: D'où boivent-ils l'eau? ignorant le fait. Tout en maintenant la ville en respect, ils vinrent camper à Siloé. Quand les Juifs venaient puiser, l'eau de la source s'élevait, et ils s'approvisionnaient; les étrangers venaient-ils, ils n'en trouvaient pas, l'eau avait fui. Aussi jusqu'à ce jour, l'eau arrive subitement pour manifester ce prodige. Et parce que ceci avait eu lieu par l'intermédiaire d'Isaïe, le peuple, en souvenir, l'ensevelit avec soin et honneur près de la source pour que par ses prières on ait toujours la jouissance de cette eau. Le peuple reçut un oracle à ce sujet. Le tombeau du prophète Isaïe est à côté du tombeau des rois, derrière le tombeau des prêtres au midi. En bâtissant Jérusalem, Salomon avait fait le tombeau des rois suivant un plan tracé par David. C'est à l'orient de Sion, qui a une entrée depuis Gabaoth, à une distance de vingt stades de la ville; et il la fit tortueuse, compliquée, insoupçonnable, aussi est-elle jusqu'à ce jour inconnue du grand nombre.»

3. «Le roi Salomon avait là l'or d'Éthiopie et les aromates. Comme Ézéchias avait dévoilé le secret de David et de Salomon

aux gentils et avait profané les ossements de ses ancêtres, Dieu jura de livrer sa postérité en esclavage à ses ennemis. A partir de ce jour, Dieu le priva de descendance.»¹

L'originalité de cette notice consiste à établir une relation étroite entre Isaïe et la fontaine de Siloé, quitte à embellir l'histoire d'ornements légendaires. Ce prophète, d'après la Bible, avait reproché à Ézéchiàs et à ses sujets d'accorder trop de confiance aux travaux hydrauliques destinés à capter tout le débit de la source dans un nouveau réservoir placé hors de l'atteinte des ennemis. Il semble même avoir pris partie pour l'ancien canal de Siloé que le tunnel d'Ézéchiàs allait rendre inutile, en se plaignant du mépris qu'on avait pour les eaux de Siloé qui coulent doucement. Is. 86. A l'aide de ces réminiscences une exégèse peu scrupuleuse aura vite fait honneur au Voyant de ces eaux si utiles à l'ancienne ville. Le prophète en aurait donc provoqué un premier jaillissement en petite quantité et par intermittences, afin de soulager ses concitoyens menacés de périr de soif pendant un siège. Peut-être l'auteur a-t-il pensé alors à cette invitation d'Isaïe 123: «Vous puiserez des eaux avec joie aux sources du salut». La seconde fois, la source aurait jailli en faveur d'Isaïe pris de défaillance au moment de son supplice. A sa prière, de l'eau lui est *envoyée* miraculeusement, et ainsi, suivant notre légende, s'explique le nom de Siloé qui signifie «envoyé», étymologie déjà donnée par Joh. 97. L'hypothèse de deux récits parallèles ne manque pas de fondement, et le doublet se poursuit à propos de la sépulture du héros.

Le premier récit (1), qui a surtout pour but d'expliquer l'étymologie du nom de Siloé, situe cette sépulture sous le chêne de Rogel près du passage des eaux obturées par Ézéchiàs. Le second récit (2), qui s'attache surtout au phénomène de l'intermittence, place le tombeau d'Isaïe près de la sortie des eaux, dans la proximité du tombeau des rois et du tombeau des prêtres. Le premier fait tout graviter autour du supplice, le second autour de l'épisode du siège.

Mis en parallèle avec le chêne de Débora ou le térébinthe de Jabès sous lequel furent enfouis les os de Saül et de ses fils,

¹ MIGNE, P. G., XLIII, 397. SCHERMANN, Propheten und Apostellegenden, *Texte und Unters.*, XXXI, 3, p. 74 ss. Sur l'interprétation de ce texte voir CL.-GANNEAU, *Acad. des Inscript...* Comptes rendus, 1897, p. 420 ss.

l'ensevelissement d'Isaïe sous le chêne de Rogel garde une saveur plus archaïque. On serait donc autorisé à croire qu'il y eut, à une certaine époque, aux environs de Siloé, un vieil arbre qui marquait aux yeux des populations le lieu de la déposition d'Isaïe et peut-être aussi de son martyre. Nous n'essaierons pas d'établir si des rapports existent entre la légende du cèdre et celle du chêne de Rogel. Il est plus facile de constater que la mention de *Rogel* ou du «Foulon» a pu être inspirée par le fait de la rencontre d'Achaz et du *nabî* vers «l'extrémité de l'aqueduc de l'étang supérieur, sur le chemin du champ du Foulon», Is. 7 3. L'équivalence de כּוֹכֶם employé ici et de רִגְלָא a été reconnue par le targum de Jonathan et les versions syriaque et arabe, qui les rendent par le même terme: קַרְרָא. A noter pourtant le cas de Josué 15 7, où l'Arabe substitue à 'aïn Rogel l'identification très nette de 'aïn Ayoub, et la paraphrase non moins intéressante d'Isaïe 7 3, dans le targum: «sur le chemin du champ de l'étendage des Foulons» חֶקֶל מְשַׁח קַרְרָא. Ce champ où les blanchisseurs étendaient leur lessive au soleil se localise aisément entre les piscines de Siloé et le *bîr Ayoub*. Un chemin sortant de la ville ancienne par une issue méridionale et se dirigeant vers 'aïn Rogel, après avoir passé à proximité de la bouche de l'aqueduc de Siloé qui précéda le tunnel d'Ézéchias serait fort bien en situation pour représenter le chemin du champ du Foulon.

La notice des *Vies des Prophètes* concorde pleinement avec ce point de vue, le chêne de Rogel, ainsi appelé sans doute en raison de sa situation sur le chemin qui mène à la source de ce nom, était planté ἐχόμενα τῆς διαβάσεως τῶν ὑδάτων, ὃν ἀπώλεσεν Ἐζεκίας ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐρά, «près du passage des eaux que le roi Ézéchias avait fait disparaître en les comblant». Le terme διάβασις que nous traduisons par «passage» ne signifie ni un canal, ni un aqueduc, ni un cours d'eau quelconque. C'est le terme consacré pour indiquer l'endroit où l'on passe un fleuve, où l'on franchit un cours d'eau, de préférence un gué. Aussi bien le texte rapporte-t-il l'obstruction opérée par Ézéchias aux eaux et non au passage (διαβάσις). Le point le plus évident où l'on passait l'ancien canal qui amenait les eaux de la piscine supérieure du Gihon (*Oumm ed-Daradj*) à la piscine inférieure que représente aujourd'hui le *bîrket el-Hamra*, se trouvait à son issue du rocher, un peu avant l'endroit où il se déversait dans ce dernier bassin. A l'époque de la rédaction des *Vies*, un sentier venant,

comme de nos jours, de la vallée du Tyropoeon coupait l'antique aqueduc de Siloé vers son extrémité sud-ouest avant de gagner le terrain plat avoisinant le *bîr Ayoub*.

L'ensemble de ces indications aboutit à localiser le chêne de Rogel vers la pointe sud de la colline dite d'Ophel (*ed-Dehourah*), aux abords du *birket el-Hamra*. Il est assez probable, d'après l'*Onomasticon* d'Eusèbe et de S. Jérôme,¹ qu'aux temps byzantins et peut-être déjà auparavant, ce *birkeh* ait porté le nom de piscine du Foulon — ἡ κολυμβήθρα τοῦ κλαφέως, *piscina Fullonis* — à cause de son utilisation par les blanchisseurs du temps, utilisation clairement attestée pour le Moyen âge. «De cele aigue, tanoit l'on les cuirs de la cité. *Et si en lavoit l'on les dras etc.*»² Mais ceci, n'infirmit en rien l'identification de *'aïn Rogel* avec le *bîr Ayoub*, montre que le domaine de Rogel ou du Foulon avait alors pris une extension qu'il n'avait pas à l'origine.

Le second mode de sépulture enregistré par la notice (2) revient à l'érection d'un monument commémoratif vers les eaux de Siloé. Ce terme s'appliquant strictement, à l'origine, à l'aqueduc creusé à flanc de coteau était lui aussi devenu d'une compréhension plus vaste, jusqu'à désigner les piscines pratiquées dans le creux du Tyropoeon et l'issue même du canal souterrain d'Ézéchias. Quoi qu'il en soit, ce tombeau qui présentait en quelque sorte Isaïe comme le génie tutélaire de la source n'était pas éloigné de l'arbre sacré de Rogel. Les deux traditions ont-elles coexisté ou se sont-elles succédées? Il est difficile de se prononcer à ce sujet. Il fut un temps où la sépulture d'Abraham était cherchée soit sous le Térébinthe de Mambré soit à la grotte de Macpéla. Le tombeau dit d'Isaïe, participant aux embellissements que provoqua sous Hérode la renaissance du culte des tombes ancestrales, dut prendre à cette époque un regain de notoriété, époque où les sépulcres des patriarches à Hébron étaient rehaussés d'une merveilleuse enceinte, et où le tombeau de David recevait une somptueuse entrée de marbre blanc.³

¹ KLOSTERMANN, *Onomasticon*, p. 39, 165.

² Contin. de Guillaume de Tyr dite du ms. de Rothelin, *Rec. des Hist. des Croisades, Occid.*, II, p. 510.

³ JOSÈPHE, *Antiquités*... XVI, 7, 1; *Guerre*... IV, 9, 7.

Ce tombeau de David et de sa lignée sert à l'auteur des *Vies des Prophètes* de point de repère pour la localisation du sépulcre d'Isaïe. Il s'agit à n'en pas douter de l'hypogée royal mentionné fréquemment par les livres des *Rois* et des *Chroniques*, hypogée qui se développa selon les besoins, car il est fait parfois allusion au sépulcre que tel prince s'était préparé, hypogée situé dans la cité de David, dans la partie méridionale, ainsi qu'il ressort de Néhémie 3 16. Si plusieurs rois ne sont pas déposés dans la sépulture davidique, aucun n'est exclu de la cité. Leurs tombeaux ne s'éloignent pas d'ailleurs de ceux de David et de Salomon. Osias est enseveli dans le champ de la sépulture des rois. Ézéchias trouve sa dernière demeure à la montée des tombeaux des fils de David. Par un privilège accordé l'excellence de sa conduite, on admit le grand-prêtre Joïada¹ à partager la sépulture des rois dans la cité de David. D'après les *Vies des Prophètes*, le prêtre Zacharie, tué sur l'ordre de Joas, aurait été enterré avec son père.

Notre document connaît aussi un tombeau des prêtres près duquel il situe les sépultures d'Aggée, du prophète Zacharie et d'Isaïe.¹ Pour ce dernier, la position est plus détaillée. Il se trouve au midi du tombeau des prêtres, à côté du tombeau des rois. On déduira donc de ces divers renseignements l'existence d'une antique nécropole dans la partie sud de la colline, dont les divers hypogées étaient réservés aux grands personnages de la cité, princes, grands-prêtres, prophètes. Les discussions postérieures entre docteurs sur la pureté lévitique de Jérusalem ne font que confirmer cette conclusion.² Lorsque l'interdiction de toute sépulture à l'intérieur des murs mise en vigueur surtout à partir d'Esdras fut considérée comme une loi antique, il ne vint jamais à l'esprit d'aucun rabbi de nier que des tombeaux illustres se trouvassent dans la ville. Il était laissé à leur ingéniosité de casuistes de donner à cette anomalie une explication plausible. De plus, quand vint l'époque où l'on se crut obligé d'enlever les sépultures situées dans les murs, certains tombeaux échappèrent à l'ostracisme dont les puritains voulaient frapper sans distinction toutes les demeures des morts.

¹ SCHERMANN, *op. c.*, p. 68, 70, 76.

² Cf. R. WEILL, *La Cité de David*, ch. II: *Les tombes royales dans la Cité de David*, p. 35 ss.

Parmi les prohibitions des causes d'impureté légale qu'énumère la *Tossefta* à propos de Jérusalem nous lisons ceci: «A Jérusalem on ne laisse pas les morts passer la nuit; on n'y place pas d'ossements; on n'y laisse pas de tombeau, à l'exception des tombeaux de la maison de David et du tombeau de la prophétesse Houlđa, qui y étaient depuis les jours des premiers prophètes.»¹ L'exception devient plus générale avec cette *baraïta*: «Tous les tombeaux (à l'intérieur de la ville) doivent être enlevés, sauf le tombeau d'un roi ou celui d'un prophète.» Houlđa n'était donc pas la seule entre les prophètes à jouir de ce privilège, comme le manifestent également les *Abot de R. Nathan* qui présentent sous cette forme la cinquième prohibition du traité *Negaïm*: «On ne doit pas à Jérusalem laisser de morts pendant une nuit, à l'exception du tombeau des rois de la maison de David, du tombeau d'Isaïe et de celui de Houlđa.»² L'intérêt de ce texte est de s'accorder avec la notice des *Vies des Prophètes* sur la position générale du tombeau d'Isaïe.

La relation de ces hypogées avec la canalisation souterraine de l'Ophel est aussi un point sur lequel ce document s'allie avec la littérature rabbinique. Une dizaine d'années avant la destruction du temple par Titus, on aurait procédé à l'enlèvement des sépultures de la ville exigé par les Schammaïtes. Quand on chercha plus tard le motif qui avait préservé de cette mesure les tombeaux des rois et des prophètes, la présence de conduits souterrains dans la même région servit à justifier cette dérogation à la loi commune. On supposa, sans se préoccuper de leur véritable destination, qu'ils étaient des exutoires des l'impureté que dégageaient les tombeaux. «On dit qu'il y avait là une caverne qui entraînait l'impureté dans la vallée du Cédron.»³ R. Aquiba avait parlé d'un canal remplissant le même office. La notice grecque sur Isaïe place son tombeau à proximité du canal de Siloé; de plus, elle fait allusion, sous une forme légendaire, au dédale qui formait l'accès du tombeau des rois et aux cachettes annexes où Ézéchiàs eut l'imprudence d'introduire les envoyés du roi de Babylone. 2 Rois 20 12-19. Le fin du récit (3)

¹ Tr. *Negaïm*, VI, 2.

² D'après BÜCHLER, *La pureté lévitique de Jérusalem*, *Rev. des études juives*, LXII (1911), p. 203. On trouvera dans cet article un bon développement sur la question relative au maintien de ces tombeaux.

³ BÜCHLER, p. 209, 210.

suppose en effet que le trésor se trouvait dans l'hypogée royal, car le conteur reproche à ce propos au roi d'avoir profané les restes de David et de Salomon. Hyrcan et Hérode, d'après Josèphe (Antiq., XVI, 7 1) se seraient livré à des opérations analogues au tombeau de David pour en ravir des richesses.

Isaïe étant représenté comme le génie tutélaire de la source, on serait tenté de chercher son monument à la sortie du tunnel d'Ézéchias, là où les colons d'Aelia élevèrent plus tard un édicule à la Fortune (au Gad-Yavan) auquel fut substituée, au 5^e siècle, l'église de Siloé. Mais les indications de notre notice font obstacle à cette supposition. Les eaux de Siloé représentent avant tout le conduit antique dont l'histoire d'Isaïe fait mention, et que l'on a retrouvé sur le flanc de la colline *ed-Dehourah* parallèle au Cédron. Il serait donc plus juste de placer le tombeau du grand prophète à proximité de ce canal que de le mettre en relation avec le canal d'Ézéchias. Sa situation se précise davantage grâce au voisinage des tombes royales dont une partie a été mise à découvert par les fouilles de M. R. Weill. Mais l'étendue du «champ des tombeaux des fils de David» n'est pas encore connue, pas plus que les secrètes retraites de la nécropole primitive. D'immenses travaux sont encore nécessaires pour arracher à la vénérable colline de l'antique Sion tous ses mystères. Nous espérons que le jour où l'on reprendra des fouilles qui dénuderont le rocher entre le champ exploré par le capitaine Weill et la pointe sud de la colline, le tombeau d'Isaïe, ou ce qu'il en reste, verra de nouveau la lumière, après de longs siècles d'obscurité et d'oubli.

JUDICIAL COURTS AMONG THE BEDOUIN OF PALESTINE

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ONE of the most interesting and important branches of Arab folklore is Bedouin law. As the subject is so wide, I have chosen for this paper only one phase of it: "Judicial Courts among the Bedouin,"¹ and have postponed consideration of the remaining phases: *qânûn el-ḥiyâṣah*, or regulation of hospitality; *qânûn ej-jaza*, the murder code; *qânûn el-ʿarḍ* (class. *ʿird*), the code of rape; and *qânûn el-ḥuqûq*, the civil code.

A legal system was in force among the Arabs long before Islam; the names of some well-known lawyers have been preserved—Aktam ibn Ṣaifi,² Hâjib ibn Zirârah,³ Âmir ibn ez-Zarb,⁴ Abd el-Muṭṭalib al-Quraṣi.⁵ Female lawyers were also known—Hind bint el-Ḥaṣṣah⁶

¹ [The writer of this paper is a young Muslim gentleman, son of one of the most prominent sheikhs of southern Palestine. From boyhood he has been intimately acquainted with the customs and practises of the Fellâḥîn and Bedouin, between whom in southern Palestine there is little distinction, one class gradually merging into the other. He has been collecting folkloristic and ethnographic materials for thirteen years, noting them down in special diaries and notebooks, a number of which unfortunately fell into the hands of the enemy during the war, and were destroyed. Our knowledge of the history, languages, and customs of southern Palestine will gain greatly from the intensive knowledge, and large collections which he has gathered; this, we hope, is only the first instalment (W.F.A.)] I wish to express my appreciation to Dr. W.F. Albright and Dr. T. Canaan for encouragement and help given in the preparation of this paper.

² Of the tribe Beni Tamîm, between Yemâmeh and Ihṣâ. He died soon after the coming of the Prophet.

³ Contemporary and fellow-tribesman of the former.

⁴ Ditto.

⁵ Of the Qureiṣ, the Prophet's grandfather.

⁶ Daughter of the Emîr el-Ḥaṣṣah of the Beni Tamîm.

and Jum'ah bint Hâbis.¹ With the spread of Islam these laws and regulations were influenced and more or less modified by the laws of the new religion. It was, and still is, customary that whenever two individuals or two tribes differ on something they consent to refer the matter to a judge, who settles the dispute according to hereditary laws. These laws suit the Arabs better than any others, since they accord with their psychological state, their customs and manner of living.

These judicial principles also guide legal procedure among the peasants of Palestine, with differences which will always be noted. The inhabitants of our country are at present divided into two political parties—Qaisî and Yemenî. Both parties have judges to aid in the solution of hard problems and the settlement of disputes. There is no objection offered if one party brings the case to the judges of the other party, for the judges must never be partial, nor do they fail to search for the truth and deal with justice. Nor is the case different when a Qaisî and a Yemenî who have a dispute come to a judge who belongs to one of the factions. The judge does only what he thinks right, as he is afraid of the *majâlis ed-dâha*, i. e. of the talk which takes place in the *maḍâfah*² before noon (morning gossip).³

The right to judge belongs only to certain families, such as el-Manâşira among the Beni Nu'eim,⁴ Abû 'Irâm in Yattâh,⁵ el-Mahâmideh in es-Samû',⁶ the Dâr 'Ureiqât in el-Wâḍiyeh,⁷ and el-'Arrâbi in Qabâtiyeh,⁸ etc. No other families are supposed to mete out justice, and the administration of justice is thus hereditary. The father

¹ Daughter of a renowned warrior of the Beni Tamîm.

² The *maḍâfah* is a room for the common use of the villagers, where guests are entertained and lodged. The custom of the *maḍâfah* exists in nearly every village south of Nâblus, and among the Beni Şaib on the coast of the sea. North of Nâblus we find, instead of *maḍâfât*, *dawâwîn*, or visitors' rooms in the house of every notable. The elders of the village spend much of their time in the *maḍâfah*.

³ The gossip of the elders and loungers in the *maḍâfah*, while the others are at work.

⁴ In the Hebron district (Jebel el-Halîl).

⁵ Ditto.

⁶ Ditto.

⁷ El-Wâḍiyeh is the district to the east and southeast of Jerusalem.

⁸ In the district of Jenîn.

drills his brightest and cleverest son, or an uncle trains his nephew, allowing him to attend his court until he becomes acquainted with all types of cases, after which he may be permitted to judge and settle easy cases under the former's supervision. When he gets sufficient practise, and is trusted by the people, difficult cases will be referred to him, and gradually he gains the entire confidence of the villagers.¹

There may be one judge or more in a family. The oldest is most respected, and if several are of the same age the richest and noblest is the most acceptable. In case they are equal in wealth and nobility, the judge is chosen whose father was a better judge than the other judge's father. It is still true at present that the judges belong to the noblest families of the district.² These judges have ample jurisdiction, and are not bound to govern their decision by any written code which fixes a maximum or minimum penalty. Their most important duty is to know the rank of different families. A murder, violation of female honour, or of the right of a noble and powerful family weigh more heavily than a murder, rape, etc., of other families. A *hamûleh* (family) in which many females have been violated or many members killed is despised and regarded as weak and dishonourable, being therefore placed on a lower level than other families.³ The judges have full authority to increase or reduce a penalty, always taking into consideration the common welfare and the personal influence of both parties. Sometimes they punish a crime with half, at other times the same crime with a third, and still on other occasions the same crime is punished with more than a *diyeh*

¹ Following are the names of the present judges from these families, all peasants: Hajj Husein and 'Isâ Moḥammed from el-Manâsirah; Şhâdeh of Abû 'Irâm; 'Abd er-Rahîm Taljeh of el-Mahâmideh; and Hasan Abû Mḥârib from Deir Jîr. The names of Bedouin and semi-Bedouin judges will be given below.

² The Prophet ordered that the noblest of the people should settle cases arising in his people. A *ḥadîṭ* warns against the danger of entrusting a post to an inefficient person.

³ Proverbs alluding to this point of view are: "Cheap blood and broken honour" (*damm rḥîṣ u-'ard rṣîṣ*); "This family neither takes revenge nor removes disgrace" (*hal-'êleh lâ btôhîd-et-târ walâ btinfî el-'âr*). The repeated violation of female honour is alluded to with the phrase "Olives crushed before they are stored."

and *gurrah*.¹ The judge must know the social position of the offenders and their families exactly. Minute knowledge of all these important details differs among judges, since some are cleverer than others, have had more experience, and are more accustomed to intricate cases. Sometimes a judge cannot decide a case, because it is too complicated. In this event he sends somebody secretly to reconcile the parties.² If he does not succeed, he postpones his decision until he discovers the right one with the help of some other judge who must proffer his advice.

The number of judges nowadays is decreasing, and there are none at all in northern Palestine. The Bedouin and the semi-nomadic tribes are most conservative; the closer we approach cities the more seldom are real judges found, while the people patronize the official government courts increasingly.

Judges are paid for investigating and settling cases. The payment in criminal cases is called *rizqah*,³ while in property and other unimportant cases it is called *j'ilah*. The payment is determined according to the importance of each case: that of a murder or violation is 100 Turkish mejidis; that of an unpremeditated murder or the injury of an important organ 50 mejidis; in the case of theft or other minor crimes 10 mejidis. There is also a fee, called *bislah*, paid to judges of the religious law (*šer'iah*), who are sometimes called on to decide questions. This sum, which varies between ten and a hundred mejidis, is generally estimated by the collaboration of the parties involved and the judge.⁴ There are four different kinds of payment:—

1. *Rizqat mubtil*, the fine which is paid by the accused, that is, if Zeid and 'Amr quarrel, and the latter wins the case, the former pays the fine.

¹ The *diyeh* is the blood-money, price of blood, weregeld. The *gurrah* is a girl taken from the party of the murderer and married to a man of the family which lost the victim. This girl is married without a bridal price or *mahr* (rendered „dowry”).

² The phrase for “(the judge) reconciled them” is *itayyib 'aleihum* in the case of murder or rape, and otherwise *išâlihūm*.

³ The custom of the *rizqah* (*rihân*) is very old; cf. the story of Alqamat el-Fahl and 'Amir ibn et-Tufeil in *Risâlat ibn Zeidân*.

⁴ If the judge prefers, he may take sheep or cloth, etc., instead of money. The payment is then called *ma'ârîd*.

2. *Rizqat mujrim*, the fine which is paid by the criminals.

3. *Rizqat munâsafah*, a settlement by compromise, each party paying half. This payment occurs when the case is evenly balanced, and open to suspicion, each party claiming more than is due. This payment is also known in canon law.

4. *Rizqat muntaşir*, given by the party which has gained the victory, or by the accused person who has been absolved of guilt.

Before the case is taken up, it is decided which sort of *rizqah* is to be paid, and by whom. As soon as both parties have agreed with the judge upon one of these modes of payment, the case takes its regular course. As it is naturally still doubtful which side will win the case, the parties do not pay anything at first, but offer the judges security, such as a mare's bridle, a pipe, a ring, a tobacco case or bag. Though in themselves very insignificant objects, they signify that the litigating parties have pledged their honour. If one fails to pay his fine, he cannot redeem his pledge, and is very much despised.¹ After the decision has been made, the judge keeps the pledge of the person who is to make the payment, and the latter must not leave the assembly room (*maḍâfah*) until he pays his debt.² The pledge is returned to the other party at once. It happens but rarely that a house or rifle is given as a pledge. The judge is not ashamed to ask for his fee, and the people see that it is paid. If any difficulty arises, the family of the accused person compels him to do his duty.

Judges are divided into four classes: (1) *Quḍât ed-diyûf*, judges of guests; (2) *quḍât eş-şulh*, or civil magistrates; (3) *quḍât ed-damm*, judges of blood; (4) *quḍât eş-şeyf*, judges of the sword. The last two are the most important and the most powerful. The *quḍât ed-damm* are divided into three categories:

¹ The custom of pledging is very old, and we find it as far back as in the time of the *Jâhiliyyeh* (before Islam); cf. the story of Hâjib ibn Zirârah and Kisrâ (Chosroes II.) in '*Iqd ul-Farîd* (by Ibn 'Abd Rabbuh), Vol. I, p. 130.

² Nearly every *maḍâfah* has its care-taker, or *nâṭûr* (lit. watchman), who is selected by the elders. In some places he is paid a stipend, up to a hundred mejidis a year, while in other villages he receives up to a hundred *şâ'* of wheat (the *şâ'* is 3—6 raṭls, or 9—18 kg.), varying in different places. He makes the coffee, gathers the wood, keeps the guest-house clean and in order, sees that all the guests have bedding, provided by the rich inhabitants of the village. In some places he is employed to carry letters to other villages. The *nâṭûr* receives a portion of the food offered to the guests.

1. *El-mahâlîl* (sing. *ma'hâlîl*),¹ the courts of first instance. Et-Ṭall of ez-Zâhirîyeh is a judge of this type.

2. *El-manâšid* (sing. *manšad*),² the courts of appeal. El-Maḥâmideh of es-Samû' is a judge of this court. When one appeals to this court, one says to one's opponent, '*aleik bil-manšad*'.

3. *El-manâqî'* (plur. of *manqa'*),³ the courts of cassation, of final appeal. Their decisions are final. Dâr Ṭaljah represents this court.

These three courts settle blood questions alone. Cases of violation are brought to the court of honour (*ard*) of the Beni 'Uqbah. Any case of murder may be brought directly to any of these courts, without going first to the lower ones or ones, but one may agree from the beginning to go through the three courts.

The judges of guests have no official power, and in each village there is only one, generally a popular person or a notable. If a guest arrives in a village the villagers contend for the right and honour of banqueting him. Even women may take part in this contest.

Villages may be divided into two categories with respect to their mode of showing hospitality to the guest:—

1. Villages where the terms of offering meals to guests are settled in advance.

2. Villages where the people dispute as mentioned above for the honour of preparing a meal for guests. There are four *qiwâs* (bows) each formed by a stick with a string tied to both ends of it. On the threads are strung slips of paper, each bearing the name of a villager. The villagers are divided into four categories: (a) the rich, who must provide a good meal for noble visitors, the meal consisting of a sheep and the accessories; (b) those whose means will not permit of their offering more than a fowl; (c) those who prepare the meal from food always ready at home, such as cheese, olives, eggs, butter, *leben*, etc.; (d) the poorest, who bring only barley for the animals belonging to the guests. These four classes are called, respectively, *dôr kbîr*, *dôr zġîr*, *dôr nhâr*, *dôr mahâleh* (*mîhlâ'*). If many guests arrive together, one of the *dôr el-kbîr* must feed them.

¹ Lit. "the chosen one."

² Lit. "the place of oath," from *našad*, "take oath."

³ Lit. "the place of stagnation," i. e. where the course of justice stops.

The judge to whom authority is given announces his decision in favor of a person belonging to one of these classes, always acting according to the following rules:—

1. A companion of the guest in his journey (*rafiq et-tarîq*) has the first right to provide the meal (*lâ bitqâda walâ bithâkam*).
2. A guest of high rank is entertained by a person of his rank.
3. A well-to-do person is frequently selected to entertain the guest, since the poor cannot afford the expenditure.¹

If there are two men who wish to have the same guest, one strengthens his case by saying that he has not given a meal for a long time, while the other did so only recently. In such arguments the following expressions are used: *mâ sabaq lî tînîyeh*, "I have never entertained a guest;" *tînîyeto hadra*, "his banquet is green (fresh)"; *weis tqûl bil 'ifi illi lu-zâd ed-dyûf misîthî*, "what do you say of the rich man who is eager to entertain guests"; *Allâh yihayyi ed-dyûf 'a-qadar mâ darhamn el-heil u-dannaq el-blûl w-ana el-maw'ûd fîhum min zamân*, "may God greet the guests in proportion as their horses have trotted and as the miser is abashed, I promised to entertain them long ago." A longer formula is: *weis tqûl, u-'ainî tirâhum min mimsâhum la-malfâhum, u-hayye ed-dyûf u-hayye lhitak wi-lhâhum; u-hayye qâdî aţ'ânî-yâhum*² *w-ana el-mismin el-muqdir* = "What do you say, my eye watched the guests from their starting point to their rendezvous. Welcome to the guests, welcome to your beard and to their beard;³ welcome to the judge who has given them to me—I am the one who is allowed to entertain them." This custom is gradually dying out, and at present it is practised only among the Bedouin of Gaza and the vicinity, among the Beni Ḥasan,⁴ Beni Sâlim,⁵ and in the Hebron and Jerusalem⁶ districts, especially where there is close contact with the Bedouin.

¹ In such a case the rich man may say, "My intestines are stronger than his bones" (*maşârînî aqua min 'izâmuh*), i. e. my resources are greater than his.

² The *fellâhîn* use *aţ'ânî* or *anţânî* instead of *aţ'ânî*.

³ Among the Arabs, the beard or mustache is the symbol of a man's honour. Since the beard is so important it is never shaved, and it is counted a disgrace to have it shaved.

⁴ The Beni Ḥasan live in the villages Bittîr, Wâlahah, Mâlḥah, Beit Jâla, etc.

⁵ In the villages Tayyibeh, Deir Jîrîr, Kufr Mâlik and Rammûn.

⁶ This term is here used to include the Jebel el-Quds, i. e. the villages about Jerusalem, as far as Bîreh, toward the north.

The justices of the peace are chosen from among the notables of the villages and their chiefs. When they hear of a struggle in a village, they go at once to the place, and stop the quarrel by separating the contending parties. After this they stand around the grave of the slain man. If the victim is of a good family, the man who demands his blood, the *waliy ed-damm* or blood avenger, or perhaps the notable of the family stands at the upper end of the grave. He usually takes a handful of dust, and strews it, saying "Bear witness, O angels of heaven and earth, that I have sprinkled my blood on these present, and they are more worthy than I to demand blood-revenge"¹ (*išhadû yâ malâ'ikt es-sama wal-arḍ innî naṭart dammî 'ala-l-hâḍirîn, u-hum aḥuqq minnî bi-ṭalab it-târ*). The audience then encourages the bloodavenger, and addressing the victim, says: "You have only to sleep, but we must act" (*ente 'aleik en-nôm wehna 'aleina el-qôm*).² The bystanders help the family of the victim to wreak vengeance upon the murderer or to secure its blood-money. After this brief prelude to their tedious and difficult task all leave the cemetery and proceed to the village, where they forbid the relatives of the victim to attack the house of the murderer. The judge or judges consider the case and its importance, and try to make a settlement. If unsuccessful, they try to bring about a primary armistice, *'aṭwat el-ftûh*,³ lasting from a few days to several months. Sometimes the accusers refuse to accept the armistice as arranged by the justices of the peace. In this case a judge of blood is brought immediately, and he arranges an armistice, as will be described below. An armistice made through the judges of the peace is thus less effective than one ordered by the judges of blood, who are much more important than those of the former category. They enjoy the full confidence of the people, who acknowledge the justice and fairness of their decisions, and, therefore respect them and fear their decisions.

Owing to the spread of modern law the number of these judges has decreased, as observed above. Among the judges of blood from

¹ The strewing of dust represents the sprinkling of blood. All those upon whom the dust falls have the right and obligation to take vengeance for the victim.

² Cf. Haddâd, "Die Blutrache in Palästina," Z. D. P. V., 1917 (T. C.).

³ Sometimes a short armistice of four days is given, called *'aṭwat kam u lamm*, "a truce of some days (*kam yôm*) for collecting (money)."

the Bedouin and the semi-nomadic tribes may be mentioned: Hajjāj abū-Fhêd, of the tribe of Huṭeim, whose family may be traced back to Bâhilah, to which belonged also Quteibah ibn-Muslim, the great general of 'Abd el-Malik ibn-Marwân and his son el-Walid; and Mohammed iz-Zir of et-Ta'amreh.

The judges of the sword, or arbitrators act as a kind of court martial. Among these judges are Abū Gôš,¹ el-Barâḡte,² ej-Jayûsî,³ and Dâr Jarrâr.⁴ They are not real judges and do not act according to Bedouin law. If a dispute or conflict arises in their district, they go to the parties or send for them and decide on the ground of purely political considerations, regardless of justice. Hence they are disliked by the people, who try their best to be judged by the judges of blood, in order to make sure that the criminal is punished. The arbitrators impose a fine, from which they take their share. Frequently they take with them a man learned in Muslim law (*âlim*), who would follow the principles of *šarī'ah* law in making his decision, which the arbitrators then carry into execution. When the assembly meets, the "judge of the sword" says: "Here is paradise [pointing to the *âlim*] and here is hellfire [pointing to himself] and here is the sword [pointing again to himself] and here is the holy Book [*el-mushaf*, pointing for the second time to the learned man]," in other words, "By whom do you wish to be judged, by me or by the *šarī'ah*."⁵ For the last two generations these arbitrators have practically ceased to exist.

Having dealt fully with the judges, let us describe the introductory procedure in a case, and then outline the process in court. If no legal steps are taken, the murderer or ravisher must die. In that event there is no way to come to terms, and hostilities will continue. The *šāhib ed-damm* and the *ṭālib bil-'ard*⁶ are very bold and have the right to slay their opponents whenever and wherever they meet them, and are not held responsible for their act. Accordingly the relatives

¹ From Qaryet el-'Inab (Beni Mâlik).

² From Deir Gassâneh (Beni Zeid).

³ From Kûr (Beni Šaib).

⁴ From Šânûr (Mašâriq el-Jarrâr).

⁵ He thus ascribes the religious prerogatives to the learned man and the secular power to himself.

⁶ Respectively "the owner of blood," i. e. the nearest relative of the victim, and "the one who demands honour" (in rape cases).

of the murderer try their best to obtain an armistice—*'atwat el-ftûh*¹—as mentioned above. The murderer pays 100 mejidis² for the privilege of an armistice, and this money is not deducted later from the blood-money or *diyyeh*. After the lapse of the first armistice, 50 or 70 mejidis are paid for a second one—*'atwat el-qbûl*³—and this amount is deducted from the blood-money. If a third or fourth armistice is given, nothing is paid for them.⁴ The armistices may even be prolonged for years until peace is declared, but the latter never happens without the preliminary armistice. The relatives of the victim wait for an opportunity to avenge themselves, but are hindered by the armistice from carrying out their purpose. If a murder has been committed unintentionally, the fine paid for the armistices does not exceed half the sum mentioned for cases of premeditated murder or violation. When a member of a family is accused of a crime, and his family is unable to oppose the accusers, it takes refuge (*yitnibû*) with a powerful notable (*mṭannib*)⁵ who is able to protect them, and the latter begins negotiation for peace. The family of the accused person may even be obliged to shift all its moveable property to some other place, where it is safer, since nothing stolen during the first three and a half days after the murder is deducted from the blood-money. In case the guilty man and his family are equal in position and honour to their opponents, they send for people respected by the accusers. The latter respond to the call, and begin the difficult task of making an armistice. During the armistice, the irritated spirits are calmed, and better relations may arise between the parties. The mediators compel the guilty party to pay whatever fine the judge imposes.

¹ The word *futûh*, from *fâṭah*, "to open," refers to the "opening" of negotiations for the truce. I have never heard the expression *'atwat el-faurah*, quoted by Haddâd, *loc. cit.*

² A Turkish *mejdî*, or a fifth of a Turkish pound, is twenty piastres *şâṭî*, or about 4 1/4 francs.

³ The term *qubûl*, "acceptance," is employed because the acceptance of a second truce smoothes the way to a final agreement.

⁴ In some places, money is paid for every truce, even for the fourth, fifth, etc.

⁵ The word *ṭunb* (*ṭunub*) means "tent-peg"; *ṭannaba* (*ṭânaba*) is "pitch a tent beside another" (become a neighbour). *Ana ṭanîb 'aleik* means "I wish you to accept me as a neighbour," i. e., as a client.

The family of the accused and its relations as far as the fifth degree¹ may be obliged to emigrate from the village. Those who desire to remain in their homes must pay a fine of 30—100 mejidis (*tis'at en-nôm*²) and several pieces of cloth to the family of the plaintiff. They are not safe from vengeance until this is done. This sum of money is not reckoned in the *diyeḥ* unless the one who pays it is a distant relation (beyond the fifth degree).

The advantages of the armistice are: it prevents the continuation of hostilities; its acceptance is a partial confession on the part of the accused person; as time elapses the bitterness over the crime disappears. The conditions are formulated by an agreement of the two parties. Among these conditions are: the murderer may not enter the village where the relatives of the victim dwell; he may not approach a fountain which is frequented by the other party. Sometimes the plaintiffs ask only that he shall not enter their quarters. After the agreement the murderer is free to go wherever he desires, aside from the places specified. If he abides by the agreement he is not subject to molestation by the other party.

The armistice is not formed until the judges have appointed a man to act as guarantor for the accusers. The judge asks the guarantor: "Do you guarantee that they [the accusers] will not trespass against the defendants nor perform any evil action, but that they will live with the accused as peacefully as the clothes line,³ that they will load a camel together and draw water together in peace from the cistern?"⁴ The man or men who act as guarantors ask the accusers: "Do you accept us as guarantors against treachery, breach of promise, injury to your enemies, and change of your mind [violation of the armistice]?"⁵ If they answer in the affirmative, an armistice is made in the village of the victim. The guarantors who are thus appointed must be of higher rank than those whom they guarantee, and are usually selected by the defendants or by the judges. The accusers reserve the right to reject these persons—if,

¹ Lit. "fifth grandfather" (*jidd*).

² Lit. "the nine of sleep" i. e. security, assurance (cf. Ḥaddād, Z. D. P. V.).

³ Clothes-lines hang beside one another in perfect harmony.

⁴ Ar. *ibtikfal innhum lā ya'dū walā yabdu, miṭl ḥbāl el-ḡasīl, isīlū 'ala b'ir u-yiridū'ala b'ir?*

⁵ Ar. *hal qbillum wjāhna min el-ḥôn u-l-bôq u-l-'aṭāl u-l-baṭāl?*

for example, they are their enemies. The choice of the *wijāh* may take place in their absence. Even an *amîr* may stand security for a noble or notables. However irritating the circumstances may be, the accusers cannot break the rules of the armistice and attack their enemies. They try to rid themselves of the *wijāh* by asking the guarantor to remove his *wijh*. If he accepts they are free to do what they like. The expression '*adâhum el-lôm*'¹ is used of the accusers in such a case. If he does not accept they must keep the armistice peacefully until its expiration, but then they may refuse to renew it. If the plaintiffs break the armistice, the guarantor has the right to kill the offenders if he meets them during the first three and a third days. In case he does not meet them, he places them under trial.²

The rights of guarantee are greater than those of blood, since a greater number of persons is affected. They are championed not only by the guarantors, but also by the witnessing bystanders in general. If the person who has broken the rules of *el-hidneh*³ refuses to appear before the judge, the latter summons him himself. If he still refuses, his life and property are forfeit to those whom he has dishonoured by the violation of the armistice, nor has he any right whatever to demand damages for what has happened. He is left without a *diyyeh* and without a *wajāha* (see below), *bilâ 'awaḍ walâ qawad*,⁴ i. e., "without exchange and without a sheep." The guarantor must pay compensation for whatever loss or damage the peaceful party may have incurred from the treachery of the other party, so that it may not be said: "The one who takes refuge in the guarantee of A is like the one who takes refuge (lit. covers himself) with a cloud" (*el-mitjaffî bi-wijh flân miṭl el-mitjaffî bis-shâb*).⁵ Owing to the extreme severity of the punishment which is meted out to the treacherous violator of the armistice, and to the dishonour which follows, it is very rare.

¹ Lit. "They have no blame," i. e. they are not to be blamed for what they do, since the *wijh* has withdrawn.

² Of such breakers of the truce it is said, *ṭāhū bi-l-wijh*, "They violated the guarantee."

³ *Hidneh* is the ordinary Arabic term for Fellâh '*aṭwah*."

⁴ The word *qawad* means lit. "an animal led with a rope," i. e. a goat or a sheep.

⁵ Another saying is: *el-mithazzim buh 'aryân*, "The one who covers himself with him is naked."

When the trial of a case has been postponed for a sufficient time to allow the excitement to quiet down, the parties come to an agreement, and select the judges. The judge may be asked to come to the village of the plaintiffs, or to a neighboring one, or they may agree to go to him or to the *beit el-muqâdâ*, or "court-house." I know of only one such court-house at present among the peasantry, that of Mûsa Hdêb in Dawâimeh. There is also one among the Beni 'Uqbah of the Tayâhah tribe.

The people of the village must entertain the judges, the expenses being borne by the whole village. In case the assembly takes place in the village of the guilty party, his family must meet all expenses. The accusers walk ahead and the defendants follow, but there is no meeting. Each party stays in a different guest-house,¹ to which they come on the morning preceding the trial. Before entering the court, one or both sides may appoint lawyers called *hujjâj*. The client publicly entrusts the case to his lawyer, saying, "I have given my tongue to A to defend my case" (*innî a'tait lsânî la-flân liydâfi: 'annî*). It is, however, permissible for each party to defend itself. For good reason either party may change or dismiss its lawyers during the proceedings. The reasons for appointing a lawyer are:—

1. Inability to defend oneself owing to lack of knowledge of the law.
2. In case either party is a woman.
3. When the plaintiff and the defendant are of unequal social rank. The nobler one considers it a dishonour to face his inferior opponent.
4. When one or both parties are still in a very excited state.

¹ Generally there is only one *madâfah* in each village, but when a village is divided into two different factions, each establishes a *madâfah* of its own. In case the two parties appear before the judge in a village other than their own, the inhabitants will divide at once into two sections, each providing for the entertainment of a party. The *madâfah* is sometimes called by other names, such as *sâlah*, *qnâq* (of Turkish origin), and *jâmî*. It is generally a large room with an Oriental oven (*ujâq*) built in the wall farthest from the door. In many *madâfahs* there is a hollow in the centre of the room (*muqrah*) in which fire is made. The coffee kettle is always to be seen on the fire, so that the guests are supplied with coffee. Each person in the village is expected to bring something with him to the *madâfah* when he comes for the entertainment of the guests. In front there is an open space where the horses are tied; in summer the visitors sit here in the shade. Cf. p. 38, n. 2.

5. When the crime is a base one, so that the accused person is ashamed to appear before the assembly.

6. When a party is composed of a number of persons, so that it is difficult to hear them all.

No special fee is given to the lawyers. The lawyer on each side endeavours to win the case for his client, and thereby to elevate the standard of his party. A winning lawyer is often given a new silk garment, *hidm*. There are many lawyers in all parts. They win fame through their skill in oratory, their poetic speech, and their noble phraseology. Judges are also chosen from the ranks of those who have won renown as lawyers.

When the case is opened, the judge sits by himself and the contesting parties appear before him. Each spreads part of his mantle (*‘abâyeḥ*) on the ground, and says: "Here is part of my mantle for the truth" (*hai farj ‘abâti lilḥaqq*), that is, I am open to conviction. The judge then demands the *rizqah*, and asks for two sets of guarantors, one to guarantee payment of all expenses by the guilty party (the *kufala daf*), the other to prevent the accused party from further transgression against the other (the *kufala man*). The guarantors must be equal or superior in rank to those whom they guarantee.

To the first guarantor the judge says: *Btikfal ḥaḍa el-qâ'id ‘ala ed-diyeḥ u-bint ed-diyeḥ?* (Will you guarantee that the man who sits here will pay the blood-money and what follows it?). By the expression *bint ed-diyeḥ* is meant the *jâhah* and the *wajâhah*. If the judge and the parties come to an agreement on the matter, the judge then asks for a man to stand security for the good behaviour of the accused. When the guarantor is found, the judge asks him: *Btikfal ‘ala man’ ḥadôl u-tewqifhum ‘ala el-ḥaqq u-ibn el-ḥaqq?* (Will you guarantee to prevent these people from further transgression, and guarantee that they abide by the truth and its consequences?). If the reply is in the affirmative, the trial commences.

During the case no talking, smoking, or coffee drinking is permitted.¹ All follow the course of the process silently and attentively. The accuser has the right to begin. He says: „Good evening, O judge, what do you say regarding my cousin, (or) my little brother (an illustrative case), of good blood and gentle descent, of spotless

¹ This stillness shows the solemnity of the occasion; for it is only during prayers in a mosque or *weli* and Koran reading that such stillness is observed.

character, generous, always victorious over his enemies, reliever of distress, sword-brandisher, welcomer of guests, protector of his female relatives, helper of the poor in his family, thirty years of age, not yet satisfied with the joys of life, who has not enjoyed his youth (to the full)? Behold, I demand justice from him, and sprinkle my blood on those present" (*Allâh ymassîk bil-ḥeîr yâ qâḍî, w-eîš tqûl fi-bn 'ammî au-ḥweiyî*¹ *ṭayyib el-aşl*² *jeyyid el-'ar' ṭâhîr ed-deil*,³ *ṭa'âm ez-zâd, qâhîr el-a'da, mjarrij el-krûb, nâqil es-seîf, mḥayy el-deîf, sâtîr er-raḥm*,⁴ *jâbir el-'azm*,⁵ *ibn ṭalâtîn mâ šibî min zamânuk walâ firîḥ b-šibâh, fajâh flân ibn flân; u-tarann, el-barûd mâ 'alêh fâḥîḥ, a'tâh en-nâr fu-ṭayyâḥuk w-ardâh: w-ana ṭâlîḥ ḥaqqî minnuk u-nâṭîr dammî*⁶ *'allâdrîn*).

The accused party then steps forward and says (again an illustrative case): "Good evening, O judge, what do you say when blood is boiling, minds are bewildered, and the one who does not assist his cousin in battle does not acknowledge his father. I was dazed and deprived of my senses and struck; God knows I intended no wickedness, and did not purpose evil, but now what has happened has happened, and justice is yours to dispense" (*Allâh ymassîk bil-ḥeîr yâ qâḍî, w-eîš tqûl w-ed-damm fâyîr w-el-'aql ḥâyîr w-illî mâ byunṣur ibn 'ammuk fil-kôneh mâ byîrif abâh*,⁷ *u-dâ' šawâbî u-târ ḥsâbî u-ḥarabt u-yîšhad Allâh innî mâ arîd eš-seîn walâ bnîyetî es-sau u-šâr mâ šâr w-il-ḥukm 'indak*).⁸ "What do you say when there is neither truce nor trial between us, and he is the murderer of my cousin. When he met me, he did not turn aside, and the one who does not take revenge does not come of a good family (lit. has a bad uncle). I took it and took vengeance, blood for blood. My cousin is not base, and if he is not his superior he is not his inferior, and the one who comes to the place of justice will not be defeated" (*eîš tqûl u-mâ beinî u-bein flân*

¹ *Ḥweiyî* is the caritative diminutive of mod. Palestinian *ḥeiyî*, "my brother."

² That is, the family is highly respected, and no one normally ventures to attack its members.

³ Lit. "clean of skirt (lower part of garment, coat-tails)" i. e. he was not killed for a mean action.

⁴ Lit. "uterus, womb," but here "female relation."

⁵ *'Azam*, lit. "bone," means here "poor member(s) of the family."

⁶ The blood of my cousin is really my own blood.

⁷ That is, he is a bastard.

⁸ This is a preamble illustrating a case where the killing is admitted.

lâ-‘atwah walâ qa‘wah,¹ u-hû qâtil ibn ‘ammî u-sâdafnî u-mâ tnahha w-illî mâ byâhud et-târ bikûn radî el-hâl,² fa-ahadtuh w-istaddeituh. damm b-damm, w-ibn ‘ammî mâ hû ridî, in mâ kân heir minnûh mâ hû dûmûh, w-illî yîşal maḥall el-‘adl tarâh mâ gingilib). “What do you say—praise God, O judge—of a man who is healthy and wealthy, when ignorance is treacherous and youth is hasty, and a voice summons. I heard it, and hastened to respond to it. I helped my cousins—and I am but flesh and blood—and he who betrays his people will not protect his women. I smote with zest. By God, I have not slain his cousin, nor do I know his adversary, but God is my advocate” (*w-eiṣ tqûl—udkur Allâh yâ qâḍî—fi-l-‘iṣi ed-dîfi,³ w-ej-jahl bawrâq w-eş-şiba mizrâq,⁴ w-eş-şôt jammû w-ana smîṭuh fa-turt leh u-sa‘adet âlâd ‘ammî w-ana min lahm u-damm, w-illî byinkil qômoh mâ gustur rahmûh u-farraht keffî⁵ w-ayy-Allâh mâ thazzamt b-ibn ‘ammûh, walâ adrî lahu ḥaşim w-Allâh el-wakîl).*

The foregoing is a brief outline of a typical plea in a case of blood, abbreviated to avoid tedious repetitions. In a case of rape, or violation of female honour, typical pleas are the following: „What do you say of him who is made of water and dust, and exposed to error, whom Satan has tempted as he tempted our father Adam. Every human being has a sexual appetite; love leads him and youth drives him to flirt with women. I have flirted with so and so—may God protect her—I did not intend evil, but only love and play (*eiṣ tqûl fi-illî min maye u-ṣîn, u-mu‘arraḍ lil-ḥaṭa w-agrâh eš-šitân kama agrâ abûna Âdam u-kull insân fih ṣahreḥ ysûquh el-ḥubb, u-yiḍfawh eš-şabâh ila-muḥâdatât en-nisa u-naġet flâneḥ w-Allâh gustur ‘aleiha w-ana ma barîd minha es-sû lâkin hubbeh u-lu‘beh).*⁶

¹ That is, nothing has taken place to compensate for my cousin's death.

² In illustration of this conception some proverbs may be cited: “Two-thirds of a boy's character come from his uncle” (*tulfên el-weled la-hâlûh*); “Only the man who has a bad uncle will leave blood-revenge unrequired” (*mâ butruk et-târ illâ radî el-hâl*). *Hâl* means “maternal uncle.” [A relic from the days of exogamy? W. F. A.]

³ Lit. “healthy and warm”; meaning a healthy and wealthy man.

⁴ Lit. “youth is a spear.”

⁵ Lit. “I caused my palm to rejoice,” i. e. I lost control over my hand.

⁶ This is an illustrative case where guilt is acknowledged. Where it is denied a form like the following may be used:—“Praise (lit. pray for) the Prophet, O judge, what do you say of a man who sleeps in the night and keeps his skirts clean. (Though) I have no knowledge and am ignorant, they impute this calamity

There are many variations of the introductory defense in cases of murder and rape, specimens of which have been given. New variations are also introduced by the skill of lawyers. If we analyze the types of defence we shall find the following categories:—

- a. Full confession and apology.
- b. Admission of the act, with the explanation that the crime was the result of a feud (as in the example given above).
- c. Confession; but the crime was accidental, and unpremeditated.
- d. Denial of personal guilt. The guilt was collective. If there was a struggle, in which many took part, the accused person denies his guilt, and imputes it to one or several of the party, without being able to designate the guilty one or ones exactly.
- e. Absolute denial with proofs.

The judge listens to the case as presented by both sides, and then demands the evidence of the accusing party and the defence of the accused. But evidence is very hard to find in cases of murder and rape, whence the saying, "In the case of a murder there are no witnesses, and there is no securing proof of a rape" (*lâ damm 'alêh shûd walâ 'eb 'alêh urûd*). The following types of evidence bear great weight in a case:—

1. The testimony of the victim before his death that a certain person is guilty.
2. The confession of the murderer to his guilt in the presence of people who are free from hatred or covetousness with regard to the defendant (*hâkin el-gêz w-et-ṭama'*).¹
3. When the guilty person is caught in the act.
4. Signs of the crime on the person accused.

In every case the witnesses must be honourable men.

to me. And from the day (from the moment) I reached your sitting room I arrived at the place of justice. You see that I cannot be suspected upon the words of a malicious person (lit. evil-eyed), son of a wanderer." The Ar. is: *sallî 'a-n-nebi, yâ qādî, w-es tqûl fi-n-nâyim lêlüh u-hâfiḥ deilüh, lâ bîlam walâ bidrî u-birmû 'aleih b-hal-baliyeh, u-min yôm ilhiqt maq'adak usilt maḥall el-inṣâf tarânî mâ anthim 'ala kalâm ṣâyih bin râyih*.

¹ The common peasant and the *ṣakkâr* (the man who only cultivates a small piece of ground), *ṣayyâf* (gleaner after the reapers), etc. have no right to act as witnesses. This rule is said to have been made by Ibn is-Smeir of el-Ḥirṣân (Ṣulḥûr). It is an old rule that the *nâṣif el-jild* (beardless man) and the *maqṭû' el-wild* (man who begets no children) have no right to testify.

If the accusations cannot be attested by competent witnesses, and proven to be absolutely true, the judge asks the defendant to give "one-ninth, an oath, and five" (*et-tis' u-yamîn u-ḥamseh*). The *tis'* (= *tusu'*) stands for one-ninth of the blood-money, or 3670 piastres, a sum which is paid at once. The *ḥamseh* refers to the oath, which is to be sworn by the defendant and one of his relations, while three others of his kindred second the oath, by swearing good faith. The person who swears with the accused, *jeyyid el-amâneh*, is appointed by the accuser, and is always the most honourable and distinguished of the family of the accused. The three others are called the *muzakkîn*, from *zakkâ*, "to justify."

The four persons who swear with the accused go to a well-known saint (*weli*) or prophet (*nebi*) to make the oath.¹ The judge either goes with them himself, or sends someone else to act as his representative. They take off their shoes, and enter reverently. The accused crouches (*yugarfis*) in the niche (*mîhrâb*), stretches forth his hand, and swears. The *jeyyid el-amâneh*, who is regarded as the most important of all, comes next. The three others follow to sanction the oath of the two. If one is absent, a rifle, held by one of the *muzakkîn*, takes his place. The oath, which must not be interrupted, runs as follows: "By the great God (repeated thrice), the creator of night and day, the only One, the victorious, who deprives children of their fathers and makes women widows, who vanquishes kings, who subdues oppressors, I have not acted, nor killed, nor seen, nor heard, nor known, nor accomplished evil, nor helped to do it" (*W-allâhi-l-'azîm* [thrice repeated], *hâliq el-leil w-en-nhâr, el-wâhid, el-qahhâr, myattim el-at-fâl, mrammil en-niswân, qâhir el-mülûk, u-mbîd eẓ-ẓâlimîn, innî mâ fa'alt, walâ qatalt, walâ arêt, walâ smîrt, walâ drît, walâ qaldamt asîyeh walâ mêmâsîyeh*). The three *muzakkîn* swear: "We bear witness by God that their oath and all that they have said is true" (*nišhad billâh inn yamînkum u-kull mâ qâlûh şudq*).

When the *jeyyid el-amâneh* swears, the judge sentences the defendant to only one-ninth of the blood-money (see above), or to a thousand piastres on his entrance (*dahleh*) and another thousand on his exit (*harjeh*), or again a white camel on his entrance, and another on

¹ Those who swear must be ritually clean before entering the sanctuary. Generally a Friday is appointed for swearing, to make the oath more solemn.

going out.¹ These sums are paid when the accused person enters the house of the accuser for reconciliation, and when he leaves it.²

If the *jeyyid el-amâneh* refuses to swear, he is asked to explain the reason for his refusal, and the accused is condemned to pay the full sum of the blood-money if he has accepted the nomination of *jeyyid el-amâneh*. The defendant has the right to reject a man named by the accusers as *jeyyid el-amâneh*. This is done when they are on unfriendly terms, and the former must declare openly: "Praise the name of God, O people, for between me and so-and-so there is bad blood" (*uḍkurû Allâh yâ nâs u-beinî u-bein jân šall u-mall*).

The three *muzakkîn* will only decline to attest the oath of the others when no other members of their tribe are found to take this responsibility upon their shoulders. Generally none but the powerful have the right to take an oath. After the oath the accused pays one-ninth of the blood-money, and is declared free. This ceremony is called *et-tis' u-l-barâ'ah*, "one-ninth and innocence."

In cases of theft and litigation arising from business transactions witnesses are also accepted after swearing by the Koran, a *weli* or a prophet.

If a person is killed and several are suspected, the judge resorts to the ordeal by fire, *nâr et-tajribeh* (fire of trial), *nâr el-barâ'ah* (fire of innocence) or *baš'ah*. A piece of iron, or a coffee-roaster (*miḥmâseh*) is heated until it becomes red-hot, whereupon the suspects, one after the other, come forward to lick it with their tongues. This barbarous practise is under the direction of the sheikhs of the dervish order er-Rifa'iyyeh, who are called *mubaššî'in*. The accused person says: *ana bikâwnak: 'al-baš'ah, maḥmûl, mazmûm, w-el-baš'ah w-el-jrâneh 'aleiyi* = "I challenge you to the *baš'ah*; you will be carried, all your expenses will be paid, and I will pay the fee (*baš'ah*) for the ordeal, as well as the other fees." Everyone who undergoes the ordeal must pay a fee of 500 piastres for the privilege; this fee is the *baš'ah*. Witnesses accompany the accuser and the accused. The latter licks the hot iron. He who shrinks back, cries, or shows signs of pain is considered as the culprit. Originally this custom may have been introduced to frighten people, and force them to

¹ This is done when the guilty family is known to be very poor.

² Other expressions for *dahleh* and *harjeh* are *têhah* and *ta'ah*.

speak the truth. Many a man who feels his guilt tries secretly to find someone to arrange the matter with the accuser before being brought to the ordeal by fire.¹

Another test of the ordeal type, though far more humane, is the *bal'ah*, "swallowing," which consists in swallowing quickly and without hesitation either something hard, like dry bread, or something nauseating or disagreeable, like medicine. The one that hesitates, complains, or vomits, is accused, even though he may have a very weak stomach. Those who perform the act quickly and with nonchalance are declared innocent, even though they may be the real offenders. The sheikh frightens the accused by repeating some magic words and prayers over the articles to be swallowed, pretending that they thus attain a special potency, which has a different effect upon the guilty and the innocent.² There is no appeal from the result of the ordeal.

After the investigation has been completed, the judge inquires of the parties whether they have any additional statement to make, or any objection to present. If not, he closes the case, and pronounces judgment, saying: "I have decided * * * and order the guarantors to execute the decision." The judge may postpone the decision until an oath has been administered. This may happen in the following cases: (a) to secure new evidence; (b) to give additional weight to the pleas of one party; (c) to allow time for a more careful study of the case, and its comparison with other cases of a similar nature; (d) when there is prospect of an amicable settlement. The judgment is generally pronounced at the close of the first session, as prolongation of the case may lead people to suspect or doubt the conscientiousness of the judge.

The Bedouin criminal code does not comprise articles and addenda to them, but is made up of laws governing specific cases and the penalties in each case. The principal penalties imposed by the judge belong to the following categories:—

¹ The most important places for the ordeal are el-'Ola, Ḥan Yūnis (in the territory of the 'Ayyādeh tribe), Šeiḥ Mabruk (among the 'Azāzneh) and among the Beni 'Atīyeh (Transjordanian).

² Cf. the ordeal by means of a draught of holy water (water of jealousy), Num. 5:11-31, which becomes bitter and causes disease in the body of the unchaste woman, but does not affect the chaste one at all (W. F. A.).

1. Capital punishment (*el-qisâs*).
2. Blood-money (*ed-diyyeh*).
3. Banishment (*el-jeli*).
4. Payment of an indemnity (*el-'ein bil-'ein*).

Capital punishment is only imposed in the following cases:—

- a. When a man violates a married woman, whose husband is still alive.
- b. When a man murders a notable.

In the first case, up to forty years ago, the woman and her paramour were both put to death. Now only the adulterous female is executed, while the man is allowed to buy himself off, either by payment of a sum of money, or by giving two girls, as described below. In the second case the murderer was formerly always put to death. Now-a-days there is greater clemency, and people are satisfied with the payment of one or more blood-prices.

Banishment is ordered for a fixed term of months or years when a person is accused of rape or murder. Meanwhile the impression produced by the crime is partially effaced. If the two parties have not come to terms the culprit is liable to be killed by one of the plaintiff's party (*garîm*), an act which goes unpunished.

The payment of an indemnity is only prescribed by the judge in the case of damage or theft of movable property other than coins—including the kinds of property known as *'urûd*.¹ For example, if a sheep is stolen, a sheep must be paid as indemnity; a camel is given for a camel, an ass for an ass, and so on. The payment of the price of an article is also permissible especially in cases where the original object cannot be returned, as when a tent is burned, or a pile of wheat is destroyed. When the stolen property cannot be found itself, it is replaced by similar property, or the estimated price of it is paid to the owner. Blooded horses (*aşâyîl*)² are a case where such an estimate is difficult. As pedigreed horses are virtually never sold without *fawâyiḍ*,³ the owner insists on receiving a horse equal

¹ Pl. of *'araḍ* (from *'araḍ*, "to offer"), i. e. everything offered for sale except animals, money, grains and liquids, according to § 131 of the Turkish civil code, *el-Majalleh*. The *fellâḥ* now includes under this head everything but money.

² Plur. of *aşîl*.

³ Plur. of *fâyiḍah*, "interest on capital." Whenever a well-bred mare is sold a contract is made by which two of her female colts are to be given to her first owner. These colts are called *fawâyiḍ*, or *maṭânî*.

in value to the one he lost, or its price with the addition of the *fāyidah*. The penalty for the theft of a pedigreed mare is high, and the thief is under obligation to give compensation for its colts as well.

The *diyyeh*, or blood-price, is the most important penalty. It is fixed at 33000 piastres, a sum which is supposed to represent a hundred she-camels. The payment of a hundred camels for a murdered man is a very ancient pre-Islamic custom, the practise of which has continued to the present time. In the case of the Prophet's father, a hundred she-camels were paid as ransom. At present some ask for more than a hundred camels, or 33000 piastres, on the ground that they are members of a stronger tribe or a nobler party. This again is a very old custom: kings and emirs were ransomed with a sum equal to four times the ordinary *diyyeh*.

Property plundered within a period of three and a-third days after a murder, by the injured party, is not subject to return, and is not deducted from the *diyyeh*. Property pillaged after the expiration of this period is either restored in kind, or its price estimated by an impartial arbitrator, to be appointed by the joint action of both parties, and the sum fixed is remitted to the owners of the property.

A *diyyeh* must be paid under all circumstances except when the murder was accidental, in which case only half a *diyyeh* is paid. It makes no difference how the crime was committed, or why, whether in attack or defence, in a just cause or without right. The same amount of blood-money is reckoned for a man, a boy, a slave born in the house,¹ a freed slave,² or a free negro.³ The payment for a slave who has been purchased by the present owner is half the full *diyyeh*. A freedman and a slave born in the house pay their share of the blood-money, but do not receive any compensation—i. e., do not share in a *diyyeh* received by their party. The full *diyyeh* is paid for a murdered woman among the Bedouin, and half to a full one among the peasantry. A pregnant woman is reckoned at from a full *diyyeh* to a *diyyeh* and a half, since her child is taken into consideration. The latter is not considered as a fully living being yet, being still

¹ 'Abd mwallad, a slave born from a slave father in the house of his master.

² 'Abd ma'tāq.

³ 'Abd here means "negro."

exposed to serious perils (*taht el-garaq w-eš-šaraq*).¹ If a woman kills a man, her parents, and not her husband are responsible for the blood-money. If she is killed her husband shares with the members of her family in the *diyyeh*. This distinction is illustrated by the proverb: "The good of a woman belongs to her husband, and her evil to her family (*heir el-marrah lajôzha u-šarrha 'al-ahilla*). In case a female is killed by a ravisher, from one and a half to four times the normal *diyyeh* is paid, because of the combination of disgraceful crimes. Miscarriage of a foetus less than seven months old is atoned for with half a *diyyeh*. Often a reconciliation with payment of fifty pounds or two camels takes place. One of these camels is given at the commencement of the reconciliation in the house of the accuser (*daḥleh*—see above), and the other is delivered after the agreement (*harjeh*). When abortion is caused after the seventh month, a *diyyeh* is counted in case the child is a male, and half a *diyyeh* if it is a female. When the murderer is a young boy, those that are of age in his family² are responsible for the blood-money.

In a general fight, when the murderer is unknown, the whole tribe or family must pay the *diyyeh*. Such blood-money is termed *diyyeh maḡlûleh*. If a man is found dead outside a village, the whole village is responsible, and his relatives may even share in making up the amount. When a man is killed in the house of another, the murderer must give the owner of the house a white camel and a black slave. The murderer cannot bring these things himself, but they are taken under the principle of *el-jâhah*. This gift is thought to restore the honour of the man in whose house the shameful deed was committed.

The following important types of murder may be distinguished:—

1. *Qatl ifrâk*, when the victim dies at once, or within a few hours.
2. *Qatl daḡmeh*, a murder at dusk or in the night.
3. *Qat' intîyeh*, the murder of an unmarried youth, thus precluding the possibility of his having offspring, and effacing his name.
4. *Nazlet el-'ard*, murder of a person who is on the point of raping a woman. In such a case no *diyyeh* is paid.

¹ Lit. "under (the danger of) drowning and suffocation (in the womb)."

² On the father's side. A *ḥadîṭ* says, *ed-diyeh 'ala-l-'âqilah* (relations on the paternal side).

When the murderer is known, he pays one-third of the *diyyeh*, and his relatives pay the other two-thirds. The heir of the victim receives one-third of the *diyyeh* and his relatives two-thirds. The two-thirds is divided among the males of the family, both young and old. An Arabic proverb says: "He who shares in paying the *diyyeh* takes from it" (*hattât fid-diyeh al-hād fīha*). If a person takes part in a fight, though not belonging to either of the fighting families, he must share in the payment of the *diyyeh* if he assisted the side of the murderer, but does not share in the *diyyeh* received if he was on the other side. This principle is well expressed in the following proverb: "One who enjoys (using) his hand in striking must enjoy (using) it in paying" (*man farrah kaṭṭuh fid-darb farrahha fid-daf*). In a big struggle between two parties, in which several are slain on both sides, the excess of slain on one side or the other is not considered at the time of reconciliation, since it is said: "Burying (lit. grave-digging) and oblivion (lit. striking back) for all that is unknown and known" (*ḥafâr u-dafâr ‘ala mā ġāba u-bân*), i. e. "Let us forget all that has happened." The same is true of the spoils in such a case, for neither the judges nor anyone else can decide justly in so difficult a question.

If the murderer dies before the reconciliation, the blood-money is paid by his family and relatives.

The loss of any vital organ or limb of the body, such as an eye, an arm, or a leg, is reckoned at a quarter to half the *diyyeh*. For injury to the nose half a *diyyeh* is paid. When two organs, two eyes, a leg and an eye, etc., are injured half to a full *diyyeh* is given. For a wound in the face, leaving an ugly scar, a quarter of the *diyyeh*, and a *jāhah* and *wajāhah* to boot are paid—*ḥwāyet el-wijh el-mšahhar*, "The blow on the face which is visible." In the case of a slight wound, a sheep is offered as *wajāhah*, together with full compensation for the loss and expenses or damages incurred.¹

The penalty in the case of rape is quite different. If a man meddles with a girl, but does not complete the act, he is required to swear that he had no bad intentions in touching her, and to

¹ For the loss of each first incisor tooth 500 piastres are required as indemnity; for each second incisor 250; for the canine on each side 125; for each of the two bicuspids, as well as for each of the two first molars 62½; for the last molar 31¼.

prove the truth of his oath by the testimony of five credible witnesses, know as the *din u-ḥamseh*, "religious (ceremony) and five." Moreover, when he enters her father's house he must pay fifty pounds (*daḥleh*), and another fifty pounds must be given on leaving it after the reconciliation (*ḥarjeh*). If the girl belonged to a low social rank a smaller amount is paid. If the girl is raped, the man is sentenced to pay double the amount of her dowry, and she will be given to him as a wife. If, however, she is of a better family, he must give two girls as an admission of his wrong-doing and an application for forgiveness. A man who abducts a girl with her consent is sentenced by the judge to give two girls and two dowries, and to bring a witness to testify that he had not touched her except after a legal agreement. Such a witness is called *mubrī*.¹ If he fails to provide the witness, he must pay five she-camels in addition to the payment already mentioned. A married woman who commits adultery is executed, and the offender pays one dowry to her husband and another to her people, or two girls. If a girl offers herself to a man, the latter must bring a witness to testify that he did not touch her until officially married, and must pay her dowry (i. e. her bridal price). This is the rule in Transjordan. In Palestine, she is slain by her relatives. The violation of a widow is generally punished in proportion to the importance of her family. The ravisher must pay her dowry and marry her.

If a man assaults a woman in broad daylight or near human habitations, and she calls for help,² the life of the offender is at the mercy of her relatives for three and a third days. If he escapes death, the following punishments are customary (the practise is now much less strict in this respect): his arm is cut off; he must surrender all the weapons and the horse which he had at the time to her relatives. Besides, he must place a row of camels or sheep from the place where the rape was committed or attempted to the place where the girl's cry was heard. Others then act as arbitrators, and the number of animals is gradually reduced until it comes within his

¹ The official ceremony of marriage must be performed in the presence of the *qāḍī 'ālim* or the *ḥaṭīb*, but in practise it is sufficient that the man ask the girl in the presence of a third person, who must be a noble, to accept him as her husband.

² Such a woman is known as *ṣāyihat ed-duḥa*, "she who cries in the morning."

capacity for payment. If the offender can furnish proof that he did not touch her until after a legal union, he is allowed to marry her, and it is said of the girl, "Her garments are torn, and her pearls scattered" (*tôbha qadid u-harazha badid*). Such a man has no right to ask for a truce (*'aṭwah*), but is known as a *mšammas*, "one who stays in the sun," and remains in this condition until after the process is over.

It is well-known that Arab girls are the property of the whole family. A girl is therefore not her father's possession alone, nor her brother's. If anyone asks for her hand, the father will call all his relatives, and the marriage of the girl will depend upon their consent or dissent. The cousin, son of her father's brother (*ibn el-'amm*) has the first right to a girl, as he is the nearest of kin outside the prohibited limits. Next comes the son of her mother's brother (*ibn el-hâl*), followed by the others in the family and the brother of her sister's husband, each having a right of priority in proportion to the degree of his relationship.

A cousin always pays half of a normal dowry. The proverb runs: "A cousin may take (the bride) down¹ from her mare" (*ibn el-'amm biṭayyih 'an el-faras*) and: "Follow the circular (i. e., the normal) path, even if it is long, and marry your cousin even if she is a miserable (match)" = *dār ed-dōrah u-lû dārat u-hud bint el-'amm u-lu bârat*. The dowry (bridal price) is between 2000 and 4000 piastres, normally. The girl receives only a fourth of her dowry, and is deprived of a share in the legacy of her father and her husband. She knows the unfairness of this treatment, but dares not demand greater rights because of the immutability of custom. It is not clear why she is treated so unjustly in this point, and at the same time respected so highly otherwise.²

¹ If a girl is given to a stranger, her cousin, if he chooses, has the right, even at the last moment, to take her. He then takes her down from her horse in the wedding procession, and takes her home.

² Among the Bedouin, woman shares man's struggles, accompanies the warriors, and even goes into battle with them. Whoever strikes a woman, even if he has been wounded by her, is despised. If captured, women are not retained as prisoners, but are sent home with due protection and honour. In their *gazu* (razzia) the Bedouin take the captured women of the enemy tribe with them, not to enslave them but to send them back to their people with due respect at the first opportunity. The song of the women during battle has a stimulating effect upon

There is no provision among Arab judges for dealing with sodomy, since the very mention of the practise is avoided. In Arabic there is no native term for the practise, which is designated by the term *lawât*, derived from the name of Lot, Abraham's brother.¹

Some of the modes of punishment in the case of theft have already been mentioned, but a few others remain to be described. When cattle have been stolen, the judge sometimes orders the payment of a head of cattle for every step from the spot where the theft took place to the first halt afterwards. But, as we have seen, it is customary to reduce such exaggerated penalties by a gradual process of reduction, "for the sake of those present." Punishment for theft varies according to the relations between the two tribes involved, viz:

1. Thefts from an enemy tribe, *radd naqa* (declaration of war). Objects stolen cannot be recovered, according to the proverb, *et-tâihah râihah*, "what strays is lost."
2. In the case of friendly tribes or families, the principle '*en bi-ên*,'² "an eye for an eye," holds, as already described.³ This is also called *bôqah*, lit. "calamity."
3. When the parties are neutral, stolen objects are returned fourfold. but an agreement must first be made between the parties, which may modify the general principle. When the understanding in regard to the fourfold payment (*tarbî'*) is

the men. They exhort the latter not to fear the enemy fire, and reproach them for cowardice, in order to sting them and compel them to stand firm. It is said that when the men of a certain tribe had a falling out, and began fighting, the women appeared, led by one of their noblest ladies, declaiming fiery words:—Shame upon you, O men! A dog barks at the door of his house, donkeys play on their dunghills and bray at their cribs, and fear panthers and wolves. And the man who does not appear small in the eyes of (does not humble himself to) his cousin does not seem great to the enemy. May death carry you off, may hatred scatter you, may the enemy capture you; see, your foes will seize us to-morrow. The Arabic runs: *Hasa 'aleikum, yâ rajâjil* (Fellâh pejorative diminutive of *rajâl*, "man") *el-keib bi'awwi bâb dâruh, w-ij-jhâs bithâris 'a-mzâbilha u-bitnahhiq 'a-mdâwidha u-bitbardin 'ind en-nmûrah w-id-diyâb w-illi mâ yisgar libn 'ammuh mâ yikbar 'ind 'adâwuh. Tahaddâkum el-bein, w-it'addâkum en-nayya w-ithattâskum el-qôm, harî idâkum yahudûna gadâkum.* After this tirade the men were ashamed, and stopped fighting. Later, they were reconciled.

¹ The death sentence would be enforced in such a case.

² '*Ein* means not only "eye," but also, as in '*ein es-šey*, "the very same thing."

³ Cf. Ex. 21 24, Lev. 24 20, Deut. 19 21, etc. (T. C.).

reached, the following is said: *es-sirqah bënna mrabbā'ah tâ-yinšaf el-bahr u-yinbit 'al-kaffi šar; šātna b-arba'ah u-halālna¹ tarbî' u-kull mâ rāḥ bënna mrabbā'* = The theft between us is (compensated for) fourfold until the sea dries and hair grows in the palm of the hand. Our goats shall be (reckoned) fourfold, and our cattle fourfold, and all that has gone (i. e. been stolen) between us fourfold."

The *haṣṣah* or *hajsah*,² entrance into an enclosure by night to steal, is punished by a fine of 500 piastres. 500 more must be paid at the reconciliation, called *ṣadrah*, "leaving (the enclosure)."

After pronouncing a decision of any kind, the judge says: "This is my judgement; if anyone is not satisfied let him appeal the case to other judges or take the advice of the Beni 'Oqbah."³ The judge is exposed to the danger of criticism by those present who hear his decision and by other judges, so his honour and reputation are at stake. One mistake might lead not only to his own disgrace and dismissal, but also to loss of confidence in all the members of his family.

If both parties accept the decision pronounced by the judge, they proceed to fix the time and conditions of the execution of the judgement. If one of the parties considers himself to have been treated unjustly, he asks for a copy of the decision signed by the judge, and appeals to other judges. If the judge or judges to whom the appeal is made approve of it, execution must follow. If not, the objection is written on the copy of the decision, which is returned to the judge who gave it. The latter must interview the protesting judge and try to convince him. If he succeeds his judgement is confirmed. If not, the first judge must pay the loser in the suit the difference between his own sentence and that of the second judge. If the verdict was absolutely wrong, the judge is debarred from further practice and greatly despised. When the first judge and his opponent refuse to yield to one another, appeal is made to other judges, who are usually members of the Tayâhah, in the Beersheba district, the Ūlād 'Amr, in the Hebron district, the Masâ'id, or the Fa'ûr, both in the Ġôr (Jordan Valley) below Nâblus.

¹ The Bedouin understand by *halâl* "sheep, goats, camels, horses, asses," etc.

² Fellâḥ *haṭasa* is equivalent to classical *hatlasa* (cf. *Muḥîṭ el-Muḥîṭ*, II, 2182).

³ The highest court of appeal, especially resorted to in cases of honour.

The first judgement and the protest against it are both submitted to these judges, and the losing party finally yields to the other (*fālah*). The winning party makes its verdict, confirmed or approved, known throughout the country. The loser (*maflūj*) must apologize, and present sheep, etc., to the judge whose decision prevails. This act is called *lafyet el-maflūj*. Both parties have the right of appeal.

In a murder case, when the final verdict is announced, a time is fixed and the people of the victim are notified. The notables of the district meet in the village or camp of the murderer. If both parties come from the same village, they meet in the quarter of the guilty one. The latter take with them the *wajāhah*, composed of rice, sheep, butter, flour, coffee, tobacco, sugar, barley, and even¹ wood. The *wajāhah* must go a little way before the *jāhah*, or notables, who escort the guilty person to the abode of the injured party. When the procession nears its destination, the turbans or headdresses of the criminal and his family are removed and placed around their necks, to signify humiliation and submission. The criminal hides behind the notables while entering the house of the injured party, who remain seated. The latter then arise and arrange the headdresses of the criminal and his family, after which these serve coffee to all. In the case of the murder of an obscure person, the father or other members of the immediate family of the victim are exempted from preparing the meal for the peace delegation, but it is left to the other members of the family and the more distant relatives.² In a case affecting female honour, the injured family may prepare the food. Nothing is said about the purpose of the gathering until the food is ready. Then the hosts press them to eat, while the guests refuse. While this is going on, the judge, who occupies the highest social rank among those present, says to the people of the house: "We will not eat at all unless you promise to give us what we have come for." A long argument is carried on until the promise is

¹ There is also a small *wajāhah* called *lafyeh*. The guilty party goes to the house of the opponent, taking with him a sheep or two, and after making confession and apology asks for reconciliation. This is the practise only among the common people and when the crime is petty, such as cutting down olive trees and stealing produce, etc.

² When the victim belongs to a noble family, his relatives will not prepare the food, but leave it to the murderer's family.

finally made, whereupon all join in the meal. This is a good illustration of the hospitality and generosity of the hosts, who are willing to sacrifice everything in order to please their guests.

When the meal is finished and coffee has been served again, one of the notables rises and says: "We are the flesh and you are the knife" (*ehna el-lahm w-entû es-sikkin*), that is, "We are in your power; you can do with us as you like." The judge takes a long stick and a piece of white muslin, which he ties to the top of the stick, making thirty-three knots, indicating that the blood-money is 33000 piastres. It is considered a great honour for a man to tie these knots; he is then spoken of as the man who knots the flag (*bi'qid er-râyeḥ*) after bloodshed and violation of female honour. Then the judge gives the stick to the murderer or ravisher, who stands and holds it up. The judge appeals to the honour, generosity and chivalry of the injured party with the question: How highly do you estimate the honour (lit. face, *wijh*) of God, of the Prophet, of Abraham, of X (giving the name of some notable, who is not necessarily present)?" In other words, the judge asks how much the injured party is willing to deduct from the total, which is beyond the means of the average person. As various names of notables are given, the original sum is reduced according to the generosity of the people concerned, and for every thousand piastres deducted a knot is untied by the judge, who continues until the amount remaining is reasonable. In case the criminal is poor, he is made to pay in instalments, the third part at once, and the other two thirds after six months and a year respectively. Before the guilty person leaves, after the settlement, one of the bystanders rises, and says: *râytak bêda yâ râ'î l-ḡurmeh*, "Your flag is white; O shepherd¹ of the fine."

The system of *jâḥah u-wajâḥah*, lit. "nobility and honour," i. e. the nobles (who come with the guilty party) and the present (of food brought by the latter), as developed among the Arabs of the desert, is the best possible mode of securing the reduction of the indemnity and the mitigation of punishment. It also demonstrates and encourages the generosity of the injured party.

When the murderer flees from his tribe or village, he cannot return unless or until a well-known person assumes the responsibility

¹ That is, "owner," according to the usage in modern Arabic.

of bringing him back to the tribe as a criminal and delivering him safe to his people (*ywarriduh ḡālim u-yisiddruh sālim*). The procedure is then as follows:—The judge binds the hands of the guilty one together, and escorts him to his foes, either alone, or accompanied by his people. He then addresses the injured party: "Take X, son of Y, in place of Z—the victim"—(*ḡud flân ibn flân 'awad! 'an flân*).¹ The nearest relative of the murdered man rises with a sword in his hand, or a knife, and asks the accused: "Do you have guaranty or security?"—"No"—"May I then kill you?" The culprit answers in the affirmative, whereupon the other cuts off his bonds and forgives him.

If the murderer is accompanied by his relatives, he does not join them, but sits by himself. When the food is served, his guarantor will not partake until assured that part of the *diyyeh* will be remitted. After this is done, the whole party joins in the meal.

The judge himself makes no attempt to reduce or to mitigate the decision he has given. On the contrary, he demands that the guarantors execute it, and the latter are required to see that it is exactly fulfilled. If for some reason or other the injured party refuses to mitigate the severity of the *diyyeh*, the criminal will be compelled by his guarantors to pay the full sum demanded; the latter receive a tenth of the sum they recover from the murderer. The accusers, however, are practically never so severe; they act honourably and yield. Thus peace is made and the bitter hearts of foes are reconciled. After a case of blood or honour is settled, and all the formalities are carried out, the two hostile tribes become friendly again, and make an alliance. The new relation is called *'umûmîyeh*.

Some severe and even intolerable punishments have been mentioned. If the criminal were not punished severely, he would continue to do mischief, and others would follow his example, until the public security would be endangered. Punishments of extreme severity, now modified, were often very useful in a more primitive society.

¹ This is a very old Arabic (pre-Islamic) custom. See *Tārîḫ Ibn el-Aṭîr*, I, s. v. *ḡarb el-basûs*.

To conclude, we find that most of the civil code has its Bedouin counterpart. If we compare them, we shall find that the latter is in many respects more exacting and more equitable, as for instance in the matter of oaths, witnesses, appeal, dismissal of judges, and the like.

UN MOT ARYEN DANS LE LIVRE DE JOB

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LE chap. 37 du livre de Job contient la fin des discours d'Élihou. Avant de céder la parole à Jahvé, Élihou décrit certains phénomènes naturels qui marquent spécialement la puissance de Dieu. Le v. 9 commence la description des vents et de leur action. Il forme une strophe avec le v. 10 et cette strophe peut se traduire ainsi:

Du sud arrive l'ouragan
Et du septentrion le froid:
Par son souffle Dieu produit la glace
Et il solidifie l'étendue des eaux.

Les vv. 11-12 sont d'une interprétation plus difficile. Et en particulier le mot **בר** qui ouvre la nouvelle strophe à la suite de la particule **אף** a suscité beaucoup de commentaires. Le targum **ברירותא** et Théodotion **ἐκλεκτόν** le rattachent à la racine **ברר** «être pur» et y voient une allusion à la pureté de l'atmosphère. C'est aussi l'opinion d'Aben-Ezra. La Vulgate traduit par *frumentum* et identifie ainsi avec **בָּר** «blé», tandis que Symmaque semble avoir lu **פרי**, ce qui lui permet de rendre par *καρπῶς*. Parmi les modernes l'opinion qui a prévalu consiste à décomposer **בר** en deux mots: la préposition **ב** et le substantif **ר** qu'on fait venir de **רוה** «être arrosé, humide». Ainsi Le Hir traduira le 1^{er} hémist. du v. 11 par «il charge les nuages de vapeurs», Renan par «il charge la nue de vapeurs humides». Les plus hardis transforment **בר** en **בָּרַר** «grêle» (*Dulm, Fried. Delitzsch*) ou en **בָּרַק** «éclair» (*Hontheim, Budde*). Mais il serait étrange que des mots aussi caractéristiques que **ברר** ou **ברק** eussent fait place à l'énigmatique **בר**.

Or, selon nous, c'est un nom de vent qui doit être le sujet de יָטִיחַ. En effet, le second hémistiche signifie certainement: «il pourchasse sa nuée lumineuse». Le verbe employé est יָטִיחַ qui, dans 38 24, a pour sujet קָדִים «le vent d'est». Les mots יָטִיחַ עָב veulent dire «fatigue la nue»¹ et c'est le rôle du vent de fatiguer la nue. Tout le monde connaît Borée, en grec *Βορέας*, qui est le nom du vent du Nord: l'aquilon. Ce qu'on sait moins, c'est que *Βορέας* est un vieux mot aryen qui existe sous la forme *buriaš* chez les Cassites ou Cosséens. Le dieu *Buriaš* était précisément l'équivalent cassite du dieu ouest-sémitique Adad ou Hadad, qui est le dieu du vent, de la pluie, de l'orage.² Si nous enlevons les désinences, il reste le radical *buri*, en grec *βορε*. Tel est le mot que nous retrouvons dans l'hébreu בְּרִי. La vocalisation *berî* n'a pas de quoi nous surprendre. Nous avons ici un phénomène qui n'est pas sans analogie. Le nom de la ville de Sodome était primitivement *sudum*, qui est devenu *usdum* en arabe, mais *sedom*, סְדֹם, dans la massore. Et précisément on trouve à côté de *buriaš* la forme *ubriaš*. De même que *sudum* a fourni d'un côté *usdum*, de l'autre *sedom*, de même *buriaš* a fourni *ubriaš* et *berî* (après la chute de la désinence). Le v. 11 se traduira donc:

L'aquilon aussi fatigue la nue,

Il pourchasse sa nuée lumineuse.³

Cette explication a le grand avantage de donner la clef du v. 12, mal partagé dans la ponctuation massorétique. Les exégètes sont d'accord pour placer l'*athnaly* avant לַפְעִלָם, ce qui donne un vers complet:

Pour qu'ils exécutent tout ce que Dieu leur ordonne

Sur la face du monde terrestre.

La difficulté git dans les premiers mots du verset. On n'arrive pas à en former un vers. Remarquons d'abord que וְהוּא «et lui» du

¹ En hébreu moderne le verbe טָרַח signifie «se déranger, se donner la peine de, etc.». A l'*hif'il* «déranger, importuner, etc.».

² Voir notre conférence sur «Les Aryens avant Cyrus», p. 72 (dans les «Conférences de Saint-Etienne», 1910—1911).

³ Une tradition rabbinique, dont l'écho se retrouve chez Raši, voyait dans בְּרִי ou אֶף-בְּרִי le nom de l'ange préposé aux nuages ou à la pluie.

début se rapporte naturellement à כְּרִי «l'aiglon». Il est clair qu'on pourra traduire, en unissant מַסְבּוֹת à מַתְהַפֵּךְ :

Et lui, tournant en tourbillons.

Malheureusement il ne reste qu'un mot בַּתְּחֹבֹלָתוֹ (*kethib*) ou בַּתְּחֹבֹלָתִי (*qerē*) pour le 2^{me} hémistichie. Quelque chose a disparu, à savoir le verbe dont הוּא est le sujet et dont le complément est rappelé par le suffixe de לַפְעֵלָם. Nous attribuons ce fait à un phénomène d'haplographie et nous proposons de restituer יַעֲלֵם «il les fait monter» avant לַפְעֵלָם. L'*hi'* il de עֲלָה est précisément appliqué à l'action de «faire monter» les nuages de l'horizon (Jer. 10 13, 51 16; Ps. 135 7). La similitude des consonnes עֲלָם de יַעֲלֵם et לַפְעֵלָם explique suffisamment l'omission du premier mot par erreur d'homocoteleuton. Si l'on restaure le texte on obtient pour le 2^{me} hémist. «il les fait monter à sa guise». Ainsi le passage de Job 37 11-12 pourra être interprété de la façon suivante:

L'aiglon aussi fatigue la nue,
 Il pourchasse la nuée lumineuse
 Et, roulant en tourbillons,
 Il fait monter les nuages à sa guise,
 Pour qu'ils exécutent tout ce que Dieu leur ordonne
 Sur la face du monde terrestre.

THE EARLIEST FORMS OF HEBREW VERSE

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THE long controversy over the exact character of Hebrew prosody is now reaching a point where the main principles may be regarded as definitely established. Though we may object to certain extravaganzas of emendation and arbitrary rearrangements, we cannot well gainsay the results attained in general by such students as Duhm and Haupt, building on the foundations laid by Budde, Ley, and Sievers. According to this view, Hebrew metre was accentual, consisting of verse-units with 2+2 beats (lyric), 3+2 beats (so-called *qînâh*, though "elegiac" is really a misnomer), and 3+3 beats (epic, as in Job, didactic as in Proverbs, and liturgical). Combinations of the different measures were also known. Epic and didactic verse was divided into distichs, as has been clear since. more than a century ago, Lowth introduced the phrase, *parallelismus membrorum*. Lyric verse, being set to music, with its recurring airs, was divided into strophes or stanzas of varying length, often with a refrain.

Strange to say, there are still many scholars who look with more or less scepticism at the metrical analysis of the Old Testament, partly from a horror of novelty, and partly because of erroneous notions regarding ancient Oriental prosody. The idea that there is no regular metre in Babylonian or Egyptian verse is wide-spread, but is based upon a series of misunderstandings. It is quite true that late Babylonian and Assyrian poetry is not always characterized by exact metrical form, but this is due to the fact that many compositions are intended to be literal translations of Sumerian originals, and that the *vers libre* which resulted was often imitated. The writer is inclined to think that this secondary Assyrian poetic fashion has influenced certain of the Psalms. Yet most Assyrian poems, such

as the Creation Epic and the Descent of Istar into the Lower World, are governed by a regular system of prosody, usually falling into couplets of four hemistichs each, with a caesura, which in the best cuneiform editions is marked by a blank space in the middle of the line. The verse-units, or lines, are 2+2, as was established a generation ago by Delitzsch and Zimmern. A convenient account of late Assyrian prosody is given by Burney, in his commentary to Judges, pp. 158ff.

Until recently there was no reason to suppose that the Babylonians or Assyrians were really strict in matters of prosody. Now, however, the situation has altered completely, thanks to the publication by Zimmern and Scheil of two tablets of the magnificent poem of *Agušaya*, belonging to the reign of Hammurabi-*Amurawih* (B. C. 2124—2081). This poem follows a very elaborate strophic system, with Sumerian designations for strophes and counter-strophes, etc. Each strophe consists of a quatrain with eight hemistichs, so the verse-unit is 2+2. In other poems of the Hammurabi age, such as the hymn to *Bêtili* (*Bêtilîni*), another to *Ištar*, and an ode to Hammurabi, we find not only the characteristic repetition of words and phrases, but also a complicated strophic structure and a refrain. The first stanza of *Agušaya*, published by Zimmern as *Ištar* and *Šaltu* (the title was discovered later by Scheil) runs as follows:

L-unâ'id šurbûta

bukrat Nikkal

Ištar šurbûta

bukrat Nikkal

in-ilî qaratta

dunnaša l-ullî

in-ilî qaratta

dunnaša l-uštašnî

"I will praise the princess,

The first-born of Nikkal,

Ištar, the princess,

The first-born of Nikkal.

Mighty among the gods,

Her valiance I will exalt,

Mighty among the gods,

Her valiance I will recount."

The first section of the poem to *Bêtili* (*Cun. Tab. XV*, 1 ff.) is composed of four couplets, each having the scheme 3: 2+2:

Zamâr Bêtilî azâmar

ibrû ušširâ

Mama zamârašû

eli dišpim

qurâdû šimêâ

u-qaranim tâbu

tâbû-(e)li dišpi u-qaranim
tâbû-(e)li hana- nabi-ma hašhûrim
el(u)-ûlu himêtim zakûtim
tâbu eli-(so!) hana- nabi-ma hašhûrim

"The song of the Lady I will sing—

O comrades, attend,

O warriors, hearken!

I sing of Mama, whose song,

Is sweeter far

Than honey and wine,

Sweeter than honey and wine,

Sweeter it is

Than grapes and figs,

Sweeter than pure cream,

Sweeter it is

Than grapes and figs."

If we turn to Egyptian verse, we find that the work of Erman, Max Müller,¹ and now of Dévaud² and others is bringing order out of the obscurity of Egyptian metrics. The difficulty hitherto has been (1) failure to realize the elaborate structure of Egyptian poetry, and (2) ignorance of old Egyptian vocalization. The present writer is about to publish studies which will partly remove these difficulties. As generally recognized, Egyptian metre is also accentual, and the verse-units are generally 3+3 or 2+2, though short lines without a caesura are also found. Just as in Babylonia, the most perfect prosodic development is found about 2000 B. C., during the great literary revival of the Twelfth Dynasty. One of the most beautiful and formally perfect among classical Egyptian poems is the "Colloquy of a Misanthrope with his Soul." Commencing where the text is best preserved, line 86, we have three successive divisions, each with a regular strophic system of its own—A. 86—102; B. 103—130; C. 131—142. A has eight strophes, each with the same beginning and the same tripartite scheme 3: 3+3, e. g.:

mk b'h rny

mk r-šty 'šw

m-hrw šmw pt-t't

"Behold, my name is a stench—

Behold—more than the odour of 's-birds

In summer days when the sky burns."

¹ Cf. *Liebespoesie der alten Aegypter*, pp. 10—12.

² Cf. *Recueil de Travaux*, XXXVIII, 189.

B offers a series of sixteen strophes, each similarly introduced and with the same strophic scheme 3: 2 + 2 + 2 (except last, which has 3: 2 + 2), e. g.:

ddy nm myn

ybw 'wn

n-wn-yb n-sy

rhntw hrf

"To whom shall I speak today?

Hearts are evil; That man hath no heart Upon whom one relies."

C presents six stanzas, each with the same beginning and strophic structure, metrically the same as in B (the last strophe has 3: 2 + 2: 2 + 2) but resembling A's repetition of *mk* twice in each strophe with its twice-repeated *my*, e. g.:

'w-mt m-hry myn

my-šty 'ntyw

my-hmšt hr-h'tw

hrw t'w

"Death stands before me today

Like the fragrance of spices, Like sitting under a sail

On a day of breeze."

When after a close occupation with Egyptian and Babylonian metres of the classical period, the writer reread the Song of Deborah, he was struck at once by the fact that its climactic parallelism, to employ Burney's happy phrase,¹ though found only very rarely and sporadically in later Biblical and Oriental poetry, is obviously derived from the poetic style fashionable in both Mesopotamia and Egypt during the first half of the second millennium. The affinities are much closer with the former, as will be seen, but the time has long since passed when sober scholars attempt to derive all cultural elements of the Syro-Palestinian milieu from a single country, especially since we now know that mutual influence of the two great ancient civilizations upon one another may be traced back into the fourth millennium. The merchants and travelers who circulated between Mesopotamia and Egypt exerted a profound influence on the land through which they passed, as archaeological research in Palestine has so vividly illustrated. Thanks to recent discoveries, elaborately presented by Langdon,² it is now certain that the phra-

¹ Burney, *The Book of Judges*, pp. 169 ff.

² *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1921, 169—192.

seology of Hebrew psalmody has been profoundly influenced by Babylonian terminology. Most striking is the fact that the ordinary Hebrew word for "song," *šîr*, is a loan from Bab. *šêru*, *šîru*, "song, strophe in a longer composition," itself etymologically identical with Arab. *šîr*, "poem." As Langdon has pointed out Assy. *zamâr šêri* is the equivalent of Heb. *mizmôr šîr*.

If one hears the cadence of the Babylonian hymn to Bêltîli in mind, it will be seen at once that the Song of Deborah falls without a single disturbance of the order of stichi, and with the excision of only a very few variant lines and obvious glosses, into fifteen strophes, with the scheme 3+3: 3(2+2). A few stanzas are incomplete, having only two lines 2+2. The Babylonian poem agrees further in the character of its climactic parallelism and in the style of the opening address:

"O comrades, attend, O warriors, hearken!
The song of the Lady I will sing."

The Song of Deborah begins its first tetrameter tristich with the lines:

"Hear, O kings, Give ear, O princes!
For I to Yahweh, Even I will sing."

The following reconstruction follows the stichic tradition preserved in the Masoretic Bible with hardly an alteration, except that the four-foot strophes should be 2+2, in accordance with the general rule in Babylonian and Hebrew verse. In the main, the text of the Song in the Masoretic form is excellent, as attested also by LXX, but the pointing is often impossible, and the pronominal suffixes and other endings have suffered more than once from dittography. The writer owes most to Haupt¹ and Burney.² Haupt's reconstruction is altogether too drastic and arbitrary; it is incredible that a text in the Heptateuch should have fallen into such a state of corruption as his emendations presuppose. Yet the writer owes a great deal to the thoroughness of Haupt's analysis and the completeness of his treatment. Burney's treatment is cursory and rather superficial, and

¹ See his treatment in *Studien zur semitischen Philologie* * * Julius Wellhausen * * gewidmet, Giessen, 1914, pp. 191—226.

² *Op. laud.*, pp. 160 ff.

his emendations are sometimes singularly infelicitous. To him, however, we owe the first clear explanation of the unique poetic style of the Song, and the invention of the term "climactic parallelism," from the discovery of which it results that the text has suffered more from haplography than from dittography. His restoration of the metre suffers from the frequent occurrence of more than two unaccented syllables before the ictus; it is very improbable that a poem so perfect in structure would tolerate a metrical anomaly of this nature.¹

בְּהַתְּנַדְבִּיעֵם בְּרוּכִיָּה (2)³

הַאֲיוֹנוֹ רוֹנִים

אֲנֹכִי אֲשִׁירָה

אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל

בְּפֶרַע פְּרָעוֹת בִּישְׂרָאֵל 1 2

שִׁמְעוּ מַלְכִּים

אֲנֹכִי לַיהוָה

אֹמֵר לַיהוָה

¹ Cf. Arnold, in *Harvard Theological Review*, XIII, 188. Burney's theoretical reconstruction of the original phonetic form of the Hebrew in our poem gives us results possible in many cases for the third millennium B. C., but not for the twelfth century—to be more exact, about 1150 (see the writer's paper, *Yemē haš-šaharūt šel ha-'am ha-'ivrī*, in *Haš-Šilōah*, Jerusalem, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 28 ff. and "A Revision of Early Hebrew Chronology," *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, Vol. I, pp. 49—80). Since the publication of Bauer and Leander's *Hebräische Grammatik*, and Leander's important article on Hebrew historical phonology, in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. 74, pp. 61 ff., it is clear that the Hebrew of the twelfth century was not particularly archaic. When we bear in mind that the literary language of ancient Oriental peoples, like that of modern ones, lagged far behind the evolution of the popular speech, we will not expect a serious difference between the Hebrew of the Song, which represents the folk-speech of its time, and the literary language employed three to five centuries later. We must also remember that the Masoretic vocalization arose as a protest against an Aramaizing pronunciation of Holy Writ, and often went too far in its zeal, as in the case of the pretonic *qames̄* and the vocal *šewā*.

² This liturgical phrase is doubtless to be pronounced *barḳû-yâh*, or even *barḳû-yah*, just as the original הללו יהוה is shortened in the liturgies to *hallelûyah*.

³ V. 9 gives us a misplaced variant to the first line of the poem, written in the margin, and later incorporated into the text along with a small group of obvious glosses in 8, 11^b:

הַמִּתְנַדְבִּים בְּעַם בְּרוּכִיָּה (וה)

לְבִי לִ(מ?) חֻקֵּי יִשְׂרָאֵל

My heart is with the rulers of Israel, Who enlisted with the people—praise Yah! Here the line adopted in the text is decidedly preferable to the variant; on the other hand, the variant line v. 15^b, to 16^b, though inserted in the wrong place, while 16^b is in the right one, is preferable to the latter. For a possible explanation of the origin of the variant in v. 9 cf. Haupt, p. 211, n. 82.

בצעדך משה אדום	יהוה בצאתך משעיר	II 4
גם-שמים נמטו ¹ []	ארץ רעשה	
מפני יהוה ³ []	הרים נלו ²	5
אלהי ישראל	מפני יהוה	
בימיו ⁴ חדלו ארחות	בימי שמגר בן-ענת	III 6
ילכו ⁵ [] עקלקלות	והלכי נתיבות	
בישראל חדלו	חדלו פרון	7
שקמתי-אם ⁶ בישראל ⁷ []	עד-שקמתי דבורה	

¹ In view of 𐤂 (several MSS), and Hexaplar (see Moore, *ad loc.*) ἐραπάχθη we should probably read נמטו instead of נטפו, "dripped." The heavens may pour down floods of rain when Yahweh appears in his majesty as lord of the thunder, but "drip" is an anticlimax, and here so absurd that a scribe felt impelled to add the remark גם עבים נטפו מים, "the clouds (also) dripped water," that is, the heavens did not leak, but the clouds distilled a gentle shower.

² In view of 𐤂 ἑσαλεύθησαν and the fact that in Is. 63 19, 64 2 this verb is pointed לוּלִי with הרים, there can be no doubt that the stem is *zll*, belonging with Ar. *zll*, "quake, of earth," and *zll*, "slip."

³ All serious scholars agree that the phrase זה סיני, "that is, Sinai," is a gloss, restricting the general statement to Mount Sinai. Ehrlich's objection to this interpretation, on the basis of later usage, is unwarranted; the use of זה in early Hebrew as here is precisely like that of Eg. *pw*, "this," and in the commentaries to the sacred texts "that is."

⁴ The יעל in the text is naturally impossible, as there is no room for an additional name in the line, to say nothing of the serious historical objection. The י is perhaps a corruption of the original ו in the בימיו we have substituted for the בימי of the Hebrew text. The על may be due to the misreading of a partially erased dittography of the first letters of עקלקלות in the line below.

⁵ 𐤀 has here ארחות, evidently due again to vertical dittography, since the word means "caravans" in the preceding verse, while here it would have to mean "paths."

⁶ Pronounce *šaq-qamtêm*. The ending תי in the second person feminine may be an archaism here, but it may also be merely historical spelling. The glosses in the Amarna Letters show that *tu* in the first person had already become *tî*, so it is more than likely that *tî* in the second feminine had become *t*. At all events, it would so be pronounced before a vowel—the *alef* in Hebrew has almost throughout lost its consonantal force.

⁷ Between the end of this stanza and the beginning of the next there are several glosses, which have been grouped together for lack of a better place. V. 9 has been discussed in connection with v. 2. V. 8 contains three glosses. The first one, יבחרו אלהים חדשים (ו, hapl.) is probably a theological explanation, "they (shall) choose new gods," for the text, "they follow crooked paths." The line, מִן אֲבִירָאָה וְלִמָּח בְּאַרְבָּעִים אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל "Is shield seen or lance Among

והלכי על-דרך שיו	רכבי אתנות צהרות ¹]	IV 10
בין-משאבים	בקול ² מחצצים	11
צדקות יהוה	שם יתנו	
בשראל (יתנו) ³]	צדקת פרונו	
עורי עורי דברי-שיר	עורי עורי דבורה	V 12
בן אבינעם	קום ⁴] () שבה-שביך	
שריד לאדירים	אנ(י) ירד(ה) ⁵	13
(ע)לי (גבורים) ⁶	עמיהוה ירד(ה)	

forty thousand in Israel?" cannot well be original, since the Israelites would hardly celebrate a great victory by boasting that they had no weapons at all. It is perhaps a comment to v. 7^a, borrowed from some other poem, on the part of a scribe who was thinking of 1 Sam. 13:19-22, where it is stated that the Israelites had no swords or lances. The preceding remark *או לחם שערים* is obviously a tertiary gloss, commenting on the absence of arms by quoting Jud. 7:13, "Then was the barley bread," i. e., just as the barley bread, representing the *fellah* host of Gideon, overwhelmed the Midianite camp, so the unarmed Israelites defeated the army of Sisera, thanks to special divine interposition.

¹ The phrase *ישבי על מרן*, which is in a different metre from the preceding and following hemistichs, and completely spoils their antithetic parallelism, besides being unintelligible Hebrew, is perhaps corrupt for some such phrase as *ישבי דין*, "judges," meaning that only judges, i. e. nobles, had the right to ride on red-roan (so Haupt) asses.

² *מקול* has *מקול*, evidently influenced by the initial *מ* of the two following nouns.

³ In the repetitious style of our poem there is constant danger of haplography or haplogy. The chiasitic order follows the example of v. 7^a. Chiasitic order is most characteristic of elegant literary style in Assyrian.

⁴ The following phrase, *או ירדו לשערים עם יהוה*, is not metric, and has no connection with the preceding or the following strophe, so may belong with the group of glosses in vv. 8-9. In this case it is apparently a comment on the gloss *או לחם שערים*, which Masoretic tradition took to mean (of above for the true interpretation) "then to them were gates" (Moore says that it is difficult to imagine what is meant by the anomalous pronunciation of *לָהֶם*, but it evidently indicates a *qerē* *לָהֶם*), which our gloss explained as "then the people of Yahweh went down to the gates." *ערים* (*πόλεις*), a valueless guess.

⁵ The interpolation of *ברק* is wholly superfluous, since "son of Abinoam" makes the person addressed known. The following *ו* is a secondary insertion.

⁶ The Masoretic tradition still derives the verb from *ירד*, as shown by the pointing, so there is no objection to adding a *ה*; it must be remembered that the original text did not have *matres lectionis*, and that where they are found they are later insertions. The *ו* which should be affixed to *או* was lost by haplography.

⁷ *ירר לו בנבורים*, which is unintelligible. Haupt suggests *בנבורים*, "went down as warriors" but on account of the parallelism with the preceding line our reading seems preferable.

אחרִיד בנימין בעממיו ³	1[] אפרים שר-בעמק ²	VI 14
ירדו ⁴ מחקקים	מני מכיר	
בשבת ספר	() מזבולן משבים	
9[] (י) שלח () רגליו ⁸	עם ⁵ דברה ⁶ 7[] בעמק	15

¹ Since it interferes with the metre the introductory מני is evidently vertical dittography from the next line, where the metre requires it. Quite aside from metrical considerations, the second hemistich shows that Ephraim, Benjamin's brother, is the subject.

² Virtually all scholars read בעמק instead of במלך, following important MSS evidence (cf. Moore). It is possible that for שרשם we should read שם שם. G read the same consonants, though rendering differently, ἐξέπλυσεν. My suggestion is in accord with the frequent repetition of verbs for poetic emphasis in our Song.

³ M has בעממך, but the suffix is clearly dittography of the suffix in the preceding אחרִיד.

⁴ To preserve consistency, I point the verbs as present or imperfect instead of perfect.

⁵ This passage is unquestionably corrupt, and our reconstruction may be quite wrong. According to Jos. 19:13 Daberath, i. e. Deborah (see below) was on the border between Zebulun and Issachar. V. 18 of the Song shows that it was already considered a part of Zebulun. A later scribe, however, may have supposed that the missing Issachar was referred to here, and have inserted it, which would also account for the strange repetition of the name twice in the verse—an erroneous double entry in different lines. It is improbable that Issachar was originally mentioned in the Song, since it is an opprobrious term, "hireling," applied by the Israelites in the hills to their Hebrew brethren who formed part of the dependent peasant population of the plain, under Canaanite overlordship.

⁶ The pointing עם, "people," instead of עם, "with," is certainly right (see Haupt).

⁷ One may suspect that ברק is an explanatory gloss to the first word of the fifteenth verse, reading וְשָׂרִי instead of M. The "prince" who is thus associated with Deborah would naturally be Barak. The impossibility of the present text is well put by Moore.

⁸ The present text has שְׁלַח בְּרַגְלָיו, which is very queer, and cannot be connected with what precedes.

⁹ This is a correct marginal substitution for the somewhat corrupt line now in place, v. 16^b.

לשמע שרקות עדרימ	VII 16 (גד) למה ישב [] משפתים ²
גדולים חקק־לב ³	בפלגות ראובן
הירדן שכן	גלעד בעבר 17
יגור אנוות	ודן למה
ועל־מ־רציו ישבו	VIII אשר ישב () חו־ימים
נפשן למות	ובלו ע־חרף
על־מ־רומי שדה	ונפתלי 18
נלחמו מלכי כנען [] ⁴	IX 19 באו מלכים נלחמו
על־מי מגדו	(נלחמו) ⁵ בתענך
(ממ־לָתם) ⁷	בצע־כסף לא־לקחו ⁶
נלחמו ע־סיסרא	מ־שמים [] (וכוכבים) ⁷ 20

¹ The present text hangs in the air, and we do not know what tribe is intended; v. 17^a shows that we may expect the name of a tribe before למה, while the metre indicates a short name. The tribe in question is Transjordanic, since it is pastoral and followed by Reuben. Accordingly it must be Gad, the absence of whom from the present text has given rise to all kinds of hypotheses, especially that Gilead in 17^a takes the place of Gad. But from Num. 32³⁴ ff. it is clear that Gad originally occupied northern Moab, as stated also in the Mesha Stele, while it is expressly stated that Machir occupied Gilead.

² *Al* has למה ישבת בין המשפתים. The change of tense in the verb may be erroneous but the present haphazard alternation of tenses is very strange, and imperfects seem to predominate. The word משפתים (pl. rather than dual) is a *crux interpretum*, but the only etymologically reasonable explanation is "piles of rubbish, manure," referring to the extensive *mzâbil*, which surround the Transjordanic village, especially in the Hauran. In western Palestine the *mzâbil* (sing. *mzbeleh*) are not nearly so striking a feature, since there is not so much animal husbandry. The cognate אשפת, "rubbish, manure," belongs (which has not been observed hitherto) with Ar. *tâfat*, "rubbish" (note the transposition). The superfluous בין is probably a dittographic reminiscence of the בין before משאבים.

³ Cf. above. The marginal correction seems here to be preferable to the form in place. The variants חקקי and חקרי may indicate that the original was different; cf. Ar. *ḥqf*, "beat, of the heart" as a possible suggestion. However, *ḥqq* means properly "to pierce" (Ar. *ihlaqqā*) and in Ar. also "to afflict," so there is no serious objection to its retention.

⁴ *Al* is a superfluous scribal insertion to make sure that the reader would not mistake the highly poetic repetition for dittography.

⁵ A stylistic peculiarity of the Song requires the repetition of a verb with a prepositional phrase modifying it, unless the metre forbids it. Here both style and metre seem to demand it, so we may assume that it has fallen out by haplography, since the same verbal form is found twice in the preceding line. Now, since there is a superfluous נלחמו in v. 20, we may suppose that the scribe discovered his mistake in collating the text and inserted it in the margin, whence it was transferred into the wrong line later.

⁶ This hemistich should be scanned as follows, *beṣa'î-kēsîf lô-laqāhā*.

⁷ Owing to the common initial מ the word ממסלחם has changed places with the following hemistich. The present order is nonsense; the stars, that is, the

נחל קדומים (ה)נחל

נפשת עני(י)

עקבי סוסם⁴

(הלמן) אבירי

ארו ארו ישביה

לעזרת יהוה

בנקורי(ה)ם⁷

נחל קישון גרם x 21

(ב)קישון הדרב¹אני(י) הלמן(ם)³ .22

דהרות דהרות

אורו מרון⁵ אמר⁶(?) xi 23

כילא באו

לעזרת יהוה

elements, may fight against Sisera, but the planets do not fight from their highways (א has plur.) against him, nor can their orbits be called "highways." The use of *ḥarrānu* in Babylonian astronomy is quite different. On the other hand, מסלה is evidently equivalent to Bab. *ḥarrānu, gīrru*, "road, campaign." In sixteenth century English "road" meant "foray, raid" (a Norse doublet of "road"), as in the A. V. of 1 Sam. 27 io, "Whither have ye made a road today?"

¹ א has תרבי. Our rendering of the second hemistich requires a passive form here (see next note). In Hebrew the *hif'il* of this verb sometimes serves as an intensive. Yellin's suggestion of the Arabic and Aramaic meaning „reach, overtake" for הרריך (*Jour. Pal. Orient. Soc.* I, p. 13f.) is very doubtful.

² א has נפשי עני, but we should probably read עני like אבירי at the end of the second line below. Still preferable is perhaps Haupt's reading נפשות עמיו. For the idiom cf. Assy. *napšātsumu usiq ukarrî*, "I brought their life to a close and cut it off (cf. Ar. *sāga*, "be at the point of death, said of a sick man"); *balṭūsun qātî ikšud*, "I captured them alive."

³ This verb is transitive, as in v. 26, so the suffix is necessary.

⁴ The מ belongs with the preceding word, instead of with the following, as in א.

⁵ The מרון of א is probably corrupt, since no town of this anomalous name is to be found in any Palestinian literature. We should probably read מרון, Meron. This Meron is hardly to be identified with either Meirôn, W. N. W. of Šâfed, or even with Marûn er-Râs, further north, nor is it clear to which Meron the Marun of Tiglathpileser III. refers. The Canaanite royal city Madon, Jos. 11 i, may perhaps be a mistake for Meron, just as Šarid should be *Šadôd, modern Tell Šadûd. Probably our Meron is the town mentioned Jos. 12 20 with Šimôn (text Šimrôn), modern Semûniyeh, on the edge of the Plain, ten miles due west of Debûriyeh-Deborah and north of Megiddo. A situation in the neighborhood would explain why Meron refused to take up arms for the Israelites; it was too near Harosheth, modern Tell 'Amr, and therefore dangerously exposed to Canaanite vengeance in case of an Israelite defeat.

⁶ אמר מלאך יהוה א is metrically impossible. It is possible to omit מלאך, which might have been introduced because of a religious scruple against the conception that Yahweh curses men himself, but more likely that "angel of Yahweh" was substituted, as apparently often, for a name of pagan origin, still employed, like the Lithuanian *Perkunas*, in maledictions even after the conversion of the Hebrews to Yahwism.

⁷ The insertion of a ה is not grammatically necessary, but greatly improves the sense, besides improving the metre.

מנשים באהל תכרך	XII 24 תכרך מנשים יעל ¹
חלב נתנה	25 מים שאל
הקריבה חמאה	בקפל אדירים
וימינה להלמות עמלים	XIII 26 ידה ליתד תשלחנה
מחקה ראשו ²	והלמה סיסרא
נפל שכב	27 בן־רגליה כרע
נפל ³ שרוד	בן־רגליה כרע
ותיכב אם סיסרא	XIV 28 בעד האשנב ⁴ נשקפה
רכבו לבוא	מדוע בשש
פעמי־מרכבותיו	מדוע אחרו
אך־היא תשיב אמריה ⁵	XV 29 חכמות שרותיה תעננה
יתלקו שלל	30 הלא ימצאו
לראש־גבר שלל	רחם רחמתיים
6 ⁶ צבעים רקמה ⁷	צבעים לסיסרא

¹ The interpolation אשת הבר הקני is admitted on all sides to be a learned gloss.

² **¶** adds the gloss ומחצה וחלפה רקתו. ומחצה is inserted to explain the early Aramaic form מחקה, with orthography like ארקא for ארעא = ארץ, קמר = עמר = צמר, etc., the *q* being employed to indicate the glottal catch (א) into which the *qād* had been modified in Aramaic like *q* in the cities of modern Egypt and Palestine. The *alef* lost its original pronunciation in Aramaic and became a vowel-letter. Later the *ayin* was pronounced as a glottal catch, as it still is in parts of northern Syria, having lost its correct pronunciation as a voiced *h* with somewhat greater contraction of the glottis. Another Aramaic form found in the poem is the *pa^{al}* of תנה, employed like Assy. *šunnû*, "recount, relate." These Aramaic forms are not late glosses, nor are they strictly dialectic; they are rather an indication of a mixture between the Aramaic tongue originally spoken by the Hebrews and the Hebrew which they learned in the land of Canaan, and are thus on a par with such an Aramaic word as גרר, "vow," which has superseded נור, only preserved in the specialized meaning "devotee," נור. Bauer and Leander have recently called our attention to evidences of dialectic mixture in morphology; there are also a number of Aramaic loanwords in early Hebrew. The additional gloss "she pierced his temples" is harmonistic, designed to make the original poetic version, according to which Jael felled Sisera while he was drinking, square with the well-known prose version. The two cannot be harmonized; see Moore.

³ The observation נפל כרע שם נפל, "where he stooped there he fell," is anything but poetical, and אשר is not found elsewhere in the poem. It is also harmonistic, and means that he fell dead where he crouched, without moving from his place—thanks to the "nail" which fastened his head to the ground.

⁴ **¶**, בעד החלון, is simply a gloss explaining the archaic term אשנב, on which see Haupt, *ad loc.*

⁵ The לה is wholly superfluous, besides being metrically awkward, and is obviously susceptible of ready explanation as dittography.

⁶ The שלל of **¶** is dittography of the preceding שלל, because both are followed by the same word.

⁷ The four-beat line which follows may belong to the original; one would like to read for **¶**, מצוארי חלל, לצוארי שלל, "from the backs (lit. necks) of the slain."

The poem may be translated as follows:

- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| i | When locks were long ¹ in Israel, | When the folk responded—praise Yah! |
| | Hear, O kings, | Give ear, O princes, |
| | For I to Yahweh, | Even I will sing, |
| | I will sing to Yahweh, | Unto Israel's God. |
| ii | Yahweh, when thou rosest from Seir, | When thou marchedst from Edom's land, |
| | The earth was quaking, | The heavens shaking, |
| | The mountains rocking | Before Yahweh's face, |
| | Before the face of Yahweh, | Israel's God. |
| iii | In the days of Shamgar ben Anath, | In his days the caravans ceased, ² |
| | And wayfaring men | Followed crooked paths; |
| | The yeomanry ceased, | In Israel it ceased, |
| | Till thou rosest, O Deborah, | As mother-city in Israel. ³ |
| iv | O riders on tawny asses, | O wayfaring men, attend! |
| | To the sound of the cymbals, | Between the drums, ⁴ |
| | There they will recite | The triumphs of Yahweh, |
| | The triumphs of his yeomen | In Israel they will tell. |

¹ This rendering may now be considered practically certain; cf. Haupt, *ad loc.* Jeremias's rendering (*Das Alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients*, 3rd ed., p. 423), "When Pharaohs ruled in Israel," deserves notice solely as a curiosity.

² This rendering is quite certain; in Assyrian *ḥarrānu*, "road," also means "caravan." Shamgar was chief of the Canaanite town of Beth Anath, modern Ba'nah, Talmudic Bē'anah, a little to the northeast of the Plain of Accho, as the writer has shown in the papers mentioned above. His role of robber baron is like that played by Sutatna (so) or Zatatna of Accho in the Amarna Tablets; the latter also robs the caravans.

³ There can surely be no longer any doubt that Deborah was originally the town of that name at the foot of Mt. Tabor, as first suggested by Carl Niebuhr, and accepted by Haupt. For the origin of the confusion between the "mother in Israel" i. e. the metropolis, chief city (as in 2 Sam. 20.19) and the feminine figure of Hebrew legend by the same name cf. the note on the subject in the writer's article (*Journal of the Pal. Orient. Soc.*, Vol. I, p. 61). The town, whose remains lie to the north of the modern village of Debûre (so pronounced; Debûriyeh, not Debûriyeh is the literary form), is called in the O. T. elsewhere *Dbrt*, the Dabaritta of Josephus and the Dabira of the Onomasticon. The expression for "city" used in our text is not peculiar to the Hebrew of the Bible, but is also found in Phoenician. On Sidonian coins Sidon is called mother of Carthage, Hippo, Citium, and Tyre. On Laodicean coins the city is termed *אם בבנון*, "mother in Canaan" (the reading *אש* which some have substituted is unwarranted).

⁴ This passage has been a *crux interpretum*. Haupt renders, "At the trumpet-call from the banquet;" Burney emends with unusual recklessness, and gives us a pretty conceit, "Hark to the maidens laughing at the wells." Haupt's *מחצרים*

- v Awake, awake, O Deborah! Awake, awake, sing a song:
 "Arise, take thy captives, Abinoam's son,
 For then the survivor Will rule the haughty,
 The people of Yahweh Will rule the mighty."
- vi O Ephraim storm, storm into the valley— After thee come Benjamin's clans!
 From Machir's folk Come down the captains,
 From Zebulon those who wield The staff of the marshal,
 While Deborah's folk Sends footmen into the valley.
- vii Why does (Gad) dwell on dung-heaps Harking to pastoral pipings?
 In the vales of Reuben The chiefs are faint-hearted,
 While Gilead dwells Beyond the Jordan.
 And why does Dan Become attached to ships?¹
- viii Asher dwells on the shore of the sea And settles on his harbours—
 But Zebulon is a people Which dared to die—
 And Naphtali, too— On the heights of the plain.
- ix There came the kings and fought, They fought, the kings of Canaan,
 They fought at Taanach, At Megiddo's waters;
 No silver they won From their campaign,
 For the stars from heaven Fought against Sisera.
- x Kishon's torrent swept them away, An impetuous torrent becoming;
 In the Kishon were trampled His living warriors,
 For the hoofs of their horses Struck them down,
 Rearing, plunging, They struck down his strong men.

and Burney's מַצְחָקֹת both seem unnecessary, since a much more natural explanation is at hand; I would combine the word with Ar. *ḥaddā, ḥadḥada*, "shake," *ḥāqāq*, "shells," and *ḥadāq*, "shell necklace, fetters," etc., and render either "cymbals," like מַצְחָקֹת (מַצְחָקֹת, Zech. 14 20, refers to a string of bells or small pieces of metal for the adornment of horses), or "sistra," like מַנְעֻנֵּים, 2 Sam. 6 5. The word מַשְׁאֲבִים belongs with Ar. *mis'ab*, "leather skin," and probably means leather drums or tambourines (cf. Sachs, *Allägyptische Musikinstrumente*, Leipzig, 1920, pp. 5ff.). The women of the Qureiṣ, at the battle of Oḥod, beat drums (*akbār*) and tambourines (*dufuf* and *ḡarābīl*), according to Ibn Hiṣām.

¹ We seem to have a most important chronological datum in this line. Dan's residence on the sea-coast preceded the Philistine occupation. On the other hand, our poem dates from after the career of Shamgar, who beat off—or assisted in warding off—the first Philistine irruption, presumably that of the year 1190 B. C. The date of the battle of Taanach will then fall between about 1180 and 1170 or a little later, when the successful invasion occurred, after the death of Rameses III.; see the fuller discussion in *Jour. Pal. Or. Soc.*, Vol. I., pp. 55—62.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>xi Curse ye Meron, saith———
 For they would not come
 To the help of Yahweh,
 xii Blest above women is Jael,
 Water he asked,
 In a lordly bowl
 xiii One hand she put to the tent-pin
 She struck down Sisera,
 At her feet he bowed,
 At her feet he bowed,
 xiv Out from the window there looked
 “Why does his chariot
 Why linger the hoofs
 xv The wisest of her women replies—
 “Are they not finding
 A maiden or two
 Dyed work for Sisera</p> | <p>Eternally curse ye its people,
 To the help of Yahweh,
 Sending their warriors.
 Above women in tents is she blest.
 She gave him milk,
 She brought him cream.
 Her right to the workman’s mallet;
 She crushed his head,
 He fell, he lay,
 He fell, outstretched.
 And wailed Sisera’s mother:
 Tarry in coming?
 Of his chariot-steeds?”
 She, too, echoes her words:
 And dividing the spoil?—
 As spoil for each warrior,
 Dyed and embroidered.”</p> |
|--|--|

In its present form, the poem is unmistakably a torso, but we should perhaps be grateful for the fact that our copy closes at so dramatic a point, sparing us, it may be, a weaker ending, an anticlimax. The present ending is formed by a very weak and awkward distich, evidently of liturgical origin:

Thus may all perish	Of Thy foes, Yahweh,
While Thy friends be as the rise	Of the sun in his strength.

It must be emphasized that the preceding arrangement of the poem has not been reached as a result of any *a priori* theory, but that it simply imposes itself upon the reader who knows what to expect in ancient verse-forms. It is highly probable that it was recited antiphonally, one chanting the hexameter, and another or a chorus singing the following tristich. This is indicated by the fact that the hexameter line always stands apart, having no direct connection with the preceding strophe, and only a loose one with the following tristich, which it introduces. Thus stanzas V, XI, and XII each contain an introduction, followed by a direct quotation. As is well known, this antiphonal chanting and singing was a very common practise in Babylonia as well as in Israel.

If there are still any doubts regarding the general correctness of our results they should be removed by a careful comparison of the Lament of David over Jonathan, the only other early Israelite poem of this type now extant. While the text of this poem is more corrupt, like the text of Samuel in general, the dominant structure is again unquestionably the tetrameter tristich, like the Song of Deborah. The introductory hexameter appears as a refrain, following the tristich instead of preceding it, but the same elements exactly are used to form the strophe, and the character of the hexameter verse is made certain by the fact that it is a refrain, and hence certainly antiphonal or choral. We have also echoes of the old climactic parallelism, now falling into disuse.

אל־תגִּידוּ בְּנֵי פֶן תִּשְׁמַחְנָה פֶן תַּעֲלוֹנָה	20
אל־תִּבְשְׂרוּ ¹ בְּאִשְׁקִלֹן בְּנֹת פִּלְשֹׁתִים בְּנֹת הָעַרְלִים	
הָרִי הַגִּלְבָּעִי ² אֶל־יְהוֹיָ (הָ) כִּי־שָׁם נִגְעַל מִן שְׂאֹל	21
(וּשְׂדֵי תְרוּמוֹת) ³ וְאֶל־מִטָּה עֲלֵיכֶם ⁴ [] מִן גְּבוּרִים בְּלִי־מִשִּׁית בִּשְׁמֹן	
מִדָּם חֲלָלִים קֶשֶׁת יְהוֹנָתָן וְחֶרֶב שְׂאֹל	22
שְׂאֹל וַיהוֹנָתָן בְּחַיִּיהֶם (חֶבְרוֹ ?) מִנְשָׁרִים קָלוּ	23
(נֶאֱהָבִים) (נְעִיָּם) ⁵ וּבְמוֹתָם לֹא־נִפְרְדּוּ מֵאֲרִיזֹת גְּבוּרֹ	

¹ If the אל of בהוצית is original, we must have here a line 3+3; it is then possible that the line which we have considered the second verse of the second strophe is also 3+3 and introduces the strophe, just as in the Song of Deborah. It is safe to say that the original structure of the poem was more complicated than it now appears to be, as well as more formally perfect.

² אל is here grammatically and logically impossible, while the substitution of a ה for the ב gives a perfectly idiomatic and exact phrase.

³ The hemistich should evidently be transposed from its place in אל after the next line.

⁴ Cf. preceding note, as well as note on the first line of the poem.

⁵ The articles are wholly superfluous, and hurt the rhythm appreciably.

(ע) ל-שאול בקינה	בנית ישראל	24
שני () מעדנים ¹	המלבשכם	
(עדי זהב)	המעקה ²] לבושכן	
בתוך המלחמה	איך נפלו גבורים	25
על-במותיך ⁴ חלל	(צבי ישראל) ³	
אחי יהונתן	צרלי עליך	26
מאהבת נשים	נעמתי-לי מאד ⁵	
ויאבדו כלי מלחמה	איך נפלו גברים	27

Tell it not in Gath
Lest they rejoice,
Lest they exult,

Proclaim it not in Ashkelon,
The Philistine maidens,
The heathen girls.

Ye hills of Gilboa,
Let there be nor dew
For there was disgraced
The shield of Saul,

And lofty uplands,
Nor rain upon you,
The warrior's shield,
With oil unanointed.

From the blood of the slain,
The bow of Jonathan
Nor the sword of Saul

From the entrails of warriors,
Never retreated,
Returned empty.

¹ **א** has שני עם עדנים, "scarlet with delights," but the omission of ע gives a logical and idiomatic text.

² **א** offers מעלה, which is here impossible. After the corruption, in order to preserve an intelligible text, it became necessary to transpose the following phrase.

³ The יהונתן of **א** does not really belong in the text, but in the margin, as explanation of the expression "gazelle of Israel." Fortunately, this line was employed as a title for the poem, and hence has been preserved intact, save for an impossible article, at the beginning.

⁴ This foot should probably be scanned 'al-bmôtēka. In the genuine folk verse of modern Palestine (see my note to Stephan's paper in *Jour. Pal. Or. Soc.*, Vol. II) long vowels may be treated as short at any time for the sake of the metre. In Hebrew this tendency was probably not marked, but the "Aramaizing" inclination to eliminate short unaccented vowels in open syllables certainly existed; the Masoretic vocalization represents a learned reaction (cf. above).

⁵ **א**, נפלאתה אהבתך לי, is clearly a prosaic gloss, explaining the beautiful line whose cadence it so rudely interrupts.

Saul and Jonathan,	Beloved, delightful,
In life they were comrades (?)	In death were not parted,
Swifter they than eagles,	Stronger than lions.

O maidens of Israel,	Weep ye for Saul,
Who was wont to clothe you	In elegant scarlet,
Who decked your garments	With golden adornments!
How have the warriors fallen	In the midst of the battle!

The gazelle of Israel	Is slain on thy heights (Gilboa)—
I grieve for thee,	My brother Jonathan,
Far sweeter wast thou	Than the love of women.
How have the warriors fallen	And the weapons of war been lost!

We have thus seen that the Song of Deborah and, to a lesser extent, the Lament of David over Jonathan represent what must have been once an important category of Canaanite and Israelite verse, written in the language of Canaan, and influenced by the models which had governed the writing of verse in the literary centres of the ancient Orient some centuries previously. The post-Davidic poetry of the Old Testament is influenced by late Assyrian and Babylonian models, which passed into Israel from Syria and Phoenicia, where both Phoenicians and Aramaeans were always powerfully affected by Mesopotamian cult and literature. In the Old Testament we also have fragments of a different kind, without a literary background. Of this nature is the Bedu poem known as the Song of Lamech, written in two couplets, one 2+2, the other 3+3, with a rhyme in *i* which has always been characteristic of the nomad Arabs. The triumphal song of Sihon, Num. 21 27ff., does not lend itself to successful reconstruction, but the metre is clearly 3+3, and at least four of the seven lines—perhaps five—end with *ôn*, showing again the Bedu origin of the song. The Song of the Well, Num. 21 17-18, can almost be duplicated in Moab today. But the literary poetry of Israel does not owe its beauty to Bedu models, but to the fact that it was able to clothe the formally elegant models of the ancient Orient with a spontaneous and freshly exuberant life.

LA DERNIÈRE PÉRIODE DE L'HISTOIRE DE CAPHARNAÛM

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«CAPHARNAÛM, toi qui te dresses jusqu'au ciel tu seras abaissée jusqu'aux enfers!» Voilà le triste adieu que Jésus fit à sa seconde patrie à la veille de la quitter pour toujours. Pour ceux qui connaissent la position privilégiée qu'occupait Capharnaüm à l'avènement du N.T., ces mots de l'Evangile sont parfaitement intelligibles, quand on parcourt (à 19 siècles de distance) le vaste champ, où sont encore enterrées la plupart de ses ruines.

Ville de passage et de marché international, Capharnaüm était au centre même du mouvement des caravanes, entre la plaine d'Esdreton, Scythopolis et Damas. Elle possédait en outre, un port qui l'enrichissait de son transit particulier. Les mariniens du lac y déchargeaient le blé du Hauran pour les exportations de Tyr, Sidon et Césarée: mouvement des plus actifs encore, puisqu'il contribuait au ravitaillement de Rome et de l'Italie. Ce ne sont pas seulement les Juifs qui viendront là pour entendre Jésus: mais des Iduméens, des Tyriens, des Sidoniens et des gens de la Transjordane, attirés par un commerce lucratif. Rien d'extraordinaire donc, si Capharnaüm était devenue, au commencement du premier siècle de notre ère, une ville opulente et riche, digne de posséder la plus belle des synagogues connues en Galilée et dont nous venons de mettre à jour les derniers vestiges.

Hélas! cette période de prospérité ne semble avoir été que de trop courte durée, puisque trente ans plus tard (66—67 après J.-C.) elle était déchue au rang d'une simple bourgade, *κόμη*, dans laquelle l'Historien juif se fit transporter pour recevoir les premiers soins de

ses blessures, à la suite de la bataille engagée entre lui et Sylla, commandant des troupes d'Agrippa II. (Jos. Vita, 72. ed., Dindorf).

Ici, une première question se pose: à quoi devons-nous attribuer la décadence si rapide de Capharnaüm? L'histoire est muette à ce sujet: mais nous croyons pouvoir l'attribuer à plusieurs causes, qui y auront contribué également. Peut-être, les tremblements de terre, (phénomène assez commun dans le bassin du lac de Tibériade). L'histoire nous a conservé le souvenir des nombreux tremblements de terre, qui ont ébranlé le sol de l'Asie entre l'an 60 et 70 après J.-C.: Colosses et Laodicée furent détruites en l'an 60, sans parler de Philadelphie, qui mérita le titre de *«ville pleine de tremblements de terre»* (Strabon XIII, 10).

Un autre phénomène d'ordre social aura également privé Capharnaüm d'un bon nombre de ses citoyens adoptifs et hôtes momentanés: je veux parler du développement rapide d'une puissante rivale, Tibériade, devenue capitale de la Galilée, située elle aussi, sur une des ramifications du grand réseau de routes commerciales entre Damas, la Phénicie et l'Egypte. Rien d'in vraisemblable: d'autant plus que le roi Antipas fut très large en faveurs et en privilèges envers les nouveaux habitants de sa capitale, qu'il dut recruter principalement entre l'élément payen, puisque les bons Israelites s'interdisaient d'habiter Tibériade, et même d'y passer. (Talmud de Jérusalem, Schebuth IX, 1.)

Mais ce qui joua un rôle plus néfaste dans la décadence de Capharnaüm, ce fut la corruption des mœurs de ses habitants, alimentée par la convoitise des richesses et les abus du luxe. Jésus avait dit que Capharnaüm et ses deux voisines Bethsaïda et Corozäin s'obstinaient dans le vice plus durement que Sodome, Tyr et Sidon: et, à quelques siècles de distance, le Talmud nous confirme que chez les habitants de Capharnaüm l'immoralité était très avancée.

Le Midrash Koheleth (7,20 fol.14,2) cite les paroles de l'Ecclesiaste VII, 26, où il est dit de la femme au cœur léger: «Celui qui est agréable à Dieu lui échappe: mais le pécheur sera pris par elle», puis il ajoute: «Cela vise les gens de Kefar-Nahum».

Plus loin, le même Midrasch (fol. 109, 4) parlant de Hanania neveu du célèbre Rabbi Jehosoua, qui habitait Capharnaüm dans la première moitié du II^e siècle, dit: «Hanania, le neveu de Rabbi Jehosoua, fut un saint homme: par contre les habitants de Kefar-Nahum sont des pécheurs».

Un fait qui nous peint la profonde corruption des mœurs des habitants de Capharnaüm, est raconté par le Talmud au sujet d'un disciple de Rabbi Jonathan. Je le passe sous silence pour ne pas offenser les oreilles de mes auditeurs. (J. Lightfoot. *Disquisitio chorographica*. Apud Ugolini, *Thesaurus V*, col. 1123.)

Nous ignorons la part prise par notre Capharnaüm à la guerre juive de 70 et de 132 ap. J.-C., mais il ne serait pas téméraire d'affirmer que ses habitants se soient battus avec un héroïsme digne de leurs frères de race, de cette race belliqueuse et vaillante qui habitait alors la Galilée.¹

Dans les luttes de succession à l'empire, surtout dans la seconde moitié du II^e siècle, les Juifs de Palestine prirent maladroitement parti, tantôt pour l'un, tantôt pour l'autre des rivaux: aussi essayèrent-ils des chatiments très durs de la part des vainqueurs. Nous savons par l'histoire que Antonin le Pieux écrasa les Juifs révoltés. Marc-Aurèle n'a pas été plus tendre à leur égard, quand il accourut en Palestine pour dompter la révolte provoquée par Avidius Cassius. Pris de dégoût pour les Juifs révoltés, il s'écria (c'est Ammien Marcelin qui le raconte): «O Marcomans, o Quades, o Sarmates, j'ai enfin trouvé des gens plus turbulents que vous!»² Quant à Septime Sévère, le Sénat lui décerna le *Triomphe judaïque*, pour le succès obtenu sur les Palestiniens, qui, pendant longtemps, avaient porté les armes en faveur de Pescennius Niger.³ Voilà pourquoi il nous semble très difficile d'admettre que la synagogue de Capharnaüm ait été construite dans la seconde moitié de ce siècle, grâce à la munificence impériale, ainsi que certains auteurs l'ont prétendu. Le silence du Talmud serait inexplicable à ce sujet, et les habitants de Capharnaüm, certes, n'auraient point manqué d'en perpétuer le souvenir par une inscription comme celle de *Khirbet Keisoun*.

Mais alors, à quelle époque précise peut-on faire remonter la construction de la célèbre synagogue de Capharnaüm? Tels qu'ils sont les restes retrouvés du monument peuvent bien être assignés à mon humble avis à deux époques différentes; à savoir, à une époque

¹ Julius Capitolinus, *Ant. Pius ad Diocletianum V* ed. Nisard ap. *Hist. August.* Paris 1876, p. 331b.

² Ammianus Marcellinus, *Historia Romana LXXI*, 33 et 35.

³ Aelius Spartianus, *Pesc. Niger*, ad Dioclet. XVI.

ancienne, très probablement le I^{er} siècle, et une restauration postérieure, peut-être vers la fin du II^e siècle de notre ère.

Nous devons assigner une date approximative à la démolition systématique des figures animales, sculptées si souvent dans la décoration de la synagogue et de ses dépendances. Il est très probable que ce vandalisme ait eu lieu avant l'organisation de la première communauté chrétienne à Capharnaüm, c. à d. avant le IV^e siècle. A son arrivée comme gouverneur de la Galilée, Joseph exigea des magistrats la destruction du palais construit par Antipas, parce qu'il était orné de figures d'animaux ce qui était contraire à la loi. On pourrait se demander si ce mouvement ne s'est pas étendu jusqu'à Capharnaüm? Peut-être pourrait-on songer aussi à une espèce de représaille accomplie par un clan d'orthodoxie plus authentique du voisinage (serait-ce Tibériade?) qui aura voulu donner une leçon à ses corréligionnaires de Capharnaüm beaucoup trop libéraux? Ce qui est sûr, c'est que le monument destiné à recevoir les rouleaux de la Thora, a été déplacé du Nord au Sud, après l'établissement de l'école rabbinique à Tibériade. C'est elle en effet, qui prescrivit que les fidèles se tinssent la face tournée vers le Sud (vers Jérusalem) pendant qu'ils accomplissaient les actes de la liturgie synagogale.

La fondation à Capharnaüm d'une communauté chrétienne organisée ne remonte (nous l'avons dit) qu'au IV^e siècle. Jusqu'alors, dit S. Epiphane, nul Grec, ni Samaritain, ni chrétien n'a été toléré à vivre au milieu de ses habitants, tous Juifs. L'église a été bâtie sur l'emplacement de la maison de S. Pierre, grâce à la bienveillance très grande dont le Comte Joseph de Tibériade jouissait à la cour impériale. Le territoire ecclésiastique de Capharnaüm relevait du siège métropolitain de Scythopolis, qui englobait toute la *Palestina II*. L'histoire ne nous a conservé le nom d'aucun de ses évêques, comme elle a fait pour les sièges limitrophes.

Un document, de saveur antique, utilisé par Pierre-le-Diacre en 1137 dans son *traité sur le lieu saints* parle de cette église et de la synagogue également. La description qu'il en donne montre clairement que le visiteur vise la synagogue de Capharnaüm à

¹ Il ne semble point vraisemblable que l'église eut été bâtie avant 352 ap. J.-C. c. à d. avant que Gallus eut maté d'importance les Juifs rebelles de la Galilée.

laquelle, à la différence des autres synagogues découvertes en Galilée, on accédait par des marches, ce qui nous fournit un argument très important pour l'identification de *Tell-Houm* avec Capharnaüm. Quant à l'église, le pèlerin remarque que son altarium (autel) avait été déchiqueté par les pèlerins, qui par dévotion en avaient enlevé des parcelles. Cela indiquerait que l'église datait de quelques dizaines d'années au moins.

Il n'est pas improbable que pendant la troisième révolte des Samaritains contre Justinien, Capharnaüm aussi, avant sa catastrophe finale, eut à souffrir de la part des insurgés qui ravagèrent villes et villages de la *Palestina II*^a.² Aussi dût-on fortifier la ville de Tibériade, dont les remparts n'offraient plus que des monceaux de décombres.³

À l'invasion des Perses, en 614, Capharnaüm semble ne pas avoir subi les horreurs du pillage et de l'incendie: puisque sur leur passage ils trouvèrent les meilleurs alliés dans les Juifs de Tibériade et du reste de la Galilée.⁴

Parmi les écrivains postérieurs, seul Antonin le Martyr (570) parle de l'église ou basilique érigée sur la maison de S. Pierre, mais de la synagogue il n'est plus question.

Peut-être que dans l'*Hodæporicon* de Willibald (723—726) on y fait allusion en disant «*qu'à Capharnaüm il y a une maison et un grand mur*»: probablement les restes de l'église et de la synagogue. L'une et l'autre étaient donc en état de ruines au VII^e siècle et probablement longtemps au paravant, sans doute à la suite des tremblements de terre, dont les indices sont indéniables.

Pendant le long règne de l'empereur Justinien (527—565) ces cataclysmes se renouvelaient presque chaque année et causaient de grands ravages dans la Syrie et la Palestine. Nous croyons cependant que Capharnaüm fut entièrement détruite, comme Tibériade, par le tremblement de terre signalé une trentaine d'années après la conquête arabe c. à. d. vers 665—667.⁵

¹ Tout porte à croire que ce document est de S. Sylvie d'Oquitaine.

² Couret. *La Palestine sous les empereurs grecs*, p. 137.

³ *Idem* p. 186.

⁴ Couret *op. cit.* p. 241.

⁵ Lung, תורה דרך, Jerusalem 1892, p. 227.

Lorsque la Syrie fut conquise par les Arabes en 636 les Juifs et les Chrétiens furent chassés de Tibériade: et rien n'empêche de croire qu'ils soient venus jusqu'à Capharnaüm pour y trouver un refuge.

Les uns y étaient attirés par les souvenirs évangéliques, les autres par les célèbres tombeaux des deux Rabbis Nahoum et Tanhoum. Entre les lampes trouvées pendant les dernières fouilles, quelques unes sont de l'époque byzantine tardive, de même que les monnaies, malheureusement trop rares. Un fragment de lampe porte l'inscription connue لله الم الملكة الله. Il est possible que la colonie des fugitifs ait été rejointe bientôt par des Musulmans, qui ont partagé avec eux la beauté du rivage et la fertilité de la campagne. Une partie des maisons, retrouvées au Sud de la synagogue, ont été sûrement construites avec du matériel plus ancien, tombé à la suite des tremblements de terre. Dans les murs on a mélangé pêle-mêle du matériel fruste avec des anciens montants de porte etc., en vue d'obtenir des habitations solides avec la moindre dépense.

Au VIII^e siècle Capharnaüm a dû perdre complètement son importance, puisqu'elle n'est pas mentionnée dans le *Commemoratorium de casis Dei* (808): chose d'autant plus digne de remarque, que l'auteur n'a pas manqué de noter l'église de la proche *Heptapegon* et du monastère contigu, qui était habité par dix moines.

A partir du IX^e siècle jusqu'aux Croisades, règne un silence parfait au sujet de Capharnaüm, soit à cause de la difficulté de voyager, soit encore à cause de l'hostilité des Musulmans de ces parages envers les Juifs et les Chrétiens. Les derniers, qui ont mentionné Capharnaüm et laissé une petite note de son état d'abandon, sont Burchard du Mont Sion O. P. (1283—1285) et Isaac Chélo (1334). Le premier nous dit que «Capharnaum, jadis glorieuse, était dans un état misérable, ayant à peine sept maison de pauvres pêcheurs».¹ Le pèlerin israélite nous dit que «*Kefar-Nahoum* était un village en ruines et qu'il y avait un ancien tombeau qu'on dit être celui de Nahoum-le-Vieux».²

Depuis lors l'ancienne ville de Capharnaüm ne garde plus que le nom, déformé en celui de *Tall-Houm*, évidemment la corruption de

¹ Burchardi de Monte Sion, *Descriptio T. S.*, ed., Canisius, t. IV, p. 35—36.

² Cormoly, *Itinéraires de T. S.*, Bruxelles 1847, p. 310.

Tanhoun par un phénomène phonétique très fréquent chez les Arabes. Cette étymologie nous paraît la plus acceptable, parceque, comme le Dr. Macalister en fait la remarque, le site n'est pas un *tell* (monticule) mais plutôt un *khirbet* c. à d. un amas de ruines dans un terrain plat.

Voilà, d'après les données historiques très sobres que nous possédons, un rapide aperçu de la dernière période de l'histoire de Capharnaüm, période de décadence après l'apogée de la prospérité et du bien-être. La Custodie Franciscaine de Terre-Sainte a déjà fouillée une partie assez importante des ruines de Tel-Houm, et avec les résultats les plus encourageants. Il me reste de former un vœux; c'est que le Département d'Antiquités de Palestine, ou un des savants instituts archéologiques veuille prendre sur lui la tâche de soulever quelques plis du linceul, qui est encore étendu sur Capharnaüm, qui restera toujours aussi cher aux disciples de Jésus, qu'aux enfants d'Israël.

AIGUPTOS: A DERIVATION AND SOME SUGGESTIONS

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TO the Greeks the Valley and Delta of the Nile were known by the collective name of *Aiguptos*. This is the sense in which the word has been bequeathed to us, but there are several indications that its original scope was more restricted.

In Homer the word is generally applied to the Nile itself, the name *Neilos* appearing for the first time in Hesiod;¹ but the references which Homer² has occasion to make speak always of deep sea voyages, of swift sea-faring galleys, checked or urged on by fate in some expedition to the Delta creeks.

Aiguptos is thus synonymous with the Egyptian coast-line and this is confirmed by the important statement of Herodotus³ who says that to the Ionians *Aiguptos* meant the Delta only; the rest of the Nile Valley was divided by them (incorrectly as he himself thought) into Arabia on the east and Libya on the west.

This Ionian testimony is not lightly to be dismissed, for the Ionians by the consent of most Greek writers⁴ were descendants of the Pre-Hellenic creators of the so-called Mycenaean culture and must have had trade—or pirate—relations with Egypt for many centuries before Herodotus' time. How is it that they never heard or used the Eastern name of *Misraim*? This name in various forms was long familiar to Mesopotamia and Syria, and is of course retained to-day in the form of *al-Misr*. It must have been the name usually employed

¹ Cf. *Theogony*, 337.

² Cf. *Odyssey* IV, 351 (sense indeterminate), ib. 477 and 581 (definite reference to the Nile).

³ Herodotus II, 15.

⁴ Herod. I, 145; Thucydides I, 56—58. Cf. Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, 1901, p. 95.

in the later, as in the earlier, Dynastic times: how is it that it never reached Ionian ears?

Two other problems present themselves. Why this restriction of the name *Aiguptos* to the Delta, and why this apparent ignorance of the historic kingdom which united the two banks of the Nile as far south as the first Cataract? Not only is *Aiguptos* not synonymous with *Misraim* but the very titles of Arabia and Libya ignore in the most significant manner facts which must have been familiar to descendants of the pre-Hellenic Pelasgi. The theory briefly advanced in this paper to account for the questions raised above depends primarily on a most striking equation. For some reason it does not appear to have been noticed that not only is the name *Aiguptos* preserved to-day in the abbreviated form of *Kibt* (*Kopt*) but that there existed in Egypt from pre-historic times a *nome* which bore the still obscure name of *Kbti* (*Koptos*).

The *Kopt*s were originally so called because they considered themselves to be the pure original *Egyptians* who differed on certain points of Christian theology (into which we need not enter) from others who were for the most part newcomers to the country. That their name is derived from, or in some manner intimately related to, the Greek *Aiguptos* has, I think, never been questioned; what makes the equation so singular is that in using this abbreviated form they seem, as by some miracle, to have gone back *beyond* the Greek name and sounded a most remarkable echo.

For *Kopt*s have nothing to do with *Koptos*, which to-day is the modern *Kēt* and (curiously enough) produces some of our best archaeological workmen, all of them Moslems and none of them in the least degree interested in Christian metaphysics!

The word *Aiguptos* itself seems to demand an underlying *K* as indeed is shewn in its derivative *Kopt*. Derivations therefore such as the once popular *Het Ka Ptah* (the house of the *Ka* of *Ptah*) must be rejected. This is perhaps beside the point in the present circumstances, for it is clearly our duty to investigate the identical form *Kbti* and try to discover if there is any reason for its having drifted as a national name to the Delta.

Here we enter highly debateable ground. Nevertheless the *nome* of *Koptos* presents certain features of such peculiar significance that we cannot exclude them from our present discussion.

In the first place the geographical position of the *nome* is an immensely important one: it stands in the face of the Wadi Hammamât through which it can control the Red Sea trade or meet invaders from the east or south.

In the second place its god was the ithyphallic Min, a deity whose characteristics belong to the Aegaeon, and not to the historic Egyptian, world. Osiris, the only god who shares them, came from the Syrian coast and his affinities are with the Anatolian-Mediterranean groups of Attis and Ma, Adonis and Ishtar, the Samothracian Mysteries of the Cabeiri, and the Thracian cult of Dionysus. Figures of Min have been discovered¹ which belong to pre-historic (pre-Dynastic) times. In the historic period he enjoyed a certain prestige but he is the patron of an older race and his later fame rose partly from his oracle and partly, no doubt, from his resemblance to Osiris.

In the third place it is just in the neighbourhood of Koptos, at Ballas, Nagada, Diospolis, Hou, Abydos etc. that modern researches have disclosed the most abundant remains of a primitive, possibly aboriginal, race of Mediterranean type, whose art, whose pottery, and whose burial practices differ *toto coelo* from those of the historic Egyptians.² These remains, thought at first by Petrie, their original discoverer, to be those of a new race entering Egypt in the Dynastic period, are now known from one end of the country to the other and it is recognised to-day that they constitute our chief evidence for the earliest population of the Nile Valley. Their presence in the neighbourhood of Koptos, even though they were found there in the greatest profusion, is not in itself a convincing proof of that city's primary importance in primitive times; but taken together with other facts it forms an important link in our chain of argument. The legends of ancient Egypt supply another.³ They tell us of an invasion from the south by certain *Mesniu* or Metal-workers who were followers of the sky-god Horus and they name the neighbourhood of Denderah⁴ as the scene of the combat between the intruders and the native

¹ Breasted, *History of Egypt*, 1920, p. 28.

² Petrie and Quibell, *Nagada and Ballas*, 1896. Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, 1901. Randall-MacIver and Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos*, 1902.

³ Budge, *History of Egypt*, 1902, I, p. 44. King, *History of Sumer and Akkad*, 1916, p. 324.

⁴ Budge *ib.* p. 45. It was called *Khatâ-neter* "the god's slaughter."

population, and of the slaughter of the latter. It needs little imagination to infer that this invasion, if it ever occurred at all, took place by way of the Wadi Hammamât. Broadly speaking, the stone-using aborigines went down before the metal-users from the Red Sea, and these latter, who may not have been as numerous as they were superior in culture, formed a kind of bridge-head in the Thebaid and thence gradually extended their power to the north and south. This invasion has been denied on anthropological and even on archaeological grounds. Both must be briefly dealt with here.

The anthropological evidence is not decisive. If it be granted that investigations in the Thebaid by Thomson and MacIver¹ shew little or no change in the physical characteristics of the population, it is a fact, none the less, that Elliott Smith,² who examined similar remains in the same district as well as at Ghiza, notices a gradual intrusion of a new type of man which he calls the Ghiza type. And even if this does not represent the metal-working invaders, there seems no reason why these themselves should not have belonged to the same *race* as the aboriginal inhabitants of Egypt. Anthropology is therefore powerless to decide the question. Archaeology yields a more certain answer.³ Although to-day there is a strong tendency to dismiss the invasion theory as untenable, those who do so must account for the fact that from the first Dynasty onwards we find (1) hieroglyphic writing appearing, as if by magic, in an already matured system; (2) skilled carving in ivory, sculpture, and bas-relief springing up "as if born in a moment;" (3) the introduction of the potter's wheel together with a notable decay in the old pre-historic designs; (4) the use of brick and the construction of tombs to represent chambers instead of their being as before mere pits in the ground; (5) the appearance of highly skilled *metal working* as in the tomb of Zer; and (6) an apparent alteration in popular taste as regards pottery and articles of dress.

A writer has said of the first Dynasty: "This is the life of the Egyptians and these are the true beginnings of Egyptian History."⁴

¹ Thomson and Randall-MacIver, *The Ancient Races of the Thebaid*, 1905.

² Elliott-Smith, *The Ancient Egyptians*, 1911. Cf. Keane, *Man: Past and Present*, 1920, p. 447.

³ The facts are well summarised by Thomson and Randall-MacIver *op. cit.* pp. 11 sqq.

⁴ *Ancient Races of the Thebaid*, p. 13.

It hardly needs to be added that it is from this period that the pre-Dynastic practice of burial in the contracted "embryo" position gradually goes out and is replaced by the mummification of the extended corpse. What can these facts mean, when taken in conjunction with the other evidence, but that a new and superior culture (even if brought by a race of the same physical affinities) has forced its way into the Nile Valley and initiated the historical Egyptian life? Add to this two facts: (1) that the earliest Dynasties sprang up according to tradition at Thinis¹ (their tombs have been found at Abydos), and (2) that to Manetho² the great monarch who began the Dynastic line, Menes, is also the land's first "founder," *Mestraïmus*; or, in other words, that Menes the first Dynast introduces the name Mišrain.

Now if we accept the ruling of those laws which have been laid down concerning the observed influences of geographical environment,³ we shall look, in the case of such an invasion as this, for some "misery spot" at it is called, some inaccessible region of swamp, fen, mountain or desert to which the hardier and less reconcilable elements of the conquered race retire. We have no time to consider the numerous instances of this withdrawal in history; it will be sufficient to mention Brittany, which still retains the ancient tribal name and speech, or our own English fen country which long harboured refugees from the Danish and Saxon invasions. Such a place in Egypt is the Delta amongst whose lakes and marshes Amasis himself in later days found a temporary refuge. In the dawn of Egyptian history it lay under the protection of the great god Set, who is actually one of the symbols of Lower Egypt and as such "appears sometimes with (his rival) Horus, preceding the King's personal name, the two gods thus representing the north and south" and "dividing the land between them"⁴ as the famous myth of their combat relates. Set is therefore, like Min, a pre-Mišrain god; it is in the Delta that he

¹ Manetho as quoted by Julius Africanus and Eusebius. Muller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. Didot, p. 539.

² Manetho Eusebii F. H. G., p. 526. Manetho Syncelli F. H. G., p. 535.

³ Cf. Semple, *Influences of Geographic Environment*, 1914, p. 94:—"We find the refugee folk living in pile villages built over the water, in deserts, in swamps, mangrove thickets, very high mountains, marshy deltas, and remote or barren islands."

⁴ Breasted, *History of Ancient Egypt*, p. 38.

retains his power; and it cannot be a mere coincidence that from the Hyksos invasion onwards he becomes identified with the Anatolian Sutekh.

The Delta, with its mixed population of Libyan Neith-worshippers, Mediterranean Osiris-worshippers, pre-Misraim Set-worshippers (if these two last are not to be identified), persisted always as a thorn in the side of Dynastic Egypt. It was indeed long before "the sacred Uraeus of the north took its place beside the protecting Vulture of the south"¹ and if the Union of the two Lands was symbolised by the name *Misraim*, there were not lacking forces in this hostile zone to contest the title and challenge at every period the supremacy of the followers of Horus.

To sum up, it is suggested that the name *Aiguptos* was derived from the pre-Misraim inhabitants who called their capital *Kebti* and their land and even their river probably by the same name. The word possibly meant "black" in allusion to the darkness of the alluvial soil. The later Egyptian K-M-I (preserved in Al-chemy) bore this meaning and we have Hesychius' authority for the equation αἰγυπτῶσαι = "to make black". Be that as it may, we have historical, archaeological, ethnological, and traditional evidence for our hypothesis. A stubborn nucleus of the conquered race, retiring like the Bretons to a less accessible region, seem to have preserved their identity and cherished amongst the ruins of their past the name of their country and the hostility of their gods. That name the traders from over-seas learned in the coastal ports; may it not have been malicious design which concealed from them for so long the existence of an ancient kingdom in Upper Egypt even at a time when its glories were on the wane?

There is, at first glance, one refractory point which seems to challenge the hypothesis advanced above. It is the initial diphthong *AI*. If *Gyptos* be *Kebti*, where does this prefix find its origin? One thing we may say with certainty, it cannot have been a fundamental part of the name. The *Koptos* dropped it, the *nome* of *Koptos* never possessed it. It seems therefore to have qualified the *nome* in some manner, to have been an element capable of detachment from the essential root—to have been, we may even say, true of *AI-gyptos* in

¹ Breasted ib.

the Ionian sense but not true of *Ḳoptos* or the *Ḳopts*. A daringly simple solution stares us in the face; indeed it is so simple that one propounds it with every possible trepidation. It is well known how large a Semitic element is preserved in the ancient Egyptian language and, not to press this point, how loan words normally creep in. Are we dealing with one here? There is no *prima facie* objection to such a solution, for language ever rises superior to differences of race and imposes itself often through the will of a conquerer or the interchange of commerce. In this case, then, one cannot help recalling the Hebrew word which in our A. V. is translated "country" or "island" and in the R. V. more correctly "coast". This word is *Ai*, 'S. When we see the name *Ai-Kaphtor* (for example) we can hardly resist replacing the *Kaphtor* by a *Ḳebt* and studying the result:—*Ai-Ḳebt*, the coast of *Ḳebt*, the coast of the Nile mouths, the Delta, the land or river to which the ships of Menelaus came, the region which the Ionians knew and have handed down as *AI-GUPTOS*.

THE ANCIENT CITY OF PHILOTERIA (BETH YERAH)

L. SUKENIK

(JERUSALEM)

ON the western shore of the Sea of Chinnereth, at the southern end, in a striking situation, at the very mouth of the Jordan,¹ is found a large mound, whose extent and character point to the former existence here of an important town. The narrow pass along the lake-shore widens out into a small plain at this point. The nearness of the Lake and the Jordan, with their abundance of fish, and the fertile plain of the Jordan, which begins here, furnished

¹ With regard to the mouth of the Jordan at Chinnereth, it is interesting to note the description given by the Russian pilgrim, Abbot Daniel, who visited Palestine in the year 1106 (Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, *Pilgrimage of the Russian Abbot Daniel*, p. 60): "The Jordan flows from the Sea of Tiberias in two streams, which foam along in a marvellous way; one of these is called *Jor* and the other *Dan*. Thus the Jordan flows from the Sea of Tiberias in two streams, which are three bow-shots apart, and which, after a separation of about half a verst, reunite as one river, which is called Jordan from the names of the two arms —. At the source fish abound, and there two stone bridges, very solidly built upon arches through which the Jordan flows, span the two streams." Daniel, as he was traveling northward from Beisân, seems to have seen the Jarmuk and erroneously taken it for an arm of the Jordan. The two bridges which he saw were presumably the Jisr el-Majâmi' and the Jisr es-Sidd, now ruined, near the modern Jewish colony of Betania. Since the distances do not agree at all with the facts, the good abbot evidently drew upon his imagination for details. I cannot therefore agree with Dalman, who in *Orte und Wege Jesu*², p. 159, says that in the time of Daniel the Jordan flowed out of the lake in two streams, which encircled Khirbet Kerak. Such a unique position of the town, situated on an island, would certainly be mentioned somewhere in the literature, but of this there is no trace. What Dalman took to be the ancient bed of the northern arm of the Jordan is only an insignificant depression, through which water flows during inundations. The wall which crosses this depression has no arches, which would be necessary in case the water really flowed here in ancient times. Daniel's stone bridges were, according to his express statement, built upon arches.

opportunity for the development of a large settlement. The road from the north to Scythopolis (Beth-shan) passed by the ancient city. Accordingly, we are not surprised to find there extensive traces of an ancient city. The ruins extend for a kilometer along the lake-shore, and the remains of an ancient wall, of buildings projecting above the surface of the ground, of basalt pillars, rock-hewn tombs, the remains of an aqueduct which brought water to the city from the Wādi Fejjās, etc. prove conclusively that a large and important town was located here. We can hardly be wrong in asserting that this is the site of the most important ancient town on the western shore of the Sea, with the exception of Tiberias, which was founded at a later period. The Arabs call the mound Khirbet Kerak ("ruins of the fortress"); at present it is included within the territory belonging to the Jewish colony of Chinnereth.

What was the ancient town whose remains are found here? Unfortunately, the majority of Palestinian topographers have identified it with ancient Taricheae, mentioned frequently by Josephus in connection with the Jewish war against the Romans. For decades a violent dispute raged in regard to the site of Taricheae. There were many who stubbornly maintained the identification of Taricheae with Khirbet Kerak, although every impartial reader of Josephus (who is the only one to be considered, since Pliny wrote from second and third hand) sees at once from his descriptions that Taricheae must have been located north of Tiberias.¹ Finally Professor Dalman has given up the identification of Taricheae with Khirbet Kerak, which he had long accepted, along with most scholars.² Dr. Albright will publish in the second volume of the *Annual* of the American School an elaborate résumé of the controversy, with a defence of the Mejdél theory, which we may now regard as absolutely certain.

It is therefore possible to state positively that Khirbet Kerak was not the site of Taricheae. Let us then try to reconstruct the history of the place, and discover its ancient name from the literary sources. Neubauer was the first to identify the site with Beth Yerah, mentioned in the Talmud in connection with the Jordan Valley.³ The Talmud says that the Jordan, or better, the valley of the Jordan begins

¹ See *Bell. Jud.* II 20, 6; 21, 3; III, 10, 1; 10, 3; 10, 10.

² *Orte und Wege Jesu*², p. 160.

³ *La géographie du Talmud*, pp. 31, 215.

south of Beth Yerah: *אין יררן אלא מבית-ירר ולמטה* (*Bekhôrôt* 55a). This statement and other passages of the Talmud, where Beth Yerah and Sinnabris (the Šinnabrah of the Arabic geographers, and modern Sinnabrah or Sinn en-Nabrah) are mentioned together show clearly that Khirbet Kerak is Beth Yerah.

The name Beth Yerah ("House of the moon") points to a pre-Israelite origin; it is also found in the Amarna Tablets as the name of a town near Byblos (Bit-arḥa). At the southern end of the same valley in which Beth Yerah is situated we find another Canaanite town with a name of similar import—Jericho (ירח). During the time of the Second Temple, up until the Maccabaeen period, Beth Yerah, like the rest of Galilee, remained outside the narrow Jewish boundaries. We may assume that the population of Beth Yerah was a mixture of Aramaeans and Canaanites or Phoenicians, with a small Jewish element. The world-conqueror, Alexander of Macedon, who cherished the desire of spreading Greek culture over his wide realm, found in this region a fertile field for his activities. While the little people of the Jews showed bitter hostility toward the Hellenizing plans of the Greek kings, the influence of Greek culture spread rapidly in northern Palestine and Transjordan. At that time were laid the foundations of the Hellenistic cities which remained as thorns in the flesh of Jewry during the course of centuries. The Egyptian kingdom of the Ptolemies, to whose lot Palestine fell, exerted a great influence in the direction of Hellenizing the country. Many cities gave up their native names and took new Greek ones. The new name which Beth Yerah assumed is found in a passage of Polybius, who wrote in the second century B. C. He describes the campaign of Antiochus the Great in Palestine in 216, and mentions Philoteria in the following words (Polybius, V, 70, Shuckburgh's translation): He (Antiochus) therefore broke up his camp again and continued his march (from Sidon) towards Philoteria: ordering Diognetus, his navarch, to sail back with his ships to Tyre. Now Philoteria is situated right upon the shores of the lake into which the river Jordan discharges itself, and from which it issues out again into the plains surrounding Scythopolis. The surrender of these two cities to him encouraged him to prosecute his further designs; because the country subject to them was easily able to supply his whole army with provisions and everything necessary for the campaign in abundance.

The name "Philoteria," which is also found in Egypt, was, as it seems, given to the city in order to flatter Ptolemy Philadelphus,



Fig. 1. Head of Tyche.

whose sister was called Philoteria.¹ So, also, Rabbath Ammon changed its name to Philadelphia during his reign.²

¹ I do not know why Dalman (*loc. cit.*) calls Philoteria "eine mazedonische Gründung." It is much more probable that the old town, Beth Yerah, simply changed its name, adopting the new Greek name to please its Ptolemaic suzerain. Cf. Strabo, XVI, iv, 5.

² That Philadelphia remained an Aramaean town, in spite of its new Greek varnish, is shown by the Gerza Papyri; cf. Vincent, *Revue Biblique*, 1920, p. 189.

Meanwhile the small Jewish state gained in strength as a result of the national movement under the Asmonaeans, and began to extend



Fig. 2. Head of Tyche.

its boundaries in all directions. The Maccabaeen conqueror, Alexander Jannaeus, conquered Galilee in the course of his reign; among the cities which a late Byzantine compiler, George Syncellus, evidently using an ancient source, includes among his conquests is Philoteria. Jannaeus tried to strengthen Judaism by settling Jews in the Hellenistic cities, but these efforts were soon frustrated by the Roman conquest. The Romans gave autonomy to all the Hellenistic cities,

and under their rule, other similar towns were founded, while older cities took Greek or Roman names. Beside Beth Yerah, whose Greek name seems by this time to have fallen into disuse, there was founded another Hellenistic town with the name of Sinnabris, or Sennabris.¹ The Hellenistic cities did not participate in the wars between the Jews and the Romans, and Josephus relates that when Vespasian led his army from Scythopolis to subdue the rebels in Tiberias and Taricheae he pitched his camp at Sennabris,² which with its sister town, Beth Yerah, remained friendly to the Romans. Josephus mentions Sennabris, but omits the Hebrew name of the adjoining town.

In the Talmudic literature, Beth Yerah and Sennabris are mentioned several times in connection with the name "Chinnereth" of the Bible; with reference to Deut. 3 17, "From Chinnereth to the Sea of the Arabah," Rabbi Eleazar explained Chinnereth as "Yerah," and R. Samuel as "Beth Yerah," while R. Judah son of R. Simon identified it with Sennabris (Sinnabrai) and Beth Yerah together. R. Levi said that Chinnereth referred to the boundary of Beth-shan.³

In another passage of the Jerusalem Talmud we have: "R. Levi asked: In Joshua it is written, and from the plain to the sea of Chinneroth (pl.). Were there two Gennesarets? No, there were two autonomous cities (אבטוניות) like Beth Yerah and Sennabris (צנבריי) and the walled city (כרך) was ruined and became heathen."⁴

From the first passage it appears that both places were mentioned in close connection with Beth-shan. We find the same thing in

¹ The name is Semitic; the forms *Sinnabrî* and *Sennabrî* are doublets of a type frequently found when there is a ז and a ר in the same word; owing to partial assimilation. The etymon is obscure; one thinks of Heb. *senappîr*, „fin," but the name is more probably derived from the stem צנר, with a compensatory nasalization: cf. Ar. *ṣabbârah*, "rugged tract covered with fragments of basalt" (W. F. A.).

² *Bell. Jud.* III, 9, 7. This is the clearest proof that Taricheae was not Khirbet Kerak, since Vespasian could not have camped under the very walls of the former without some mention of the fact being made by Josephus. If the identification were correct, the passage in Josephus would become wholly unintelligible.

³ *Ber. Rabba*, 98, 18: שמואל; ר' אליעזר אומר ירח; ר' שמואל; ר' אומר בית ירח; ר' יהודה בר' סימון אומר סנבראי ובית ירח. אומר ר' לוי על ההיא: תחום בית שאן ושמה כנרת.

⁴ *Jer. Megillah*, 2a: התיב ר' לוי, והתיב "והערבה עד ים כנרת" — מעתה שני גוניסירות — התיב, או לא היו אלא שני אבטוניות כגון בית ירח וצנבריי — וחרב הכרך ונעשה של גוים.

Polybius, who mentions Philoteria and Scythopolis together, while Josephus says that Vespasian passed by Sennabris on his way to Tiberias from Scythopolis.

The second passage shows that the two sister-cities Beth Yerah and Sennabris were designated as autonomous cities. Now in the Talmud the terms *אבטליות* and *אבטוניות* are always used to denote Hellenistic cities, corresponding to the Greek terms *αὐτόνομοι* and *αὐτοτελείς*.¹

In other passages Beth Yerah appears as Yerah and Arianh; the environs of Arianh (*תחום אריה*) are specially mentioned, which is otherwise only the case when a town is of some importance. In the neighborhood are also mentioned such places as the Gubâtâ d'Arianh and the Hammât Arianh. Apparently the hot springs of Tiberias were mentioned in connection with Arianh before the founding of the Hellenistic Tiberias.²

The Romans fortified Beth Yerah, and the importance of the place as a fortress outlasted its significance otherwise, so the Aramaean population called it simply *Kerâkh*, "fortress," (see above), whence the modern Arabic name *Kerak* is derived. That this conclusion is correct is proved by the fact that the Talmud employs *Kerâkh* as a name of the place.

In connection with Sennabris the Arabic historians describe the defeat of Baldwin I in 1113. On his march to reconquer Jerusalem from the Crusaders Saladin encamped at Sennabris (Sinnabrah).

At the close of the summer of 1921 I was invited by the Commission for Educational Work among the Jewish Laborers in Palestine to deliver some lectures on the Sea of Galilee and its surroundings before the agricultural coöperative societies and the Jewish pioneers who were building the road between Semakh and Tâbghah. I arrived at Chinnereth while they were engaged in road-construction near Khirbet Kerak. Since the road grazed the edge of the tell I had an opportunity to examine the débris, and discovered pot-sherds of the Arabic, Roman-Byzantine, and earlier periods. Some of these fragments are now in the rooms of the coöperative society in Chinnereth. I also found fragments of Greek and Arabic inscriptions, and a Jewish tomb-stone of a later period. The most interesting

¹ Krauss, *קדמוניות התלמוד*, Vol. 1, p. 28.

² Klein, *Beiträge zur Geographie und Geschichte Galiläas*, p. 90.

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¹ Krauss, *קדמוניות התלמוד*, Vol. 1, p. 28.

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find is a marble head of a Greek Tyche, or Fortune, of the first centuries A. D., which points again to a Hellenistic settlement here. It would be most desirable to have an archaeological society take up the task of excavating Khirbet Kerak. In this way only will it be possible to know whether the ancient Canaanite town of Chinnereth is buried under the débris of the later Beth Yerah or Philoteria.

* * *

(Mr. Sukenik has secured several fragmentary inscriptions from Khirbet Kerak, which are appended here. First there is a very

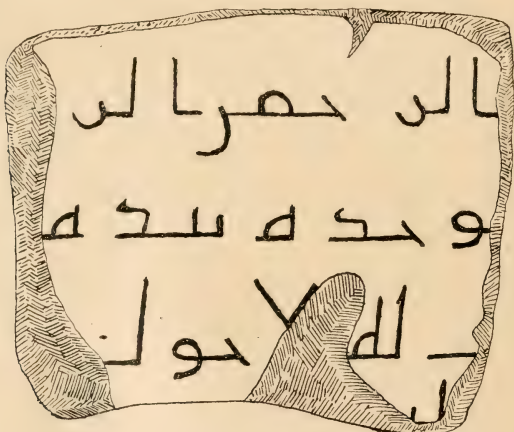


Fig. 3. Kufic inscription from Khirbet Kerak.

archaic Kufic inscription, which, as Dr. Mayer assures me, must date back to the first or second centuries of the Hijrah. The present fragment measures $16 \times 14 \times 5$ cm., but the original text was about 40 cm. long, and at least 20 cm. wide. Unfortunately only the pious introductory formula has survived, but another fragment may turn up. The stone is marble. I have to thank my friend 'Omar Effendi for assistance in establishing the exact formula employed.

[بسم الله] الرحمن الرحيم
[الحمد لله] وحده نيده [الملك]
[لا شريك] له لا حول [ولا قوة]
[لا به]

"In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful,
Praise be to God, the only One, in Whose hands is the dominion;
He has no companion; there is no might nor power
Except in Him . . ."

A fragment of a marble inscription, which probably once was inserted in an ornamental frieze above a door, runs as follows:

[. . . το]ῦ οἴκου δ[. . .]

From Beth Gan, a small Jewish colony south of Yemma, and a few miles southwest of Chinnereth, there comes this fragment of a tomb inscription, copied from a good photograph.

[Ἐνθάδε κεῖται (?) Μαθ]θαῖος[. . .]

[]ὁ ἀρχ[ιμανδρίτης (?)]

[]θελ μ[]

[]ἔτος[. . .]

[“Here lies (?)] Matthew [] the arch[imandrite (or archdeacon, etc.) . . .] [who lived . . .] years []” — W. F. A.)

PALESTINE IN THE EARLIEST HISTORICAL PERIOD

W. F. ALBRIGHT
(JERUSALEM)

PALESTINE does not come into the full light of history until the Egyptian occupation, which lasted intermittently from about 1550 B. C. until 1170, when the last great conquering Pharaoh, Rameses III, died. The first generation to emerge clearly from the shadows lived in the first half of the fifteenth century, when Tuthmosis III subjugated Palestine, repeating the little-known expeditions of his grandfather, Tuthmosis I. A century later, under the Pharaohs Amenophis III and IV, a flood of illumination bursts upon us, thanks to the rich information contained in the Amarna Tablets. A little more than a century after the close of the Amarna period, probably about 1230 B. C.¹ the history of the Israelite people begins with the entrance into the Promised Land.

Yet we can no longer speak of the fifteen hundred years which elapsed before the rise of the Eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt as belonging to the prehistory of Palestine, since the number of references to the land and its immediate neighbours in hieroglyphic and cuneiform literature of the third millennium is slowly but steadily increasing. Moreover, the excavations of Gezer, Lachish, Taanach, Megiddo, and Jericho—now also of Beth-shan—enable us, when they are properly interpreted, to form a clear and even vivid picture of the vicissitudes of early Palestinian culture, and of the foreign conquests and influences to which it was subjected. We will, therefore, in this paper, survey the evidence at our command for the period lying between 3000 and 1600 B. C.—the morning twilight of Palestinian history,—considering first the external monumental

¹ See the discussion in the *Journal*, Vol. I, pp. 62—66.

evidence, and secondly the conclusions to be drawn from the local excavations.

Since Palestine lies athwart the road of commerce and communication from Mesopotamia to Egypt, it must have been profoundly influenced by these two centres of our earliest civilization, and we should expect to find traces of this influence well back in the aeneolithic age. The time has long since passed when Egyptologists and Assyriologists could live in separate compartments, each unaffected by the work of the other. It is now certain that a profound Mesopotamian influence was exerted on Egypt in the fourth millennium, and probable that in the first centuries of the third millennium the phenomenal development of Egyptian art was echoed in Babylonia.¹ We should expect some explicit testimony to the relations which undoubtedly existed between the two countries during the age of the Dynasty of Akkad (c. 2950—2750). The long reigns of the first and fourth kings of this dynasty, Sargon I and Naram-Sin, brought about a great expansion of Mesopotamian political power, as we know now from numerous inscriptions of these monarchs, as well as documents of a later date, describing their exploits or glorifying them.

The conquests of Sargon, during the fifty-five years of his reign, extended far and wide in all directions; he claims to have conquered the West from the Silver Mountains (the Taurus) to the Cedar Forest (Mount Lebanon). However, these districts, though valuable economic assets to Babylonia, by no means represented the actual limits of his raids. In central Asia Minor, Sargon founded the Babylonian commercial colony of Ganiš or Kaniš (Kül Tepe) on the great Anatolian trade-route. His activities in connection with his conquest of Cappadocia and the foundation of the colony of merchants (*mârê tamkari*) in Ganiš are celebrated in an epic entitled "The King of Battle" (*šar tamkari*), portions of which have been found at

¹ Hommel has long stressed the fact that sporadic Mesopotamian influences existed in early Egypt, but his tendency to overrate their importance, and even to derive Egyptian civilization from Babylonia created an opposition which led to the opposite extreme. Now we have, in Langdon's valuable paper in *Jour. of Eg. Arch.*, VII, 133—155, an excellent resumé of the subject, with many new contributions. After Langdon's work, it cannot be doubted that Mesopotamian influence on predynastic Egypt was very strong, and that the brilliant development of Egyptian art in the early dynastic period had a reflex in Babylonia.

Assur, as well as at Tell el-Amarna (in Hittite orthography), thus appearing to have made a tremendous impression on contemporaries. The city of Buršahanda, mentioned frequently in the tablet from Tell el-Amarna, appears constantly in the business documents of the colony at Ganiš from the second half of the third millennium as Buruṣḫatim, the Buruṣḫanda of the history of Narām-Sin (CT XIII, 44) and the Barsuhanta of the Hittite chronicles.¹ In the southwest, also, Sargon's campaigns extended beyond Mari, or northeastern Syria, and Ibla, or northwestern Syria, over Lebanon to Yarmuti, the ancient name of Philistia and Sharon.² Later traditions, preserved in the omen tablets, state that Sargon I also crossed the Western Sea (Mediterranean), but as the King Chronicle says instead that he crossed the Eastern Sea (Persian Gulf) it is unwise to stress these assertions.

The conquests of Narām-Sin (c. 2875—2820) exceeded those of his illustrious great-grandfather in all directions. To the east they included Baḥrein,³ Elam, and the Zagros, where he set up his stele on Mount Tibar. In Asia Minor he came to the rescue of the beleaguered colonists at Ganiš, and according to a Hittite text

¹ See Ehelolf, *Orient. Literaturz.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 121.

² In an article to appear in the *Jour. of the Am. Or. Soc.* the writer has given new evidence for this location of Yarmuta, in addition to that presented JEA VI, 92, and VII, 81. Amarna, No. 296 seems to require the location of both Gaza and Joppa in Yarmuta, under the direct authority of its prefect, Yanhamu. Sayce's view, JEA VI, 296, that Yarmuta was in the heart of northern Syria is based upon a series of errors and misunderstandings which have been exposed in the paper to appear in JAOS. The "classical Armuthia" with which he combines Yarmuta does not even exist, but is based upon a note of Tompkins, *Trans. of the Soc. of Bib. Arch.*, Vol. IX, 242, where the latter suggests the identification of Yarmuta with the little modern village of Armuthia (properly Armûdja) an hour south of Killis. Langdon, JEA VII, 139, n. 2, states his agreement with the writer's position.

³ Since Langdon still holds to his old identification of Tilmun with the coast of Persia, we may refer again to the treatment of the evidence in *Am. Jour. of Sem. Lang.*, Vol. XXXV, 182—185. Tilmun was certainly an island in the Persian Gulf, sacred from the earliest times. With this agrees the fact that Baḥrein is covered with an extraordinary number of Babylonian burial mounds. Its distance from the old mouth of the Euphrates coincides exactly with Sargon III's statement that it was thirty double-hours, or sixty sailing (not marching) hours away, which would correspond to a distance of 250—350 miles by water. Baḥrein is now about 275—300 miles from the Babylonian coast; 2600 years ago the distance was at least fifty miles greater.

recently deciphered by Forrer, defeated a coalition of seventeen Anatolian kings who had "rebelled" against him. A tangible proof of his wars in Armenia is afforded by the discovery of his stele found *in situ* near Diarbekr in southwestern Armenia. His greatest victory was gained early in his reign, after consolidating his dominions in Mesopotamia. This was the defeat, and apparently capture of Manum or Manium king of Magan. As the writer has shown in a series of papers, it is probable that Magan denotes Egypt, known then, or a little later, to the Babylonians as Šiddiri, probably a corruption of the same Egyptian word from which Semitic Mišri, later Hebrew Mišrayim, is derived.¹ The writer's additional view

¹ The writer's position has been stated and defended JEA VI, 89—98, 295; VII, 80—86; and in a paper, "New Light on Magan and Meluḥḥa," to appear in JAOS. A number of scholars have come out in opposition, especially Sayce, JEA VI, 296; Hall, JEA VII, 40; Langdon, JEA VII, 133—155 (with significant concessions). Important new material has vastly increased the complexity of the situation, while furnishing many new arguments for the writer's position. The text published by Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*, No. 92, line 30: *120 bēre šiddu ištu miḥri nār Puratti adī pāt māt Meluḥḥa māt Mari*, must naturally be rendered "120 double-hours distance (lit. length) from the Euphrates barrage to the border of Meluḥḥa and Mari." The word *šiddu* always means "length, distance," never "coast-line," as Langdon renders, JEA VII, 143. The preceding line, which mentions the border between Sumer (Babylonia) and Mari (at this period Syria, as shown by its being equated in Schroeder, No. 183, 11 with *māt Hatti*), shows that the barrage in question was located in the Middle Euphrates; dams in this district are mentioned by Strabo, XVII, i, 9, and the Hindiyeḥ barrage, somewhat lower down, survives to the present day, as may be seen by reference to Willcocks' works on Mesopotamian irrigation, *passim*. The actual distance in marching hours by way of Palmyra between the Euphrates at Šaleḥiyeh and Raphia, for thousands of years the Egyptian boundary, is 200—250, which agrees excellently with the 240 hours given. The inscriptions of the Sargonids prove to satiety that Meluḥḥa (properly Ethiopia) then meant Egypt, which an Ethiopian dynasty then ruled; an express statement of this fact is made by Sargon III, in his Triumphal Inscription, line 102f. As Langdon grants, the term *Meluḥḥa* was employed in the Amarna Tablets as a literary designation for the more familiar *Kaši*; in the Rib-Addi correspondence *Meluḥḥa* and *Kaši* interchange, and *Ka[ši]* is once given as gloss to *Meluḥḥa* (after the oblique stroke which always indicates glosses in the Amarna Tablets). The extension of the term *Meluḥḥa* to cover Egypt in the Sargonid period naturally displaced *Magan*, which in the Esarhaddon texts therefore means Syria; when the king marches from Syria into Egypt he is said to go from Magan to Meluḥḥa. This situation is further illustrated by the text Schroeder, No. 183, line 13, which gives the early Babylonian equivalent of the Sumerian *Magan* or *Magama* as *māt Šiddiri*, and identifies it with the late Assyrian *māt Dānu* or *Adānu*, Edom (including Sinai). In a letter to the

that Manum (the *m* is merely the Babylonian nominative ending, as in *Gutium*, etc.) is no other than Menes, first king of the Thinite kingdom, who seems to have fallen into the hands of a hostile army at the end of his reign, is dependent upon the relative chronology of Egypt and Babylonia, which is not yet fixed in the early period.¹

writer, dated Dec. 11, 1921, Schroeder kindly states that the reading [*mât*] *Du-û-* [] is certain from a new collation, and that there was nothing but *mât* before the *du*, but the oblique wedge of the *mu* appears clearly in his published copy, and it is possible that there is room for *a* between *mat* and *du*, since the names in this column do not all commence in the same vertical line. There can be little doubt, then, that Edom is meant. As Esarhaddon's desert march to Egypt began from Edomite territory, *Magan* seems to have the same meaning in his inscriptions also. The equation is just as inexact as the scribe's other identifications of Amurru (Syria) with Assyria, and Mari (properly a district in northeastern Syria) with Syria as a whole. Elsewhere it will be shown that *Siddiri* is probably a corruption of the same Egyptian word from which *Misri* is later derived, a word referring presumably to the frontier fortifications (Heb. *Šûr*, "wall").

In this connection it may be well to refute a number of the new arguments adduced by Langdon, JEA VII, 142—145 and 149—151. He states that an inscription of Narâm-Šin refers to his conquest of Tilnûn, Magan, and Meluhha with their seventeen kings and ninety thousand soldiers. The text in question, CT XIII (not XV), 44, mentions the conquest of Subartu, Gutium, Elam; Tilnûn, Magan, and Meluhha, Obv. ii, 11—17. In lines 18ff. the defeat of the seventeen kings is mentioned, but, so far from their having any connection with the preceding countries, they all ruled in Asia Minor, as proved by the new Hittite version of a text of Narâm-Šin, described by Forrer, MDOG 61, 29. According to this important text seventeen kings of Asia Minor (see above) including the kings of Hatte, Kaniš and Kursaura (NW of Tyana) rebelled against Narâm-Šin, but were defeated in a great battle. Langdon further quotes Nies, *Ur Dynasty Tablets* 58, iv, 133, to prove that a man from Magan bore a Sumerian name. The text simply reads *Ur-Esir (KA-DI) dumu Lû-ma-gan-na*, i. e. "Ur-Esir, son of Lumaganna." A man from Magan who immigrated into Babylonia and married a Babylonian wife would naturally give his son a Babylonian name. Another man in the Nies texts called Meluhha, who doubtless had been brought from Meluhha as a slave, gave his son the name Ur-Lama.

Langdon (*ibid.* p. 150) stresses the question of the *sāmtu* stone, which the vocabularies derive from Meluhha. I have urged the identification of the *sāmtu* stone with malachite; Langdon's objections show that he had not looked up my discussion of the word. The word *sāmtu* belongs with *šoham*, and has nothing to do with *sāmu*, "tawny red," which has a wholly distinct ideogram. I shall show elsewhere that the *sāmtu* stone was green, and hence refers to various kinds of malachite and turquoise, as may also be seen from the vocabulary published by Scheil, RA XV, 118.

¹ The uncertainty of Babylonian chronology is shown by the dates for Narâm-Šin given by the latest investigators. Langdon places him 2795 B. C., Clay 2770

If the synchronism is correct, we may place the accession of Menes about 2900 B. C., and that of Narâm-Sin about 2875; the conflict between the two mighty rulers of the ancient East would fall a few years later, perhaps on Palestinian soil. Be that as it may, the monumental record of raids into Palestine begins about the opening of the third millennium, with the invasion of the Philistine plain by Sargon I, and the expedition of Menes's successor, Athothis, into Asia.¹ We may safely assume that some of the many Egyptian

and Weidner (revised) 2607. Weidner's low date is produced by his theory that the Second Dynasty of Babylon was entirely contemporaneous; the writer has combated it in *Rev. d'Assyriol.* XVIII, 1—12 (unfortunately, the article is full of misprints, owing to the lack of a final proof-reading), defending the dates of Kugler and Thureau-Dangin. Valuable additional proof that the Second Dynasty came to a close at the beginning of the Third is furnished by the fact that Assur 4128 writes the names Eagamil and G[an]duš in the same line, contrary to its practise, while V A T 9470 places [G]an[duš] after [Melam]mi-ku[rkurra], thus omitting Eagamil entirely. The King Chronicle should then be corrected to read "Agum son of Gandaš (or Ganduš)" instead of "son of Kaštiliaš"; the Sea Lands fell into Ulam-Buriaš's hands about 1720, whereupon the conqueror was attacked by Agum (1726—1704). While the latter seems to have been at first successful, he was finally overthrown by Kaštiliaš, brother of Ulam-Buriaš, who founded a new Kossean dynasty in Babylon. The compilers of the lists discovered somewhere, we may suppose, the statement that Gandaš and Ea-gamil were contemporaries. If our reconstruction is correct, the Second Dynasty began with the death of Hammurabi; as we know from various sources, Samsu-iluna suppressed most of the revolts which broke out after his father's death, but failed to reduce Ilimailu, founder of the Second Dynasty.

The other chronological difficulty, adduced by Langdon, who accepts Kugler's dates, is that the Fifth Dynasty of Erech can hardly have lasted over fifty years, whereas the writer's theory demands a duration of at least a century. But since the Legrain tablet, as will be pointed out elsewhere, allows for three-four kings in the dynasty, and Gudea was apparently contemporaneous with Lugal-kisalsi II, of this dynasty, a longer duration than fifty years is probable. It required some time for the peaceful conditions reflected in the inscriptions of Gudea to develop, after the long rule of foreign barbarians.

No new material bearing on Egyptian chronology has come to light. The chief problem is that of the length of time which elapsed between the Sixth and the Twelfth Dynasties, which the writer has fixed at about a century and a half. The calendaric confirmations of the low dates for the Sixth Dynasty, which have been marshalled in my former papers, are strongly supported by the genealogical and archaeological evidence. Fisher's work has led him to believe that the interval in question was very short, and the explorations of the Metropolitan Museum Expedition in Upper Egypt are even more convincing. The earliest probable date for Menes is c. 3100.

¹ See Borchardt, *Mitt. der Vorderas. Ges.*, 1918, pp. 342—345. The term used for the defeat of the Asiatics is *šqr Štyt*.

kings of Upper and Lower Egypt before Menes,¹ and of the early Sumerian kings of Kiš and Mari had raided Syria in their time, but we have no monumental evidence for our supposition.

From now on for nearly a millennium there is no direct monumental evidence for Mesopotamian contact with Palestine, but there is plenty for Babylonian relations with Syria. Gudea, a powerful ruler of the south-Babylonian city of Igaš, in the closing days of the Fifth Dynasty of Erech (c. 2600—2475) tells us at length of his commercial relations with Syria and Egypt (Magan), mentioning a number of districts in Syria, such as Ibla and Subsalla, Mount Amanus, etc. The name of Syria—perhaps including Palestine—at that time was Tidnum, or Tidanum, written ideographically *MAR-TU^{KI}*, afterwards pronounced *Amîru*, when the Semitic Amorites had occupied the country. In the following Ūr Dynasty we have no allusion to conquests in Syria,² but it is certain that commercial relations must have existed between Babylonia, Syria, and Egypt. The period of the Ūr Dynasty represents the most flourishing period of Babylonian commerce in Cappadocia, as well as in Babylonia itself. A tablet from the Ūr Dynasty speak of messengers being sent to various lands; among them is one sent to Egypt (Magan).³

With the close of the Ūr Dynasty we begin to note signs of racial movements in the West. Gimil-Šin, the last king of the dynasty but one, had to build a rampart to keep the incursions of the Tidnu in check; by "Tidnu" here is probably meant the Amorites, who invaded Babylonia a century and a half later and established

¹ For wearers of the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt on the Cairo fragment of the Palermo Stone see Gardiner, *JEA* III, 144f., and especially Breasted, *University of Chicago Record*, Vol. VII, p. 7, who found no less than ten, during a prolonged study of the stone itself. Egyptian chronology began with the Introduction of the Calendar, B. C. 4241, but thirteen centuries is not too much to assume for the long series of prehistoric dynasties before Menes, and fifteen hundred years is little enough time for the development of government in Egypt to the highly organized bureaucratic system of the Memphite period.

² Formerly some scholars, notably Sayce, identified some of the names of conquered places mentioned in the date-formulae of the Ūr Dynasty with Syrian and Palestinian towns, but now all the places in question are known to belong east of the Tigris. Marḥaši (Par'aše) has no connection with Mar'aš, Assyrian Marqasi, nor has Humurti anything to do with Gomorrah, tempting though the association was.

³ Nies, *Ur Dynasty Tablets*, No. 84, 6.

the First Dynasty of Babylon (2225—1925), called by the Babylonians the Dynasty of the Amorites (*PALA MAR-TU-KI*¹). It is probable that the Amorites had previously established a powerful state in Syria, since the title "king of Amûru" is used as an honorific by the two greatest kings of the dynasty, Ḥammurabi (ʿAmmu-rawiḥ) and ʿAmmî-ditâna.² Even Ḥammurabi, however, was politically far less powerful than Sargon and Narâm-Šin; no trace of conquests in Asia Minor or western and southern Syria are found in his inscriptions. On the other hand, the inscriptions of Šamši-Adad I of Assyria (c. 2030)³ claim the conquest, not only of the Middle Euphrates country, but also of northern Syria, where in the land of Labʿan (perhaps a mistake for Labnan, Lebanon) on the shores of the Mediterranean he erected his stele. After 1950 the great dark age begins in Mesopotamia, and for five hundred years we have practically no contemporaneous inscriptions. Fortunately, however, we have many lists of kings, several chronicles, and a number of late copies of tablets from this period, as well as later allusions to rulers and events belonging to it, so it is not difficult to get a tolerably accurate idea of the course of history in Western Asia.

A tablet published some twenty-five years ago gives an account of the invasion of Babylonia by Kudur-Lagamal⁴ of Elam with his allies the Ummân Manda, or northern hordes, whose leader seems to have been a certain Tudḥula. Since Babylonia is here called Karduniaš, there can be no question that we are dealing with the Kossean period, and as the writer has shown elsewhere, we must probably refer the episode to the first half of the seventeenth century B. C.⁵ It is difficult to separate Kudur-Lagamal of Elam and his ally Tudḥula from the biblical Chedorlaomer of Elam with his allies Tidḡal king of the northern hordes (*gôyîm*), Ari-Aku (Arioch) king of Alsiya (?) and Amraphel king of Šanḡar (Ḥana), who invaded Palestine in the course of a campaign against the

¹ Cf. Weidner, *Die Könige von Assyrien*, p. 40.

² Cf. the writer's note OLZ XXIV, 18.

³ It is now certain that this Šamši-Adad was the first of the name, who was a contemporary of the weak kings of the First Dynasty between Ḥammurabi and ʿAmmî-ditâna. This explains why his inscriptions are entirely in the style of Ḥammurabi. Weidner's date for Šamši-Adad I is c. 1890.

⁴ For the reading cf. the *Journal*, Vol. I, p. 71.

⁵ See the discussion in the *Journal*, Vol. I, pp. 71—74.

West. We will take the matter up below in connection with the problem of the Hyksos.

Let us turn now from Mesopotamia to Egypt. As noted above, the first mention of an Egyptian campaign in Asia is in the reign of Athothis (c. 2900),¹ as recently pointed out by Borchardt.² The third successor of Athothis, Usaphais, also claimed to have defeated the *Šttyw*. An ivory carving from the tomb of a later king of the same dynasty ("Qa") portrays for us a typical Syrian (*Šttyw*), with an unquestionably Semitic countenance. The only geographical name known from Palestine at this period—*Yarimuta*—is susceptible of an excellent Semitic etymology, which shows, if correctly interpreted,³ that the Canaanites already spoke Hebrew.⁴ Semempses (Semerhet) of the First Dynasty occupied the copper mines of Sinai, and left his relief there, high up on the cliff, but we have no indication that he invaded Palestine, as Athothis must have done. The first king of the Fourth Dynasty, Soris, or Snefru (c. 2600),⁵ built a fleet of Libanese cedar, and must have had close commercial, probably also political relations with Syria. Like Semempses he worked the copper mines of Sinai, which gave Egypt the prestige of being the source of copper (Magan is the mountain, i. e. foreign land of copper in Babylonian texts). Gudea of Lagaš, whose vast commercial operations we have noticed, may have flourished about half a century after Snefru, in the time of Chephren, builder of the Second Pyramid. It is safe to say that contact, both commercial and cultural, between Egypt and Babylonia in the 26th century B. C. was very close. While stones and metals were transported to Babylonia in ships, the voyage lasting a year, according to Gudea, commerce doubtless ordinarily followed the land route through Palestine, which must have been enriched considerably.

In the Fifth Dynasty we find representations of the siege of an Asiatic town called *Nd'* ("Neti'a"),⁶ with brick walls and towers, defended by bearded Semites, with long cloaks, who employ the bow

¹ Meyer's date is c. 3275.

² MVAG 1918, 342 ff.

³ See the etymology proposed JEA VI, 92, n. 5.

⁴ Cf. below on the distinction between Hebrew and Amorite.

⁵ Meyer: 2840 B. C.

⁶ Petrie, *Deshasheh*, Pl. 4.

and sling. The nomarch of Heracleopolis, in whose tomb at Dešāšeh the mural paintings are found, must have accompanied his master, the Pharaoh, on the expedition against *Nû*. Whether the town was in Palestine or Phoenicia is not clear; the possession of Phoenicia was highly prized, and we know that the monarchs of the Old Empire, who held the thalassocracy of the eastern Mediterranean, were quite able to send elaborate naval expeditions. Of such a character is the naval expedition portrayed on the walls of the temple of Sahurê, which is represented as returning from Syria with captive Syrian chiefs and Syrian bears (c. 2440).¹ Byblos, Eg. *Kbn*, was the focus of Egyptian power in Syria under the Old Empire; the cedar forests of Lebanon were the chief objectives of the Pharaohs, and it is doubtful whether Palestine was conquered definitely until the Sixth Dynasty. Then, according to the account left us by the royal general, Weni (Una), Phiops I (Pepi), who reigned about 2275,² sent no less than five land expeditions under Weni's leadership to conquer the land of the "Sand-dwellers" (*Hryw-š*), a contemptuous appellative for Asiatics, originally belonging to the nomads and merchants with whom the Egyptians first became acquainted. After a rebellion among the Asiatics in the land of the "Ibex-nose" (perhaps the Egyptian rendering of a Semitic place-name).³ Weni conducted an expedition by sea to a point at the end of a chain of hills to the north of the "Sand-dwellers." As has been seen, he may have landed at 'Akka, north of Carmel, and invaded Mount Ephraim. Doubtless the Palestinians recovered their independence during the

¹ Meyer: c. 2670.

² Meyer: c. 2520.

³ The curious name "Antelope-nose," or perhaps "Ibex-nose" (the hieroglyph in question is used for "gazelle, oryx," etc.) cannot well be an Egyptian designation for central Palestine, but may be an Egyptian translation of a native Hebrew place-name. As a mere possibility, it may be suggested that we have here a popular etymology of the very ancient name "Ephraim," the oldest form of which was **Iprayim* or **Aprayim*, meaning "fruitful, fertile." The element *ap* means as a separate word "nose," and a word for "antelope," or "ibex" (wild-goat) closely resembling *ray(im)* is preserved in the place-name (Gen. 16 14) *Be'er lahai rô'i*, "Well of the jaw (cf. Jud. 15 19) of the rô'i." The latter stands for **rai'i*, **rawi'y*, which belongs with Arab. *arwîyah*, *urwîyah*, *irwîyah*, plur. *arwâ*, "ibex". Babyl. *arwîu(m)* may mean "gazelle" (cf. the discussion JAOS XL, 329; the hero Arwium is son of a gazelle), in which case **arwîy* or **rawi'y*, with the meaning "antelope," was original.

ninety-year reign of the *faineant* Pharaohs II (c. 2250—2160)¹ and it is hardly likely that they were disturbed again until the rise of the powerful kings of the Twelfth Dynasty. Though the latter must have controlled Palestine, we have no explicit record of Asiatic campaigns except for Sesostris III (1887—1849).²

Commercial and diplomatic relations with Mesopotamia and Northern Syria must have continued actively during the Sixth and Twelfth Dynasties. In the Cairo Museum there is a limestone relief from the latter part of the Old Empire, showing in its middle register a typically Egyptian scene, but in the top register, which is broken, two Mesopotamians with fringed robes, who presumably represent either merchants or ambassadors.³ That envoys were sent back and forth with despatches between Egypt and Babylonia in the Twelfth Dynasty may be regarded as certain, in view of the passage mentioning messengers leaving Egypt with bricks, i. e. clay tablets, tied in their girdles.⁴ The latest discovery of this sort is a lapis lazuli seal cylinder in the collection of the Earl of Carnarvon, with Egyptian and Old Babylonian inscriptions side by side, undoubtedly contemporaneous.⁵ The Egyptian text reads [*nyswt*] *byty Štp-yb-r' [mry] Hthr nbt [Kbn]* (so Newberry, very plausibly) = 'The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Amenemmes I (Amenemhet), [beloved] of Hathor lady of [Byblos].'⁶ There are two ephemeral rulers of the Thirteenth Dynasty with the same prenomen, but we may safely disregard the possibility that one of them is intended. The Babylonian text has *Ya* (Pinches *pi*, which is, of course, impossible) *-ki-in-ilu wa[rad...]* = Yakin-ilu, servant of []. Yakin-ilu is a Hebrew proper-name of a very common, though somewhat archaic type,

¹ Meyer: c. 2485—2390.

² The dates of the Twelfth Dynasty are astronomically fixed; even Borchardt does not venture to oppose the evidence of the Sothic Cycle.

³ Max Müller, *Egyptological Researches*, Vol. I, pp. 9—11.

⁴ Müller, *MVAG* XVII, 8f.

⁵ See Pinches and Newberry, *JEA* VII, 196—199.

⁶ Ba'alat of Byblos was before the Middle Empire identified with Hathor, both in Byblos and in Egypt. When Hathor was merged into the all-embracing figure of Isis, Ba'alat followed suit. Traces of an Egyptian temple of Isis-Ba'alat from the Eighteenth Dynasty are described by Woolley, *JEA* VII, 200f. Late Phoenician syncretism became so interwoven with Egyptian influences that Phoenician theology may almost be treated as a chapter in the history of Egyptian religion.

meaning "God establishes." Yakinilu may have been the local governor of Byblos (*awil Gubla*) like Rib-Addi in the Amarna period. Byblos was probably an Egyptian dependency under virtually every strong Pharaoh of the Old and Middle Empires, and long before Rib-Addi stresses the fact that Gubla was as Egyptian as Memphis, *Kbn* was felt to be an integral part of the Egyptian Empire by the Egyptians themselves.

A century after Amenemmes I (2000—1970) we find Sesostris III waging war in central Palestine, where he captures the city of *Skmm*, probably a dual of the Biblical name *Šekem*, i. e., Shechem, capital of Mount Ephraim. There seem to have been two ancient strongholds, one at each end of the pass on the watershed which gave the place its name. To judge from evidence brought forward by Blackman (*Jour. Eg. Arch.* II, 13f.) the Egyptians captured much cattle, which they carried with them to Egypt. We may therefore be assured that the kings of the Twelfth Dynasty controlled Palestine as well as Phoenicia. Conditions are well illustrated by the Sinûhe Romance, which certainly has some historical nucleus, like the tale of Wen-Amôn. Sinûhe (original pronunciation approximately *Senâhet*) fled from Egypt upon the death of Amenemmes I, about 1970 B. C., and traversed Sinai, Palestine, and Phoenicia, not daring to stop until he was safely outside of Egyptian territory, in *Qdm*, that is, the district termed "East" by the Byblians, the land of the Amorites beyond Lebanon. Here, in the sphere of Egyptian influence, but outside the direct authority of the Pharaoh, he is harbored and befriended by an Amorite chief, 'Ammî-anîs.¹ According to the generally accepted chronology, 'Ammî-saduq was then the Amorite king of Babylonia.

We now come to that most eventful period in the history of Palestine, and of the whole Near East, the period of the Hyksos, Hittite, and Indo-Iranian irruptions. The provenance of the Hyksos and the character of their invasion have been among the most obscure problems in ancient history, but now beams of light are penetrating the gloom. After the brilliant work of Eduard Meyer there can be no doubt as to the approximate date of the Hyksos

¹ Lit. "My people is social;" in South Arabic we have the same name, עמיאנש, where the ש represents Ar. نسي. While the sibilant in Eg. 'mynš is anomalous, there can be no doubt that this explanation is nearly correct.

conquest of Egypt, which took place in the gap between the 35th and the 57th kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty, or between 1625 and 1575 B. C. The identification of Tutimaëus, in whose reign Manetho places the catastrophe, with one of the three ephemeral rulers named *Dydymē* is possible, but phonetically unlikely. The 58th name is that of Nēhāsey ("the Nubian") who was a Hyksos vassal. The date of the occupation of Tanis by the Hyksos is given by the Tanite era of the king *Št-ʿ3-plty Nbty*, which began about 1690;¹ later Hyksos kings took throne-names formed with *Rē*, but *Nbty*, who adopted the cult of Tanis, took the name of its god, *Set*. *Nbty* is perhaps to be identified with the first Hyksos king, Salitis.²

Most important light has recently been shed on the Hyksos question by Ronzevalle's discovery of two fortified enclosures in central Syria of exactly the same type as the Hyksos fort discovered by Petrie at Tell el-Yehūdiyeh near Heliopolis.³ The fort at Mišrifeh, studied carefully by Ronzevalle, is located about three and a half hours northeast of Homs, the ancient Qatna. It is an immense square enclosure, more than a thousand metres long on each side, surrounded by a bank of earth about 15 metres high, on the average; the width of the base varies between 65 and 80 metres. Presumably the winter rains have reduced its height and increased its width at the base of the rampart very materially. The other fort, now called Tell Sefinet Nūh, "the Mound of Noah's Ship," is about 350—400 metres on a side, according to Ronzevalle, but remained incomplete. The

¹ Cf. the discussion in the *Journal* I, 64f.

² *Nbty* may be an ideographic writing in hieroglyphics of the name *Salitis*, in which case *sal* or the like meant "gold" in the Hyksos tongue. In Hittite we have similar cases of ideographic writing of proper names; e. g., the name *Muwattališ* is written *NER-GAL*, since this cuneiform group had the Babylonian reading *muttallu*, lit. "exalted." A different principle is found when *Ḥatte* is written with the cuneiform ideogram for "silver" because this was the meaning of *ḥat* in Cappadocian, or *Arinna* is written *PŪ-na*, because *arin* was the word for "well" in Cappadocian.

³ See Ronzevalle, in *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale* (Beyrouth), Vol. VII, pp. 109—126. Ronzevalle pointed out the similarity of Mišrifeh to the Hyksos fortress at Tell el-Yehūdiyeh (Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*) but unfortunately concluded that Mišrifeh represented one of the camps which the Sea-peoples established in the land of Amôr (Syria) during the reign of Rameses III. This is quite impossible; the latter were Anatolians and Aegeans, to whom such "camps" were entirely foreign; moreover, they can hardly have maintained themselves in central Syria long enough to build such a colossal work.

fort studied by Petrie at Tell el-Yehûdiyeh is unquestionably Hyksos, as shown by the quantities of Hyksos scarabs (Hayan, etc.) and sherds of black incised pottery found in it. It is a great enclosure of sand, mixed in places with lumps of marl and basalt as well as scattered adobe bricks, which was held in place by an outer coat or lining of white plaster. In form it is nearly square, with sides of 450 to 475 metres. The rampart is 15 to 20 metres in height, and 40 to 60 metres wide at the base. We may consider it as practically certain that the rampart at Mišrifeh had originally the same proportions, of one to three. As Petrie has pointed out, the builders of the fort must have been archers; we may also observe that the mode of ingress by a long inclined road-way, leading over the top of the rampart, shows unmistakably that they had horses and chariots. Since fortified camps of this nature were wholly unknown to the civilized peoples of ancient Western Asia, there is no escape from the conclusion that the Hyksos came from a land of tumuli and earthen ramparts, that is, from the plains of Eurasia. With this agrees the fact that they were archers and possessed horses and wagons, which they introduced into Egypt. After the writer had reached this conclusion, he began to look for evidence from Russia or Central Asia. At this stage Mr. Phythian-Adams pointed out that Ellsworth Huntington¹ describes ancient square or rectangular forts, with thick and lofty earthen ramparts, in the region of Merv in Transcaspia; Kirk Tepe, for instance, is a square enclosure, over three hundred metres long and broad, with ruined earthen ramparts, which still are, however, six metres high in places.

It may thus be regarded as certain that the nucleus of the Hyksos hordes consisted of nomadic peoples from the plains of Eurasia, probably from Transcaspia, whom the Egyptian, alluding to their nomadic character, and punning, it would seem, on the Hyksos imperial title, called "Shepherd-kings." It is not necessary to suppose that the Hyksos hordes belonged to one race; it is certain that they gathered up all sorts of elements into their mass as they swept through Western Asia. For example, there were undoubtedly many Hebrew clans, especially the Benê Ya'qob, among them, as is

¹ See Pumpelly, *Explorations in Turkestan, Prehistoric Civilizations of Anau*, Vol. I, pp. 219, 226 f.

proved by such names as that of 'Anat-har,¹ who wears the Hyksos imperial title (*hqꜥ hꜥswt*, pronounced somewhat later approximately *hq šasōwe*) and Ya'qob-har. As has been observed elsewhere, we have here the historical nucleus of the Jacob and Joseph stories.² Other of the Hyksos names, however, are neither Hebrew nor do they belong to any familiar language of Western Asia. To this category we must refer the founders of the Hyksos monarchy, Salitis, Bnon, Apophis (pronounced at that time probably *Apapi*), Apachnan, Hayan and *Smqn*. The others often included in this series more probably belonged to one of the ephemeral local groups. Several of the names preserved by Manetho are apparently too corrupt to be of any use (Aseth, Staam, Archles); indeed when we compare the Manethonian forms of native Egyptian royal names with their originals, it appears to be at best a dubious task to attempt the determination of the linguistic affiliations of the Hyksos. The writer cannot claim to have settled the question, but will limit himself to a number of suggestions. First let us take up the question of the racial elements which entered Palestine in the first half of the second millennium. That they are not of earlier date, so far as Palestine is concerned, is clear from the fact that Palestine seems so be pure Semitic, that is, Canaanite, or Hebrew-speaking, and Amorite,³ in

¹ 'Anat-har is probably identical with the 'Anat which appears in an abbreviated form as one of the Hyksos names on the Hyksos fragment of the Turin Papyrus.

² Cf. the writer's discussion in *Jour. of Bibl. Lit.*, Vol. XXXVII, 137 ff., and *Journal I*, 65f.

³ As we now know the Amorite language from numbers of Amorite proper names, mostly from the period of the First Dynasty of Babylon, as well as from the names in contracts and letters from the Middle Euphrates, it was a tongue intermediate between Hebrew and Babylonian, with strong South Arabian affiliations. Its vocalic structure is the same as that of Babylonian and almost certainly of South Arabian, differing radically from the vocalization of Hebrew, which we can trace back to the Amarna Letters (see especially Leander, ZDMG LXXIV, 61-76). Like Hebrew and Arabic it preserved the weak laryngeals, which Babylonian had lost before 3000 B.C., as shown by the earliest Akkadian inscriptions. Amorite agreed throughout with Arabic in its treatment of the sibilants, as may be seen from the following table:

Arabic	Hebrew	Aramaic	Babylonian	Assyrian	Egyptian	Amorite
t (ت)	š (ש)	t, t	š	s	š	t
š (ش)	š (ש)	s	š	s	š	š
s (س)	š (ש)	š	š	s	š	s
s (س)	s (ס)	s	s	š	š	(?)

the third millennium. Moreover, the foreign intruders who are so much in evidence during the Amarna period, and at the time of the Israelite conquest, are not able to impose their language upon the country, which remains Hebrew in speech, nor to introduce non-Semitic place-names; all the place-names in early Palestine are Semitic, and most are specifically Hebrew. The writer heartily endorses Clay's position that Palestine and Syria were Semitic lands from the earliest times—i. e. from the late Neolithic; the Troglodytes of Gezer, with their diminutive stature and tendency toward prognathism, carry us back into the early Neolithic. The legendary giants, associated by later ages with the megalithic works of the Neolithic and Aeneolithic periods belong to cosmogony rather than to history.

Among the mingled tribes whose presence in Palestine in the middle of the second millennium makes Palestine seem a veritable Babel, the Hittites easily take first place. These early Hittites are to be identified with the Hattē-speaking people of the Boghaz-keui tablets, whose language is preserved for us in a few passages in ritual texts, as well as a number of bilingual inscriptions (Cappadocian or Naši and Hattē). This tongue is entirely distinct from the language in which the vast mass of the Boghaz-keui texts are written, which is closely related to Cilician (Arzawa), Luyya or Lydian,¹ and Helladic,² and may therefore be termed Cappadocian, especially since

This fact shows that Hommel was partly right in combining the Amorites with the Arabs, especially with the South Arabians, who share a great many proper names with the Amorites. On the other hand they were clearly a West-Semitic people, more closely related to the Canaanites and Aramacans than to the Babylonians. The Amorite invasion of Palestine probably fell during the 23rd century, before their invasion of Babylonia under Sumu-abum. They drove the Canaanites out of the highland of Judaea and Samaria, which was occupied by the Amorites when the Hebrews invaded Mount Ephraim before the Amarna Period (Gen 48:22). Apparently, as Clay has pointed out, an Amorite empire was then established in Syria and Palestine; Müller (MVAG XVII, 53f.) has made it probable that this empire made its power felt in Egypt between the Sixth and the Eleventh Dynasties (B. C. 2200—2050). The brick architecture of the period shows how thoroughly under Babylonian influence the Amorites were.

¹ See the remarks in the *Journal*, Vol. I, p. 193, n. 1, and the references cited there. The language of the Lydian inscriptions found at Sardes is very similar to that of the Luyyan and Naši (Cappadocian) tablets; e. g., *bira* means "house" in both Lydian and Cappadocian.

² As proved incontrovertibly by the evidence of place-names in Greece and Anatolia. It is reasonable enough to suppose that Pelasgian (Philistine, *Journal* I, 57, n. 2) was a related tongue, but evidence is lacking.

the non-Semitic names on the Cappadocian tablets belong clearly to it.¹ Now it is most important to note (what seems to have escaped the notice of the investigators so far) that the royal names of the Hittite kings of Boghaz-keui belong to the Ḫatte language, and are not Cappadocian, though they receive the Cappadocian case-endings.² The Ḫatte are therefore intruders in Asia Minor, and since their first appearance in history falls about 1925 B. C.,³ we must evidently place their irruption about 2000 B. C., just after the career of Šamši-Adad I of Assyria (cf. above), who nowhere alludes to them. It is not accidental that the Cappadocian tablets appear to reach as far as the 21st century, but no farther. It is still doubtful whether the first group of Hittite kings, Tlabarnaš (so Hrozný), Ḫattušiliš I, Muršiliš I, Ḫantiliš, Ḫuzziaš, Telibinuš, etc., comes in the 20th and 19th centuries or in the 17th century, where it is hard to find a place for so great a conqueror as Muršiliš, who captured Babylon. However this may be, we find the Hittites in Hebron, according to Hebrew tradition, in the time of Abram, that is, probably about 1700 B. C.⁴ As Hebron is said elsewhere to have been founded

¹ Cf. names like *Ḫištahšušar* and *Niwaḫšušar*, *Arawa* and *Arawarḫina*, whose Cappadocian (Naši) character is immediately clear.

² Cf. the Hittite royal name *Tabarnaš* (*Tlabarnaš*) and Ḫatte *tabarna*; *Ḫuzziyaš* and *ḫuzziya*; *Telibinuš* and *talibinu*, etc.; *Ḫantiliš* and *ḫantipšua*. Hrozný's efforts to etymologize Hittite royal names from Naši have so far failed completely, though it is naturally possible that some of the kings bear Cappadocian names, just as Babylonian names are found sporadically in the First and Third Babylonian Dynasties. As for the case-endings, note that Babylonian gods and heroes also receive Naši case-endings (e. g., *Enkituš*, *Ḫuwawaiš*, *Eaš*).

³ When, according to the King Chronicle, the Hittites conquered Babylonia. Weidner dates this event about 1758.

⁴ See *Journal* I, 65, 68 ff. It has long been a problem why Abram is connected by tradition so closely with Hebron, where his burial-place was shown at least as early as the ninth century B. C. The absence of the name of Hebron from the Amarna Tablets is probably due to the same cause as the absence of names from Mount Ephraim; it was in the hands of the Ḫabiri, who from Hebron as a centre raided the lands of the neighboring Jerusalem and Keilah. The name itself, which the Hebrews introduced, means "town of the confederacy," or the like. The names *Šešai*, *Aḫiman* and *Talmai* are all good Aramaean (i. e. Hebrew in the ethnic sense); *Talmai* occurs in Maacha and in the North Arabic inscriptions published by Jausen and others, while *Aḫiman* ("Who is my brother if not god X") is specifically Aramaean in its formation. When Jud. 110 includes the three among the Canaanites of Hebron, it is evidently confusing the early Hebrew conquest with the non-Semitic occupation. Doubtless the Hebronites

only a few years before Tanis,¹ it is hard to avoid combining the Hittites of Hebron with the Hyksos who occupied Tanis, especially when we recall that the name *Hayan* occurs also as the name of a dynast of Šam'al² who preceded Kilammu. Like the Hyksos, the Hittites came from Central Asia, as is clear from the fact that the Hittite nobility is represented with a distinctly Mongoloid cast of features, and a typical East Asiatic queue. Their language (cf. above) is entirely different from any known tongue of Western Asia, including Sumerian, Elamite, and Chaldian, with its remarkable prefix formations, where the root is at the end of the word. While the Hittite tongue is not at all like the Turkic languages, it may be related, as Forrer points out, to the tongues spoken on the northeastern confines of Transcaucasia. Even if the Hyksos leaders were not Hittite, there can be little doubt that the Hittites were brought into Palestine as a part of the great racial movement which introduced various other non-Semitic peoples into the country.

Another Anatolian folk which now appears in Palestine is the Jebusite people of Jerusalem.³ The two certain Jebusite proper names which have come down to us are both Cappadocian, i. e. Naši ("Hittite" in the former sense). The name 'Abdi(?) - *Heba* is formed with the name of the Cappadocian goddess Hebe or Heba (Hepa), while *Arauna*, as Sayce has pointed out, is a typical Cappadocian name, meaning "bright, pure, free" (*aram-iš* = *ellu*).

Most interesting of all the peoples who settled in Palestine in the first half of the second millennium is the Indo-Iranian element. As has long been known, the names of the reigning dynasty of Mitanni, *Šauššatar*, *Artatama*, *Artasumara*, *Tušratta*, *Šutarna*, *Šutatarra*, *Mattiwaza*, etc., are entirely different in origin from the typically Hurrian names worn by the majority of their subjects, and are unmistakably Indo-Iranian, pointing to Indo-Iranian migrations from the period before the development of the distinct Iranian branch of the race. In Palestine, according to the Amarna Tablets, we have

had given up Hebrew (Aramaic) long since in favor of Canaanite (Hebrew).—For additional proofs of the fact that the incoming Hebrews spoke Aramaic see my article in this *Journal* II, p. 68, n. 2.

¹ Num. 13 22.

² Hayan was a native of Bit-Gabbar.

³ Cf. Jirqu in ZDPV XLIII, 58—61.

a whole series of these names, all with excellent Sanskrit etymologies: *Artamanya*, *Ruzmanya*, *Namyawaza*, *Biridašwa*, *Šuyardata*, *Yašdata*, *Biryamaza*, *Biridiya*, etc. When taken together with the names of Indo-Iranian gods on the Boghaz-keui tablets, and the document from Mitanni dealing with horse-breeding, which furnishes a number of Sanskrit numerals and loan-words, there can be no doubt that there were Indo-Iranian elements in the „Hyksos” hordes which overran Palestine and Egypt. Since these Sanskrit names are not limited to any part of Palestine, but occur both in Galilee and in Judaea, one is justified in expecting some mention of the nationality of their bearers in the Old Testament. It is possible that they are referred to under the head of Perizzites, who are mentioned (*e.g.* Gen. 137) along with the Canaanites as an out standing element in Palestine. The Perizzites are properly, however, it would seem, Hurrians, to judge from the name *Pirizzi* of a Hurrian envoy of Tušratta (note the same ending also in the certainly Hurrian name *Akizzi*, of the ruler of Qatna, modern Homs, near Mišrifeh—see above). It would seem that such names as *Widia* (Ashkelon) and *Zimrida* (Lachish, Sidon) are also Hurrian (Mitannian).

The Hivites are another one of the more important of these peoples. Since the Shechemites and Gibeonites, who entered early into an alliance with the Hebrews, were Hivites, while in the Amarna Tablets *Tagi*, father-in-law of Milki-ilu, and *Labaya* appear also as allies of the Habiru, with whom they shared the central highlands of Samaria, one is tempted to regard *Tagi* and *Labaya* as Hivite names. *Labaya* appears, as *Labayan*, in the Arzawa letter from southeastern Cilicia, and the name *Tagi* has been plausibly identified with *Tô'i* (for **Tagi*) name of a Hamathite king of the 10th century B. C.¹ The Hivites may then be a north-Syrian branch of the Anatolian race—though the evidence is too slight for definite results.

In two passages the LXX has “Horites” instead of “Hivites,” an alteration which is accepted by Eduard Meyer.² It is, however, very improbable, since the Hivites are mentioned so often, while the Horites appear only in Mount Seir, south of the Dead Sea. Since the Horites appear in Gen. 36 as an “Aramaeac” people, with typical Semitic names, one must hesitate long before identifying them

¹ II Sam. 89.

² *Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, p. 331.

with the Anatolian Hurrians, despite the identity of name. The Egyptian name for Syria, *Ḫꜣrw*, apparently had an *l*,¹ and so must be regarded as also distinct. Coincidences often occur, and there must be excellent reason for identifying similarly sounding words before such a combination may be said to become probable.

As the writer has elsewhere suggested,² it is hard to escape the conviction that the episode referred to in the Fourteenth Chapter of Genesis has some connection, direct or indirect, with the Hyksos movement. We may perhaps gather our threads together here, and point to a possible solution. The name *Tidjal-Tudḫul* is very hard to separate from *Tudḫalia(š)*,³ the original Hattite form of which, without the Naši case-ending, was *Tudḫal*, or the like. The leader of the northern hordes about 1700 B. C. was thus a Hittite, presumably at the head of a mixed aggregation of peoples. It is improbable that he had any direct connection with the Hittite Empire in Cappadocia, which had been founded by another branch of the horde. On the other hand, it is difficult not to surmise that the western expedition in which Tidal accompanied Chedorlaomer of Elam, about 1700 B. C., was a prelude to the irruption into Egypt some years later. While the true course of the barbarian inundation may have been quite as complicated as that of the Germanic irruptions two thousand years later, there are some isolated facts indicating that the Hyksos invasion came from the direction of the Zagros rather than from Asia Minor.⁴ The Indo-Iranians, who probably came at this time into Syria and Palestine, appear in the fourteenth century in Mitanni, or northern Mesopotamia; before this they seem to have exerted a strong influence on the Kasseans of the Zagros, especially in religion. The Avvim (Gawwim) of Deut. 2:23, who seem to have been a Zagros people, and appear on the coast of the Negeb, along the Egyptian military road to Syria, at about this time,⁵ perhaps came with the Hyksos. It may also be noted that the

¹ Cf. *Journal* I, p. 189.

² *Journal* I, 76.

³ Böhl, ZATW 1916, 68, has erroneously identified Tid'al with Tudḫaliaš II of Hattite, but the name was a common Hittite one, and the author of Gen. XIV would then have termed Tid'al "king of Heth."

⁴ On the other hand, it is to be noted that a number of Anatolian peoples entered Palestine at this period.

⁵ Cf. *Journal* I, 187, n. 2.

Hyksos fortified camp at Mišrifch, ten miles in a straight line north-east of Homs, on the edge of the desert, suggests by its location a movement from the direction of the fords of the Euphrates.¹ Our limited knowledge precludes us from speculating with safety upon further possibilities.

With the Hyksos period we have reached the chronological limit of our study, which was to cover the period between 3000 and 1600 B. C. Let us then turn to consider the results of archaeological exploration in Palestine, in so far as it bears on this period. Beth Shemesh seems to have been founded about 1700 B. C., and yields no special information. The other mounds of the Shephelah, Tell es-Šāfi (Libnah) and Tell el-Judeideh (Keilah?),² while older than Beth Shemesh, were only scratched. Ashkelon has so far yielded only one broken vase to attest an occupation in the period 2000—1800 B. C.; other sherds of black incised ware demonstrate that the site was occupied, as to be expected, in the Hyksos period. Jerusalem was occupied in the earliest historical period, but we have nothing tangible except potsherds to illustrate the culture of this age. On the other hand we have a rich material from Gezer, Lachish, Taanach, Megiddo, and Jericho, to which Bethshan is now being added. In Gezer, unfortunately, Macalister was unable to find a clear demarcation of strata, so the results are rather nebulous.

The excavations carried on by Petrie and Bliss at Tell el-Hesi, ancient Lachish, were of fundamental importance for the chronology of Palestinian ceramics. But since practically all Petrie had to go by was the fact that pottery of the type now called Cypriote, but by him, with equal reason, termed Phoenician, had been found in Egypt along with Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasty remains, it is not surprising that the lower strata were post-dated. It is remarkable

¹ The Hyksos may have established themselves for some generations in Northern Syria before extending their raids as far as Egypt. It is even possible that the Hittite invasion of Babylonia in 1925 came from Northern Syria, instead of from Anatolia, as generally supposed. Professor Alt has pointed out that in Sinuhe, line 98, the (Amorite) "Bedouin" are represented as fighting against the *ḥq3w ḥ3šwt*, which seems to mean "Hyksos kings," since the royal Hyksos title was *ḥq3 ḥ3šwt*. It is true that *ḥq3 ḥ3št* meant simply "foreign prince," in which sense the term is applied to Abiṣai (Ybšz), but in Sinuhe the plural of *ḥ3št* is used.

² For the identifications see the writer's paper in the *Annual of the American School in Jerusalem*, Vol. II.

enough that Petrie, who then placed Menes about 4777 B. C., should have put the first settlement at Lachish about 1700 B. C., more than three thousand years after the beginning of Egyptian history. The site seems to have been abandoned about the beginning of the Greek period, when the brilliant careers of Marissa and Eleutheropolis began; Petrie's date c. 450 B. C. is too early, in view of the Greek remains discovered sparingly at the summit. Some twenty feet below was the foundation of a large brick building, above the layer containing the latest "Phoenician" potsherds. Petrie's date, 850 B. C., is too late; we must go back at least to the time of Rehoboam, who is said to have fortified Lachish, and perhaps still earlier. Bilbils and ladder designs on white slip, which are not found at Ashkelon after the Philistine occupation, continue here to five feet below the foundations of this building, or into the twelfth century. They begin about ten feet lower down, or early in the Eighteenth Dynasty. Fifty feet below the summit were the foundations of brick walls belonging to a city built after a previous destruction, marked by thick layers of field-stones and ashes between 302 and 307, that is, from twelve to seventeen feet above the foundations, which naturally were much lower than the city itself. Now we know from the Amarna Tablets that Lachish was then in existence, while envoys of Lachish (*R3-ky-š3*) are mentioned in a list from the middle of the reign of Tuthmosis III (c. 1475), published by Golenischeff (Müller, OLZ XVII, 202f.) so the destruction must fall considerably before. Since Bliss found objects from the Middle Egyptian Empire below the burned level, we must probably ascribe this destruction to the Hyksos hordes, at the end of the eighteenth century B. C., and place the rebuilding of the city in the seventeenth century, about 1400 years before the ultimate abandonment; the unusually rapid deposit (33 feet; 340—307) is to be explained by the use of adobe instead of stone, as at Gezer. Below the ash stratum is about twenty-four feet of débris, marking an occupation of not over a thousand years, from c. 2500 to c. 1700. Somewhere during the early or middle part of this age, were constructed the massive brick walls, twenty-eight feet thick, which underwent several reparations before their final overthrow. From other archaeological parallels in Palestine we may conclude that this brick wall was built not far from the twenty-first century B. C., in the time of the Amorite invasions.

Let us now turn to Taanach, excavated by Sellin and Schumacher. Sellin was unsupported by a trained archaeologist, so it is not surprising that his methods were superficial and scientifically unsatisfactory. Since the stratification appears to have been clear, and the mound is undoubtedly rich in ancient remains, it is greatly to be hoped that the work will be resumed by a competent archaeologist in the near future. Taanach was comparatively a recent foundation, and so little direct light came from it to illuminate the period under consideration, but a pardonable mistake of Sellin has had fateful results, leading Watzinger at Jericho to post-date an entire stratum by several centuries. In the palace of 'Aštar(?)-yašur were found twelve cuneiform letters and name-lists, which were naturally enough placed by their discoverer in the Amarna period. Since (Sellin, *Nachlese*, pp. 30—31) no potsherds of the Aegeo-Phoenician (Cypriote) type were found in this palace, Sellin concluded that this ware did not come in until the thirteenth century, whereas Ashkelon proves that it went out in the following century. A careful study of the tablets, to be given in detail elsewhere, has convinced me that both script and language, especially the latter, are more archaic than in the Amarna Tablets. Consequently, it seems necessary to place our tablets during the Asiatic Empire of Amenophis I or Tuthmosis I, probably the latter, in the sixteenth century. With this assignment the fact that Cypriote wares first become common about the fifteenth century agrees fully.

Megiddo and Jericho, while imperfectly studied, have revealed to the trained eye a beautiful stratification, which carries the beginnings of the history of these sites far back into the past, laying, when properly interpreted, a secure foundation for future work. Beth-shan, to judge from present indications, will be the touch-stone to solve the surviving mysteries in the classification of pot-sherds and cultures. Thanks to the extraordinary depth of débris in the mound of the citadel, to its compactness and its exposed situation, which has made it the victim of repeated destruction, we may expect the most brilliant results, which the sure scientific touch of Fisher will accurately classify.

Before sketching the results of the excavations at Megiddo and Jericho, it is necessary to stress the fact, already noticed by different scholars, but not sufficiently emphasized, that the earlier strata in

both are badly post-dated. In the *Anhang* to *Tell el-Mutesellim* Steuernagel saw that Schumacher had misunderstood the stratification, but in correcting the error he attempted to introduce a wholly new numeration, which has so confused scholars that few have continued their investigations in this direction. Native rock was reached in Megiddo at only one place, where it lay 6.20 metres (20 feet) below the pavement of "Hall t" in the northern castle of the third level, which extended down to before the time of Tuthmosis III, and hence may have been destroyed by him in 1478. It is obvious that 20 feet is too great a thickness of débris for two strata only, since there can be no question here of accumulation of débris from higher levels. Besides, Schumacher himself (p. 11) states that the first two strata here had a total thickness of 3.10 metres, thus leaving as much again unexplained. We therefore must assume five strata before c. 1478 B. C.; in order to leave Schumacher's numeration intact we may call the third and fourth 2A and 2B. As Steuernagel pointed out, the foundations of the third level lay immediately over the stratum to which belong grave I, containing scarabs of the Middle Empire type, and the brick city wall, so we must refer these remains to 2B (his fourth). The strata may be classified as follows:

1 Before 3000 B. C.	{ Macalister (<i>Gezer</i> , I, 159) calculates rate of accumulation of débris at one in. in six years, which would allow a minimum estimate of 1200 years for 20 feet.
2 ? 2800	
2A ? 2500	
2B c. 2100—1700	Brick city wall, Eg. scarabs of Middle Empire type.
3 c. 1700—1478	Cypriote pottery, Astarte plaques.
4 c. 1478—1100	Cypriote ware, pilgrim flasks, seal of Tuthmosis III.
5 c. 1100—725 ¹	"Phoenician" palace, seal of Shema, servant of Jeroboam II (?).
6 c. 700—400	Iron smithy, Neo-Babylonian seals.
7 c. 400—200	Remains of Persian and Greek period.

At Jericho Sellin and Watzinger found seven strata, the first three of which they considered pre-Israelite. The cause of this

¹ Megiddo was probably captured and destroyed by Shalmaneser V, in his campaign against Israel. The Assyrians laid siege to Samaria about 724.

mistake was ultimately the unfortunate brick wall of the third city, which they at once identified with the wall which collapsed before the Israelites, though inclined to a rationalistic explanation of this miraculous phenomenon. The fourth stratum, however, contained pure Canaanite ceramics of the type associated with Cypriote ware, which at Ashkelon always precedes the Philistine level (early twelfth century on), to say nothing of scarabs and jar-sealings of the Middle Empire and Hyksos type. We may date the strata approximately:

1 ? 3000 B. C.

2 ? 2500

3 c. 2000—1700 Brick city wall as in Megiddo 2B.

4 c. 1700—1230¹ Cypriote ware, Middle Empire-Hyksos scarabs.

4A c. 1230—870 Site unoccupied, Jos. 6 26; 1 Kings 16 34.

5 c. 870—600 Early Jewish pottery.

6 c. 550—200 Vase inscriptions in late Old Hebrew characters.

At Beth-shan Fisher has devoted his attention so far mainly to the top levels of the Mound of the Acropolis (Tell el-Huşn), where the first campaign brought to light Arab, Crusading, Byzantine, and Roman remains. In a vertical section on the tell scarp, he has descended fifteen metres below the Byzantine pavement; fortunately, the strata are nearly horizontal, so are *in situ*. At the very bottom he came upon a brick wall and a round construction, apparently a tower, all built of the same large sun-dried bricks which are characteristic of Megiddo 2B and Jericho 3. Above these constructions were Canaanite burials, containing wares of the late "First Semitic" (to 1800 B. C.) or early "Second Semitic." A jar-handle bore the imprint of an Egyptian seal of Middle Empire type. Potsherds of burnished black and brown ware, associated in Egypt with the late Middle Empire and Hyksos periods were also found at this level. Above this level was a broad stratum containing many fragments of white slip ware (Cypriote, with ladder designs), after which all potsherds seem to be of the monotonous red, brown and black characteristic of periods of indigenous ceramic culture, such as the Israelite and Jewish were. This section accordingly carries us back to 2000 B. C.; we may safely suppose that there are

¹ For the date of the Conquest see *Journal* I, 66.

still at least five metres of débris below the lowest level reached. The evidence of Megiddo, Jericho, and Beth-shan shows clearly that the first cities in Palestine arose on the edge of the fertile plains of Esdraelon and the Jordan, and that the settlements in the Shephelah are younger.

From the excavations in Palestine no cogent evidence for the race of the inhabitants of the land in the third millennium can be drawn. Yet there is nothing to contradict the view stated above, on other grounds, that Palestine became a prevaillingly Semitic country in the late Neolithic, and remained so until the beginning of the second millennium.

Owing to the fact that hardly any excavations of moment have been carried on in the strata belonging to the third millennium it is rather too early to make any confident statements regarding the culture of the people of that era. The data described in the first part of the paper indicate strongly that we ought not to jump at conclusions from our meagre archaeological materials. If Palestine was, even in the fourth millennium B. C., one of the most important commercial routes, the caravans which passed down the coast, carrying articles of use and luxury for trading purposes, must have influenced the towns along their route very greatly. A land which thus early became the trade route between the two centres of ancient civilization and one of the chief goals for the campaigns of their rulers cannot have remained in barbarism, even for a few centuries.

It is possible, however, to state definitely that Palestinian civilization made a long step forward in the last quarter of the third millennium B. C. During this period the great city walls of Gezer, Lachish, Megiddo, Jericho, and probably also of Beth-shan were constructed. The remarkable tunnel at Gezer, by means of which the inhabitants of the city were assured of a water-supply from a spring in the time of a siege, and probably similar tunnels at Jerusalem and elsewhere date from the same age. The walls of Lachish, Megiddo, Jericho, and Beth-shan were built of adobe, while at Gezer, where stone was more abundant, brick was only used for towers. As Vincent has demonstrated (*Canaan*, pp. 83ff.) the art of constructing brick walls with bastions was borrowed by the Canaanites from Mesopotamia; the difference between the Mesopotamian principles of fortification and the Egyptian is so great that there can be no

question of Egyptian influence in this phase of early Palestinian culture. Though the walls so far known seem to have been built during the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon, when the Amorites adopted the civilization of Babylonia, it is doubtful whether we can connect the two phenomena. The town of *Nd'*, probably in Phoenicia (see above), is represented with bastioned brick walls as early as the 24th century, so it is more likely that there was a gradual extension of the Mesopotamian art of fortification through Syria, toward the south, perhaps under the influence of fresh Amorite energy.

Despite the great improvement in the method of fortification Palestine fell under the control of the Pharaohs of the Twelfth Dynasty. The evidence from Egypt is fully corroborated and supplemented by the discoveries in Palestine. Scarabs and jar-sealings of the Middle Empire type have been found in large numbers in all sites of this period, especially at Gezer and Megiddo. The remarkably large number found at Gezer is not, however, due to the relative importance of this town, but to the thoroughness of Macalister's researches and the singular good fortune which fell to his lot in the discovery of rich tomb-treasure, quite intact, from this period. Among the finds were two scarabs of Sesostri I (1800—1360).¹ Other indications of Egyptian occupation at this time were two funeral statues (*htp dy nyswt*), with the names of *Hq3-yb* and *Ddy-Amân*.² The type of syncretism between Babylonian and Egyptian elements described above in the case of the seal of Yakîn-ilu, probably of Byblos, meets us in Taanach, where we have from the same period the seal-cylinder of Atânah-ilî, son of Habsum (*mâr Ha-ab-si-im*). The Syro-Palestinian origin of the cylinder is proved by the Egyptian hieroglyphs (*nh, nfr, sz*) which are carved on it, evidently for decorative or magical purposes. The name *Atânah-ilî* is not, however, Hebrew like *Yakîn-ilu*, but Akkadian; it appears often in the Cappadocian tablets from the second half of the third millennium. It is therefore likely that Atânah-ilî was a north-Syrian merchant, and not a resident of Taanach. His seal illustrates the movement of civilization from Mesopotamia into Syria and Palestine. Mesopotamian culture had two great advantages in its penetration into

¹ With the throne-name *Hpr-k3-R'*; *Gezer* III, Pl. 205a, 9 and 207, 4.

² See *Gezer* II, 311—313.

Palestine. First of all, there was no real barrier of language; Akkadian shaded almost insensibly into Amorite and Hebrew. The states of Hana and Mari on the Middle Euphrates, whose speech was Amorite, were intimately associated with Babylonia, whose civilization they shared. Secondly, the Babylonians were the merchants of the ancient world, and their trading caravans traveled far and wide, disseminating Babylonian goods and ideas. For these reasons the influence of Egyptian culture on Palestine, in spite of the much more intimate political relation between the two lands, remained superficial, hardly affecting the life of the people.

Into this land, with its Egyptian allegiance and Babylonizing civilization, there poured, between the twentieth and the seventeenth centuries, a veritable inundation of strangers and barbarians, which all but transformed Palestine into a non-Semitic land. In division, however, was weakness; among the Babel of different tongues not one was strong enough to impose itself upon the others, so Hebrew, the native speech of the land, maintained itself, and gradually suffocated the foreign jargons. The old culture was, however, not strong enough to withstand the flood of Anatolian influences, so we find, from the sixteenth century, that the old Oriental ceramic art is being replaced by Anatolian (so called Cypriote).¹ Anatolian and Aegean influences now become increasingly important, at least in the material culture of Palestine.²

Naturally this change did not take place peacefully; the Canaanites did not yield without a struggle. The fallen brick walls of the third city of Jericho, referred erroneously by Sellin to the capture of the town by the Hebrews, are a testimony to the violence of the struggle. Megiddo 2B doubtless fell at about the same time, perhaps earlier.

¹ There can be little doubt that Cypriote ceramics will be found equally characteristic of the southern coasts of Asia Minor, where so far no excavations whatever have been conducted. Cyprus was always very closely connected with Cilicia, from which it was only fifty miles distant. "Cypriote" wares of a slightly later type have been found in the excavations at Gordium, the old capital of Phrygia. "Cypriote" pottery was also characteristic of Phoenicia in the second millennium, as results from the recent excavations there (Woolley, *Syria* II, pp. 177—194; Contenau, *Syria* I, p. 122).

² The religion and mythology of Palestine was in ancient times related both to the Aegean and Anatolian and to the Mesopotamian. Egyptian influences or analogies are also present.

Palestine seems to have remained the focus of Hyksos power. Hyksos scarabs, including those of the great conqueror, Ḫayan, are common in this period. When the Egyptians finally drove the Hyksos out, they maintained themselves for some time in Philistia and southern Judah, where their principal fortress appears to have been Šilhôn.¹

In the foregoing paper we have sketched our subject in broad lines, but we have every reason to hope that the picture will be filled in by the excavations of the next few decades. Palestine is a land of great archaeological potentialities.²

¹ See *Journal* I, p. 188.

² Since this paper was written, additional material of importance has become available:—

Cf. p. 116f.—Legrain, *Historical Fragments*, Nos. 3, 6, 9, has published some valuable letters of Ibi-Šin, which prove that the Amorites entered Babylonia about 2360 as mercenaries of the last king of the Ūr Dynasty, in his war against the Elamites. After his defeat by the latter, the Amorites remained in southern Babylonia, where in 2358 they founded the Dynasty of Larsa, more than a century before their seizure of northern Babylonia.

Cf. p. 117—My identification of Šangar with Ḫana is proved by Forrer's discussion in *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches*, pp. 15—17. The province of Singara (pron. Šingar), called also Rašappa after its capital, included both the Jebel Sinjâr and Suḫi, Laqe, Ḫindanu, and Sirqu (= Tirqa: Forrer) on the Middle Euphrates.

Cf. pp. 119, 121—That Byblos was the Egyptian capital of Syria has been proved by the remarkable discoveries there by Montet (*Syria*, II, 333f.), of inscriptions of the Thinite and Memphite periods, including those of Mycerinus, Unas, and Phiops I.

Cf. p. 121—It is not yet known to all that Gardiner has established the reading of "Byblos" in the Sinuhe story beyond a cavil (*Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, pp. 21—23).

BYZANTINE CARAVAN ROUTES IN THE NEGB

T. CANAAN

(JERUSALEM)

IF one makes a trip from Beer-Sheba southward into the peninsula of Sinai, one observes many things which do not correspond in any way to what is known in Palestine: climate, geological formation, hydrographic conditions, fauna, flora and even remains of the past differ enormously. I wish to call attention only to a few points which bear a direct relation to the subject of my paper. I shall restrict my description to that part which stretches from the southern mountains of Palestine directly southward as far as the limits of civilization, and from the 'Arabah depression in the east to the western boundaries of the 'Azâzmeh region. The greater portion of the district in question (below Bir es-Sabi') belongs to this Bedouin tribe.

This region is divided naturally by two water-courses—running from east to west—into three zones; Wâdî es-Sabi' separates the northern from the middle zone. The latter is bounded in the south by two water-courses, one running from west to east, the Marra-Fikrî valley, and the Wâdî el-Abyaḍ, flowing in the opposite direction. The Marra-Fikrî valley rises in the mountains of 'Abdeh, not far from the origin of Wâdî el-Abyaḍ. Up to Rudjm el-Baqarah it bears the name Marra and from here onward Fikrî. Wâdî el-Abyaḍ has a W. N. W. direction and empties into W. el-'Arish. At el-'Ôdjah it receives W. el-'Ôdjah and shortly afterwards is called W. el-Azraq.

W. es-Sabi' receives its water from three branches. From the south comes W. 'Ar'arah, which unites at Khirbet es-Sabi' with W. el-Buṭum, flowing from the east; and soon after their union they receive W. el-Khalil which comes from the north. Beyond Bir es-Sabi' it bears

different names in different parts: W. Martabah, W. eṣ-Ṣinî, Sêl Shallâleh and W. Ghazzeh.

The three zones differ enormously in soil and formation. The northern one has a very fertile soil, washed down from the mountains. The central region is composed of large fertile patches with much larger areas of sand dunes and rocky, flinty mountains, while the southern zone is barren and stony.

Hand in hand with the geological formation goes the fertility of the Negeb. All the area to the north of W. el-Buṭum-es-Sabî is very fertile and when the winter is rainy the crops are most excellent.

The central zone is not nearly so fertile, but there are many valleys, plateaus and some plains which could well be utilized for agriculture. The most important plains of this sort are situated to the east of the mountain ridge which divides the region from north to south into two parts. This mountain ridge protects most of the eastern part of the central region from the flying sand which changes all places it reaches to inhospitable and barren deserts. The third part is a stony, flinty, sandy desert, absolutely worthless for agriculture.

Hydrographic conditions in the Negeb are very curious. With the exception of the small spring of Kurnub I do not know of any perennial spring. When the rainfall is scanty, as is very often the case, the condition is still more hopeless. Therefore in many places deep wells have been dug to reach the subterranean flow of water. Such wells are still to be found in Bir es-Sabî, Khalâṣah, Ruḥêbeh, el-Ôdjah. The springs Qusêneh, Ên-Qdêrât and Ên-Qâdis lie to the south of our region. These water resources are not enough, and additions are necessary. Beduins subsist on the *uḥḍî* waters for the winter and spring months, but the spring is very short. In the beginning of winter these sons of the desert dig pits three to four metres deep and situated at the base of two hills. As the deeper strata of this region are composed mostly of clay soil, the rain water which has gathered in these pits can not seep through. Abraham's servants may have dug similar pits at Beer-Sheba and have called them "wells." At present they are known by the name *hrâbeh*. In the last dry months of the summer the Beduins gather around the old Byzantine wells and around Qusêneh.

After this short discussion of the geological formation, vegetation and water supply of the land of the 'Azâzmeh, the questions arise:

How could these Byzantine colonies exist in this barren desert? Why were they built? On what did their inhabitants live? To solve them let us consider briefly the civilization of:

1. The country to the north of Beer-Sheba,
2. That between Beer-Sheba and the line el-'Ôdjah-'Abdeh (which corresponds to the central zone),
3. The lands south of this line,
4. The land of the 'Arabah depression.

1. It is most striking to note how the plain south of Djebel el-Khalil is sown with ruins. In some places as, for example, the country to the west of esh-Sheri'ah nearly every hill shows some remains of old habitation. The hill to the northeast of the Tell esh-Sheri'ah station, just north of the bridge, shows different strata, which indicate superimposed towns. In no place of this region except in Khirbet es-Sabi', in Beer-Sheba, and the ruins on the coast are remains of large buildings to be seen. The enormous number of ruins in this district points to a conclusion which is very important for us, namely, that it was once densely populated and that the soil, which is naturally of an excellent quality, was well utilized and that political conditions were settled.

2. In the second zone, which is, as we have seen, sandier, drier and much less fertile, we find, to our great astonishment, many ruins of what must once have been large and important villages. The houses are built of solid, well-hewn stones and many of them are finished in an artistic style. Nearly every town had a large basilica, and nothing was spared to beautify it; some possessed even more than one. Paintings, mural decorations, etc., were still to be seen in 1915. In Şbêta it almost seemed to me as if an earthquake had taken place only a few months before, forcing the inhabitants to leave their beautiful city. Many houses were still erect, and most had several walls more or less well preserved. What expense and what human energy were necessary to build such villages in the desert! But there are remains of a much older civilization to be seen here and there. On Djebel esh-Sherqîyeh, for example, an old altar of roughly hewn stones is still found. Traces of un-Byzantine work may be found elsewhere also.

3. The region south of 'Abdeh-el-'Ôdjah is also desolate, devoid of buildings, barren of human traces. Some flint artifacts are to be

seen near Qusêneh. Remains of a castle are found near 'Ên-Qderât. Bir-Birên (between el-'Ôdjah and Qusêneh), though just below the line 'Abdeh-el-'Ôdjah, belonged in ancient times probably to the central region.

4. Quite different again is the Wâdi el-'Arabah region with the adjoining districts on its eastern side. Here again we find, as a look at the map will show, a great number of ruins, and history tells us that civilization once flourished here, when the names Petra and Aela had a special significance to the world.

After this survey we come to the solution of the question: How could these colonies in the Negeb exist? The answer is: They were the connecting link between the densely populated and well organised country of Palestine on the one hand and the land of the Nabateans on the other hand; they lay on the caravan road between Palestine in the north and Petra-Aela in the south. All caravans to Egypt from Petra-Aela and back had to pass by this road. The caravan road between Arabia, el-'Arabah and the ports of Palestine was also the foundation of the prosperity of Pêtra.

Supported by a flourishing, densely populated country, and attracted by the riches and the trade of the south, emigrants early went south from Palestine into the Negeb and established colonies. As communication between these lands increased, the necessity of establishing new stations on the caravan road arose. The further south these emigrants went, the further the nomads were pressed back into the desert; naturally these sons of nature looked with hatred at the intruders, and never rested until they triumphed over their enemies and drove them back into Palestine.

A minute study of the ruins reveals their past history and supports our theory. I shall try to describe the most important items in this connection.

The ruins followed two caravan lines, an eastern and a western one. The western line connected Bir-es-Sabi', Khalâsah, Ruḥêbeh, Mas'ûdiyyeh, el-'Ôdjah with Şbêta. The eastern road went from es-Sabi', 'Ar'ara, Byâr 'Aslûdj, near Mashrafiyeh, to Şbêta. A short-cut from this caravan road went from 'Ar'ara directly to Kurnub and leaving Mashrafiyeh, Şbêta and 'Abdeh, followed the Fikri valley until it reached the 'Arabah. Both these roads, the eastern and the western, ran from Şbêta to 'Abdeh and on to the Marra-Fikri

valley, following Ên Hasib (or Bir Kharrâr), Ên Webbeh, Ên Tayyibeh, Naqb er-Rbâî to the Arabah. From Wâdî Fikrî the road went either directly past Naqb ed-Dakhl to Busêrah, southeast to Wâdî Mûsâ, or directly southward to Aila. This caravan road was presumably not first built by the Byzantine authorities but was repaired and fortified by them.

The caravan road connecting north with southeast was also the cause of the lack of colonies to the south of the line 'Abdeh-Ôdjah. They would have been far too remote from their base and at the same time more exposed to the attacks of the Bedouins. This explains at the same time why no settlements were made in the beautiful plain around the large spring Quşêmeh, though water, one of the most pressing needs, is found in great quantities.

Owing to these continuous conflicts between the new colonists and the Arabs, the former were obliged to use every means to protect their lives and interests, and strong fortresses were erected. The northern colonies were fortified only by well-built walls, as they did not need elaborate defenses, being situated in the rear, while the southern stations were fortified strongholds built on naturally defensible mountains, more or less isolated from the ridge to which they belong. Mashrafiyeh, Ôdjah, 'Abdeh are examples of such strategic positions. Doubtless the nomads of those times often tried in vain to surprise and take these castles.

But even fields, vineyards and orchards were protected against assault by square watch-towers. In W. Rakhwat, W. Imm 'Irqân, W. Abu-Khenân, near Şbêta, el-Ôdjah, and Ruḥêbeh, in the plain 'Aslûdj, W. el-Wqêr, etc., remains of such towers may be yet seen.

The caravan road itself had to be well protected by fortresses, between different stations and at exposed points. Such strongholds were situated in Tell Shunnârah between Ruḥêbeh and el-Ôdjah, on the Naqb ed-Dableh etc. The new inhabitants of the desert had besides the Beduin another enemy, perhaps more dangerous than the first: the desert itself with its lack of water, its sand storms, poor soil and hot climate. But their unbreakable will, combined with indefatigable industry, overcame these difficulties. Most settlements (Şbêta, Ruḥêbeh, Bir Birên) had a cistern in every house; pools were constructed; deep wells were dug to reach the underground waters (Ôdjah, Khalâşah, Ruḥêbeh). The upper ends of many valleys

were changed into reservoirs by building a massive wall across their beds (E. of Rihbeh, Kurnub). Every spot which could be utilised for agriculture was worked systematically. The walls which divided one piece of land from another are still to be seen all over this region. To keep the water of the wadis in check during winter and thus prevent the soil of their gardens from being washed away thick walls with a triangular section were erected. The base of one of these walls which I saw near El-'Odjah measured 23 feet. They were so well built that they have resisted the attacks of nature through all the centuries.

The solitude of the desert with its beautifully clear sky and the ever-shining stars attracted the monks to the Negeb. Thus the great basilicas with their small adjoining monasteries were built. Most of our towns had more than one basilica. In the small church of El-'Odjah, situated inside the fortress, a tomb and a monk's skeleton with a papyrus roll were found during the war.

As long as Palestine and the land of the Nabateans flourished the colonies in the Negeb flourished also, and their inhabitants became rich, since all the trade to and from Palestine, Egypt, and Petra-Arabia passed through them. This trade was the only source of their wealth and the very basis of their existence. Agriculture and sheep-raising were carried on only on a small scale.

Finally the political importance of Palestine began to dwindle, commerce with the south and the southeast waned, and as the life of the colonies became very precarious the occupation of the oases was no longer possible, for the caravan road fell into disuse. The Beduins seized the opportunity and hastened the downfall of the intrusive culture; thus barbarians again won a victory over civilization . . .

APHEK

A Study in Biblical Topography

S. TOLKOWSKY

(JAFFA)

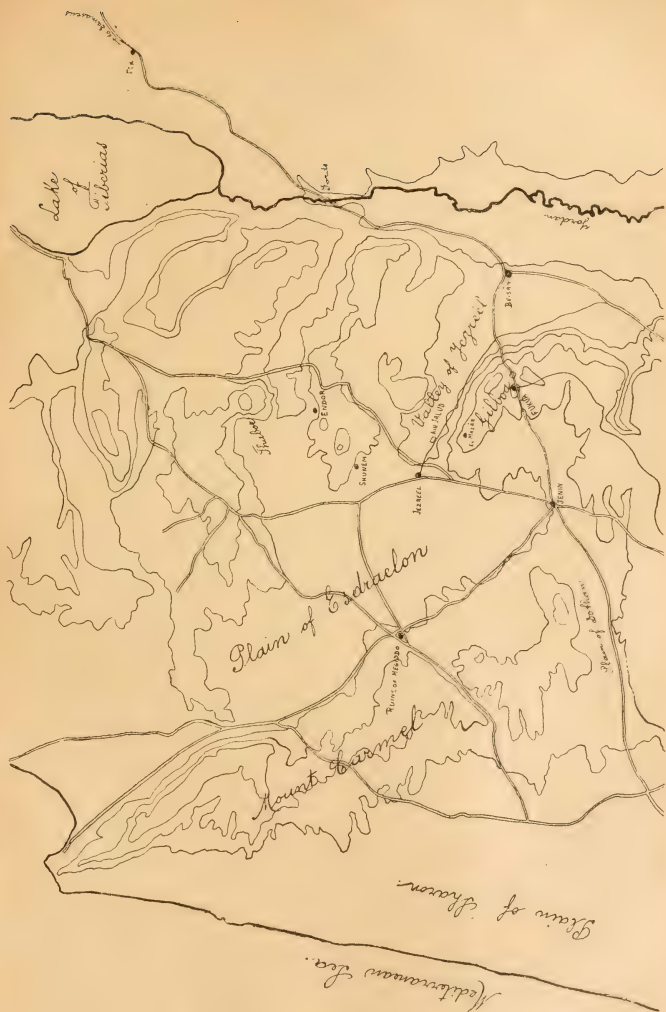
MOST Bible commentators and historians have located the battles which took place near Aphek in different, widely separated regions and have presented us with the identification not of one town but of three or four different places bearing the same name. The object of the present study is to show that the most important battles which according to the Bible have taken place in the vicinity of Aphek have really been fought in one and the same region, and in the neighbourhood of one and the same town of Aphek.

After the completion of the initial conquest, which had given the Hebrew tribes possession of the hill-countries of Central Palestine, of Galilee and of Transjordan, but had not given them control of the plains, the wars of the Hebrews may be divided roughly into two classes: wars waged for the defence of the national territory, and wars waged for the reduction of foreign enclaves within the national territory. The wars for the reduction of foreign enclaves had for their scene the Plain of Esdraelon. The Hebrews, indeed, up to the time of David and Solomon never succeeded in getting a permanent hold over the plain; they held their own only in the mountains. The plains were held by hostile nations: the Canaanites first, and later their successors the Philistines. These peoples of the plain, who were provided with chariots, cavalry and heavy infantry, had resisted all the attempts of the Hebrews to conquer the plains at the time when the latter first overran Palestine. The low-land

peoples remained in control not only of the maritime plain but also of the Plain of Esdraelon, thus driving a wedge between the Hebrews of Galilee and those of Central Palestine. It was only natural that from time to time the Hebrews should try to establish territorial connection between these two disconnected halves of their race, an object which could only be achieved by driving the Canaanite and Philistine garrisons out of the Plain of Esdraelon. The Canaanites and the Philistines on their side were bound to resist these attempts for a much more important reason than the mere possible loss of the fertile lands of the Plain of Esdraelon. By holding the Plain of Esdraelon they also held the country round Beth-Shean, (the present Beisan) and the Jordan fords which were situated near that fortress. There, as long as they held the Plain of Esdraelon, they had the means of preventing any common action between the Hebrews of Central Palestine, those of Galilee and those established to the east of the Jordan; the loss of their control over the Plain of Esdraelon would have as a direct result an active military cooperation between all these Hebrew tribes. This circumstance explains why in each and every case both parties sustained the fight until the almost complete annihilation of the vanquished.

Apart from the battle of Megiddo, as far as our records go five big battles were fought in Biblical times in the Plain of Esdraelon. The first on record is that of Deborah and Barak against the Canaanite chief Sisera; as the Hebrew host participating in this battle was composed chiefly of warriors from Galilee it was only natural that they should, with a view to remain in communication with their homes, choose their battlefield in the north-eastern part of the Plain of Esdraelon, just south of Mount Tabor.

The second battle mentioned is that fought by the tribes of the hill-country of Samaria, under the leadership of Gideon, against Midianite nomads who had crossed the Jordan near Beth-Shean and were encamped in the Valley of Jezreel leading up from Beth-Shean to the Plain of Esdraelon proper. In this case the logical position for the Hebrew army was on the northern slope of Mount Gilboa looking down into the Valley of Jezreel; the fight was not a regular battle between two organised armies, but only a surprise attack carried out under cover of night by a small band of three hundred determined peasants against a nomad camp at rest.



THE BATTLE OF THE ARK

"And the word of Samuel came to all Israel. Now Israel went out against the Philistines to battle, and pitched beside Eben Ezer: and the Philistines pitched in Aphek" (1 Samuel 4 1). Historians and commentators have generally identified the Aphek mentioned in this passage with a place in the Plain of Sharon¹ or in the Plain of Philistia.² But this identification cannot possibly be reconciled with v. 12 of the same chapter, in which it is said that, after the loss of the battle by the Hebrews, "a man of Benjamin ran away from the battle-line and came to Shiloh on the same day," where he announced the defeat. Shiloh, as we know, was situated in Samaria, that is to say, north of Benjamin and a few miles away from the chief high-road connecting Benjamin with the Plain of Esdraelon. If the battle had been fought to the west of Benjamin, there would have been no reason why the man from Benjamin, on his way from the battlefield to his home, should pass by Shiloh. It is not logical to argue that the man was sent as a messenger from the field of battle to the High-Priest Eli; because in the first place if a messenger was required, probably an inhabitant of Shiloh or of the surrounding country would have been chosen; moreover, the text clearly shows that the man's destination was not Shiloh, for it is said that he ran away from the battle-line "and came to Shiloh." It is indeed much more logical to suppose that the man was really returning to his home, and that on his way home he had to pass near Shiloh, where he arrived on the same day, at or near sunset, and turned in for the night. That would imply that Shiloh lay along the main direct road leading from the battlefield to Benjamin; in other words, that the battlefield was situated to the north of Shiloh. The man arrived at Shiloh on the very day of the battle which ended in the defeat of the Hebrews. It is clear from the text that the presence of the Ark in the midst of the Hebrews had inspired them

¹ C. Hauser, in *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1895, p. 279. G. A. Smith, in *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1895, p. 252. Wellhausen: *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 1914, p. 50. R. Kittel: *A History of the Hebrews* (English Translation), 1896, Vol. II, p. 104. Charles Foster Kent: *A History of the Hebrew People*, Vol. I, p. 85. Charles Foster Kent: *Biblical Geography and History*, p. 140.

² George Armstrong: *Names and Places*, 1908.

with new energy, which is also obvious from the fact that the Philistines were in the beginning rather depressed by the news of the Ark's presence amongst their enemies. As, nevertheless, the Philistines ended by being the victors, it may be inferred that the battle was fought with great determination by both sides and that it lasted long; so that it is hardly to be supposed that the Benjamite fugitive, who actually saw the defeat of the Hebrews and the capture of the Ark by the Philistines, left the field of battle before nine or ten o'clock in the morning. Since he still arrived on the same day, that is to say, before sunset, at Shiloh, at an hour when there was still sufficient daylight for the old High-Priest to remain seated by the way-side waiting for news from the Army, he can have had hardly more than about eight hours for his journey. The distance which a light-armed warrior would be able to cover in these eight hours may be estimated roughly at about 30 miles; but 30 miles is just the distance which separates Shiloh from the southern end of the Plain of Esdraelon. For a battle in the southern corner of the Plain of Esdraelon, between an army occupying that plain and another holding the mountains of Samaria, the logical positions for their camps would be respectively the rocky defile south of Jenin for the latter, and the south-western slopes of Mount Gilboa just below the village of Fukû'a for the former. It is this village of Fukû'a which I believe to be the Aphek of the Bible. For Eben-Ezer I am not yet able to suggest a meaning or a definition; it may be that this name was applied to some conspicuous rock near the entrance to the defile south of Jenin which to an army in danger would offer a safe shelter and way of retreat.

THE BATTLE OF GILBOA

The ambition of Saul, when he had driven the Philistines out of Benjamin, was to unite the Hebrew tribes in one state. A series of successful expeditions directed by him against the Moabites in defence of Reuben and against the Ammonites in defence of Gad, increased both the national consciousness of the Hebrew tribes beyond the Jordan and the prestige which Saul and his Benjamites enjoyed amongst them. A similar successful expedition against the Amalekite Bedouin in the south, who had been periodically laying waste the

southern portion of the territory of Judah, led also the latter tribe to acknowledge Saul's kingship. The battle of the Valley of Elah and the subsequent expeditions against the Philistines along the western boundary of his kingdom kept these traditional enemies of the Hebrews so busy that they lost more and more their hold over the Plain of Esdraelon and the Jordan fords near Beisan, thus enabling Saul to establish his rule in Galilee and beyond the Jordan, a development evidenced by his edict against necromancers (1 Samuel 28⁹), his promise not to punish the witch of Endor (do. v. 10), and his recognition by the men of Jabesh-Gilead as their lord (2 Samuel 2 5 and 7). Thus also it became possible for members of the northern and eastern tribes to settle in some of the towns of the Plain of Esdraelon. But as Saul grew old and his energy became relaxed under the influence of the recurrent insanity to which he was a prey¹ and which was gradually taking a more and more acute form, the Philistines at last saw the opportunity of making an attempt to reconquer their lost position in the Plain of Esdraelon and on the Jordan fords, and thus to destroy the territorial unity of the Hebrew State. They collected their forces and marched in full strength into the Plain of Esdraelon, where they established their camp on the southern slopes of the hill called to-day Jebel Dahy, just below Shunem (the present Solam) and close to the main road leading from Samaria to Galilee. The Hebrews from Galilee and Transjordan, who had settled in the cities of the Plain, abandoned these and withdrew into the hills of Lower Galilee and beyond the Jordan, there to await events; and the Philistines reoccupied all these cities, including their old fortress of Beth-Shean. Thus at the outset they cut off Saul from any possibility of military collaboration with the northern and eastern tribes. For the Hebrew king there were only two alternatives left: either to abandon the Plain of Esdraelon to the Philistines, which would mean to submit voluntarily to the disruption of his kingdom, the building up of which had been the object of his whole reign; or to accept battle, notwithstanding the fact that for a fight on the plain the enemy was incomparably better equipped and trained than his own mountaineers. The king took up the challenge and encamped opposite to the

¹ Dr. E. W. G. Mastermann: "Hygiene and Disease in Palestine in Modern and in Biblical Times" (*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1918, p. 168).

Philistine army on the northwestern end of Mount Gilboa just above the old fountain of Gideon (the present 'Ain Jalûd). These are the positions of the two armies indicated in 1 Samuel 28 4. But looking from his elevated position upon the huge Philistine army, encamped in full strength on the other side of the narrow valley of Jezreel, and realising his meagre chances of overcoming them in a battle on the plain, the heart of Saul became dismayed (1 Samuel 28 5). He consulted the oracles and the prophets, but he received no answer to his queries (v. 6). Thereupon, in his anxiety, and notwithstanding his own severe edict against those "who had familiar spirits," one dark night he secretly crossed the valley, and, avoiding the Philistine sentinels, went to consult the witch who lived in Endor; but from this last attempt to consult fate he came back without any hope of success. A general of a less heroic stamp than the Benjamite would perhaps have withdrawn into his mountains and given up the hopeless adventure; not so Saul, who made up his mind to await the Philistines on Gilboa and to accept an honourable death rather than retreat. The steep northern slope of Gilboa made it difficult for the Philistines to attack him from across the Valley of Jezreel, to the north of which they were still encamped. A glance at the map will show that the northernmost end of Mount Gilboa occupies almost exactly the centre of a triangle, the three sides of which are constituted respectively by the Valley of Jezreel, the Jezreel-Jenin road, and the Jenin-Beth-Shean road. By ordering their detachments stationed near the fortress of Beth-Shean to move up the latter road and to occupy Aphek (1 Samuel 29 1), and by moving their main army from Shunem southwards to the town of Jezreel, the present Zerîn (v. 11), the Philistines, thanks to their chariots, could sweep these two roads; from Jezreel, which lies comparatively high and from which the view extends down the whole length of the Valley of Jezreel as far as Beth-Shean, they could at the same time control this valley, the third side of the triangle. It was a regular siege of Mount Gilboa. Saul's communications with the rear were cut, so that, should he come down the southwestern slopes of Gilboa in an attempt to cross the southern corner of the Plain towards Jenin in order to escape by the central mountain road starting from the defile situated to the south of this town, the Philistine chariots from Jezreel and from Aphek would be able, by moving upon Jenin, to forestall him and

to bar his route. But Saul had no mind to retreat, or to escape towards the north; he had already made his choice, and that was to die. Seeing that he did not move from his positions, the Philistines, leaving their chariots to guard the plain and the two roads, ordered their heavy infantry, composed of archers and slingers, to advance from Jezreel up the gentle southwestern slopes of Gilboa, and from Aphek northward along the ridge of the mountain. Saul's men put up a desperate defence; but they were no match for the superior archers and slingers of the Philistines. They were compelled to fall back and many of them were slain (1 Sam. 31 1), until at last Saul had only a handful of men remaining around him. But the proud king of Benjamin was not minded to give his life-long enemies the right to pride themselves on having killed him in battle. When he felt that the end was imminent, Saul at last threw himself upon his sword (v. 4). The tragedy was completed. Night fell upon the field of battle.

When the morning came the Philistines dispersed themselves over the battlefield in order to despoil the dead; and when they found the bodies of Saul and his three sons, they cut off the king's head and took his armour, and sent them to the Philistine cities as trophies; but his body they hung up on the walls of their fortress of Beth-Shean.

The whole course of the battle clearly shows that the chief strategic point around the capture of which turned the whole battle plan of the Philistines, was the town of Aphek situated in the rear of the Hebrew army, and that the Biblical text closely follows the chronological order of the various stages of the fight; whereas by locating Aphek in the plain of Sharon, as various commentators¹ have done, they have been led to emendations of the text, emendations which are not only unwarranted but unnecessary, as I think I have shown above.

THE BATTLE OF APHEK BETWEEN AHAB OF ISRAEL AND BEN-HADAD OF ARAM.

Ben-Hadad, king of Aram, had besieged Samaria, the capital of Israel, and had been beaten off with the complete loss of his camp

¹ Charles Foster Kent: *A History of the Hebrew People*, Vol. I, p. 130. G. A. Smith, in *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1895, p. 252. C. R. Conder, in the *Survey of Western Palestine*, Vol. II, p. 84, says: "It is possible that Aphek, where the Philistines encamped before attacking Saul on Mount Gilboa, may be the present Fuku'a."

and a large number of casualties; amongst the spoil captured by the Israelites was a large number of war chariots and horses, with which the king of Israel formed a corps of charioteers for his own army. But the King of Aram, although heavily beaten, did not give up his intention to conquer the Israelite Kingdom and began at once preparing for the renewal of hostilities in the following spring. This time his counsellors advised him not to venture again into the mountains of Israel. The reason was, of course, that the Aramean armies, accustomed only to warfare on the plains or on the plateaux of the East-Jordan country, where their chariots, horses and heavy infantry could manoeuvre freely, must naturally find it difficult to fight among the hills of Israel, where, on the contrary, the light-armed infantry of Ahab were at home and found the best conditions for the sort of guerilla warfare in which they were past masters.

Naturally for the Aramaeans to admit before their king that they were not prepared to meet the Israelites on the latter's own ground was rather unpalatable; and so the reason they gave him for avoiding battle within the mountains of Israel was that the god of the Israelites was a god of the hills and that therefore at Samaria the Israelites had been stronger than the Arameans; but that if the battle was to take place in the plains, surely the Aramaeans would be the victors (1 Kings 20 23). Moreover, as they attributed the defeat of the previous year partly to the lack of discipline shown by the thirty-two allied kings who accompanied Ben-Hadad to the siege of Samaria, each in command of his own troops, the Aramean king's counsellors now urged him to assume sole command himself by "taking the kings away, every man out of his place, and putting captains in their room" (v. 24). Lastly, they recommended that he should reconstitute his army and make it similar in size to the army destroyed the previous year, by replacing "horse for horse and chariot for chariot" (v. 25). The king listened to the advice of his counsellors and acted accordingly; and when the spring had come round again and with it the season in which troops used to take the field, Ben-Hadad mustered his army and "went up to Aphek" to fight against Israel (v. 26). The king of Israel, Ahab, had also not been idle. Foreseeing that sooner or later the Aramaeans would come back, he had spent the winter in preparing his army, and in organising

his corps of charioteers so as to be able, should he be forced to do so, to accept battle in the plains.

So, when the news arrived that the Aramaean army was encamped at Aphek, no doubt spoiling the surrounding country and terrorising its inhabitants, Ahab mustered and victualled his army and took the road in the direction of the Aramaean hosts: "and the children of Israel encamped before them like two little flocks of kids; but the Aramaeans filled the country" (v. 27). Now, where was the site of Aphek, near which the Aramaeans were encamped, and opposite which the Israelite army had taken up its position? The Biblical text (1 Kings 20 23) uses for the "plain" in which Ben-Hadad's counsellors advised him to await the Israelites, the term מִישׁוֹר. Now, apparently in view of the fact that מִישׁוֹר, apart from the passage with which we are now dealing, is used only for regions situated to the east of Jordan, some commentators¹ have concluded that Aphek must also be situated to the east of Jordan and have searched on the road from Damascus to Samaria for a place which, being situated in open country and bearing to-day an Arabic name similar to the name of Aphek, would satisfy the conditions which they imagined the text demands, and have fixed their choice upon the village of Fik, situated about four miles east of the Sea of Galilee. Skinner places Aphek in the Plain of Sharon,² Kittel locates it in the Kishon Valley,³ and Conder "on the way from Mizpah to Philistia."⁴

In reality matters are quite different and the text itself provides us with a most definite and unambiguous answer. The Targum has in place of Hebrew מִישׁוֹר, Aramaic מִישְׁרָא, and if we compare other passages in which the Targum uses the same word, we shall find that the word מִישְׁרָא is really nothing more than the exact Aramaean equivalent of the Hebrew word עֵמֶק (= plain). Now, הָעֵמֶק, "the" Plain *par excellence*, is the ordinary Hebrew name used in the

¹ George Adam Smith: *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, 17th Edition, pages 427, 459, 580. Charles Foster Kent: *Biblical Geography and History*, pp. 170—171. Charles Foster Kent: *A History of the Hebrew People*, vol. II, pp. 40—41. Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* (1910). H. B. Tristram: *The Land of Israel; a Journal of Travels in Palestine*, 1866, p. 437. G. Armstrong: *Names and Places* (1908).

² Skinner (*Century Bible*) places Aphek in the Plain of Sharon.

³ R. Kittel: *A History of the Hebrews* (English Translation, 1896), vol. II, p. 271.

⁴ C. R. Conder in *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1883, p. 180.

Bible for the Plain of Esdraelon. The whole difficulty which commentators have found in the word מישור simply comes from the fact that the Biblical narrative reproduces the advice given to Ben-Hadad by his counsellors, in Hebrew translation, with the exception of the geographical term מישור, which has been left in the Aramaic original.

Now, if we realise that the burden of the advice given to Ben-Hadad was not to enter the mountains of Israel but to await the Israelites in the plain, it seems obvious that the plain in which the Aramaeans were to await the Israelites could not have been any other plain than that situated immediately in front of the mountains of Israel, that is to say the Plain of Esdraelon, and especially the southern corner of the plain, which is situated immediately north of the present town of Jenin and which is enclosed on the south by the mountains of Israel, on the west by the slopes of Mount Carmel, and on the east by the gentle slopes leading up to Mount Gilboa. As the Aramaean camp must of necessity have been placed on this westward slope of Mount Gilboa, the town of Aphek, which was their base, must have been situated higher up on Mount Gilboa, on the road leading from Jenin to Damascus. The only place which fits into these conditions is the present village of Fukû'a, the same we have met in the two battles previously described. Now as to the position of the Israelites, it is obvious that although Ahab now possessed a corps of charioteers, prudence would not allow him to venture too far away from the shelter of his mountains; therefore, the natural position for his army was on the slopes of the mountains overlooking the Plain of Jenin from the southwest. Moreover, he had to keep open his communications with the interior of the country. As there were two roads available, (1) the chief high road striking from Jenin south-southwest almost straight to Shechem (Nablus) and (2) the road starting also from Jenin but going nearly west through the Plain of Dothan to the Plain of Sharon, there to turn to the southeast towards the town of Samaria, the logical thing for Ahab was to divide his army into two parts and to occupy the entrances to both the roads just mentioned. Both these entrances were narrow defiles. This is the reason why, according to the Bible text, the Israelites looked "like two little flocks of kids." No other battlefield than that at the foot of Gilboa would necessitate such a disposition of the Hebrew troops.

There is, however, a further argument against locating Aphek to the east of the Jordan Valley. It is said in v. 26 that Ben-Hadad "went up to Aphek." Now, Damascus is situated on a height of 2340 feet above the Mediterranean, whilst Fik is situated only at about 1250 feet; as Fik therefore is situated about 1100 feet lower than Damascus, the identification of Fik with Aphek does not fit the text just referred to. If however, we accept the location of Aphek on Mount Gilboa, then Ben-Hadad's army had to descend from Damascus into the Jordan Valley, to cross the latter, and then "to go up to Aphek."

We thus see that a close study of the three important battles in which the place of Aphek is mentioned leads us to the conclusion that in all three cases we have to deal with one and the same place, situated on Mount Gilboa; and that it must be situated close to a road practicable for war chariots. These requirements are met by no other place than the present village of Fukū'a, and I do not hesitate to identify this village with Aphek. But if any doubt remains as to the correctness of this identification, it seems to me that the Bible itself will dispose of these doubts. In Joshua 13 4, in the list of districts which had not yet been conquered by the Hebrews, after they had occupied the whole hill-country of Judaea and Samaria, the as yet unconquered country in the north is described as follows: *מְחִימֹן בְּלִ-אֶרֶץ הַכְּנָעָנִי, וּמִעֶרָה אֲשֶׁר לְצִדֹנִים עַד-אַפְקָה, עַד נָבֹל הָאֲמֹרִי*, which is ordinarily translated: "from the south all the land of the Canaanites and Mearah that belonged to the Sidonians, and to Aphek, to the borders of the Amorites." In this passage Aphek, according to the *Century Bible*, is to be identified with Afka, at the mouth of the river Nahr Ibrahim. This identification is not satisfactory, as Afka is situated much too far away,¹ to the north of Beirut. The text clearly shows that Aphek is situated on the frontier of the country of the Amorites. Now, in Deuteronomy 1 7, *הַר הָאֲמֹרִי*, "the mountain of the Amorites," serves to designate the hill-country of Judaea and Samaria. Therefore since the northernmost end of this hill-country is represented by Mount Gilboa, it follows that Aphek, if it lay on the frontier, must have been situated on Gilboa. We have, besides, the testimony of

¹ As rightly pointed out by C. F. Burney: *The Book of Judges* (1908), p. 29.

Robinson,¹ who says that "the inhabitants of Jenîn now call this range Jebel Fukû'a" from the adjacent village, whilst Conder² writes of Fukû'a: "... a large village on top of a spur. It gives its name to the Gilboa range, which is often called Jebel Fukû'a. It is surrounded by olive gardens, and supplied by cisterns east and west of the village." The passage in Joshua, of which we have just spoken, throws some further light upon the position of Aphek. Verse 3, which starts the list of unconquered countries, describes the great maritime plain of Palestine; v. 5 describes the country of Lebanon; the intermediate v. 4 refers to the country lying between the Lebanon and the hill-country of Central Palestine. In this verse the word מערה has been kept in some translations as the name of a place, in others it has been translated "a cavern." Both these explanations are wrong. In Isaiah 19 7, the word ערות, plural of ערה, is generally translated "paper reeds," but it may just as well mean not only the paper reeds themselves but the stretch of land covered by them, or better still some town or village situated in a district rich in paper reeds and therefore named after them. Such a place may well have been situated in the marshes north of Lake Huleh, in the district of Laish, which was later on conquered by the tribe of Dan, when they drove out the Sidonians to whom it originally belonged. In my opinion the first four words of Joshua 13 4, in reality belong to the preceding v. 3; indeed, the first half of verse 3 explains that the Philistine and Avvite regions described in the second half of the same verse are contiguous on their northern frontier with the country of the Canaanites; and in my opinion the words מתימן כל-ארץ הכנעני meaning "to the south of the whole country of the Canaanites" belong to the end of v. 3 and are simply a repetition of the idea already explained in the first half of this verse. Verse 4 in that case would read: "And from Arah belonging to the Sidonians unto Aphek, (that is) to the border of the Amorites;" Aphek is thus indicated simultaneously as the southern limit of the Sidonian territory and the northern limit of the Amorite country. It seems to me that this definition of Aphek settles any doubts that might still exist as to the location of the place.

¹ E. Robinson: *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai and Arabia Petraea*, 1841, Vol. III, p. 158.

² C. R. Conder: *The Survey of Western Palestine*, Vol. II, p. 84.

That there may have been more than one Aphek in Palestine, is quite possible, and even probable. A priori, the word *Aphek* (אֲפֶק), meaning a fortress, may have been applied to different places. The Aphek mentioned in Joshua 12 18, 15 53, 19 30, and in 2 Kings 13 17, as well as the Aphik (אֲפִיק) of Judges 1 31 are difficult to locate, but they do not seem to refer to the same place as the Aphek of the battles I have described; except for the Aphek of 2 Kings 13 17, which being probably situated on the road from Samaria to Damascus, may be the one on Mount Gilboa. Dr. Albright has called my attention to the following extra-Biblical Apheks, namely the *I-pw-q-n* (= Efeqôn) of the great Asiatic list Thutmosis III, the *Apqu* mentioned by Esarhaddon in his account of his march Tyre to Egypt (Winckler, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*, p. 53), the Aphek of Josephus (Bell. II, 513), and the Afîq (commonly called Fîq) of the Arab writer Yaqut's geographical dictionary (I, 332). I am not prepared at this stage, to make any definite suggestion as to the location of these four places.

But as far as the three above-mentioned great battles of the Bible are concerned, I have no doubt that the Apheks appearing in their various accounts are really one and the same place, namely Fukû'a on Mount Gilboa.

THE DIVISION OF THE YEAR IN PALESTINE

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THE ordinary Palestinian is nowadays far advanced beyond those Robinson Crusoe times when one counted the days, according to the pleasant tale of the Arabian Nights, by deducting every evening one pea from a numbered amount of peas, thus keeping pace with the hurrying time. At present we have a rather well regulated calendar.

As far as the adherents of both religions are concerned, there exists at the same time an economic year on the one hand, and a religious and agricultural one on the other. The first one is solar, whilst the latter is a sort of *Mittelding*, a solaro-lunar year.

The most common division of the year is that into twelve months. The Christians use their month-names for their calendar, which is identical, to a certain extent, with the fiscal year. Generally speaking, the Mohammedans also follow this reckoning of time in fixing their agricultural and (partly also) their religious year. And as these two elements are inextricably entwined, either may pass for the other.

The Christian names of the twelve months are of Syriac origin, as the Eastern Church, especially the Orthodox, has the Julian Calendar. The months appear in their usual order. The same calendar underlies the reckoning of the late Turkish fiscal year, with the difference, that the latter has substituted the names *Mart* and *Ajostos* for *Adâr* and *Âb*, and that the former month is the first month of the fiscal year. Consequently, the leap year in such a reckoning must necessarily fall on the preceding one, e. g., the fiscal year 1915, instead of 1916 as usual, was a leap year.

The agricultural year begins in the autumn (Genesis 23 16 and 34 22), thus following the Syriac year, which begins in October. Although

we consider it as solar, yet the names of the months are sometimes taken from the lunar year. Generally it agrees with the Julian calendar. The different names of the Mohammedan lunar months are merely of local character.

Both in town and village the lunar and solar years consist of twelve months. But there seems to be an exception to this rule in Transjordan, where a sort of pre-Islamic *kalammas*, a special local "astronomer", so to speak, acts as a "judge" [*qâḍī*] and determines the beginning of the year for the herdsmen and shepherds. This year has only eleven months one time and twelve next. It is said that one year a month is added¹ and that one is deducted from the following year.²

Aside from this exception the solar system is throughout the basis for all fixing of the days. Only the Julian calendar comes into question. The Gregorian is of recent date, and, although in use with the authorities, not known widely to the people at large. Thus when we mention a certain event as having happened, say, at the feast of the Elevation of the Holy Cross, we naturally follow the Julian Calendar, unless otherwise stated. And this is the usual way of counting and fixing dates both with the Christians and Mohammedans. This fact can be easily accounted for. Since the Orthodox Church is the oldest and also numerically the largest of the different Christian confessions, its calendar has been widely adopted because of its exactitude compared with the lunar system.

The meaning of the Mohammedan names of the months are as follows:—*Mohàrram* is the "holy month," apparently because it is the beginning of the year. Is this a trace of an ancient Semitic belief, according to which the first things were holy? All wars and tribal quarrels had to cease during this period. It is colloquially called *šahr awwal is-sene*, the month of the beginning of the year. According to *Al-Bulhârî* its original name was "*šàfar àwwal*." In *Šàfar* the towns and encampments become empty *tašfàrr wa-tašâr ḥâlîya*) because people continue waging war against each other. *Rabî'* means the time of springing forth, where men and animals

¹ *Šahr bikill u šahr bizill*.

² The usual Beduin months are:—*el-àjrad*, *el-asàmm*, *šbât*, *adâr*, *ḥamîs* (the fifth month), *junâda*, three *qêd*, which never fall in the winter season, and finally three *šàfar* months.

enjoy themselves. *Jumâda* was originally the period of the year in which the water froze and the air became cold. *Râjab* (*al-aṣṣamm*) means the deaf one, because no clash of arms was heard then. They feared this month (as is shown by the classical expression *râjiba-š-šai'a*, i. e., he fears the thing). Another appellation was given to this month in calling it the sacred one (*ṣâḥr il-ḥarâm*). *Šubân* was the time when the tribes went on the war path to secure water for their animals. In *Ramaḍân* the heat became almost unbearable, as in our "dog days." Then there is a tradition that *Ramaḍân* is also one of God's holy names, so that its correct name would be "the month of *Ramaḍân*." *Al-Mas'ûdî* in his *Murûj-id-dâḥab* says that the camels used to flap or whisk their tails (*tušâwwil*) during *Sawwâl*, which was a bad omen to the Arabs, who detested the solemnizing of marriages during this month. During the month of *Du-l-q'ide* they used to sit at home, abandoning war. The name of *Du-l-ḥijje* is derived from the yearly pilgrimages, *ḥajj*, which then took place.

The Beduin calendar knows three *šâfar*, three *qêd* and two *kanân* months, followed by *šbât* (February in the Julian calendar), *adâr* and *ḥamîs*, which is always identical with April, and *jumâda*. The word *al-âjrad* for January means the bleak or barren month. According to another division of the year, which follows the seasons, we have only summer and winter (Genesis 8 22). The two other seasons, although mentioned in the Bible, are less known to the people as a whole. "Spring" (February, March, and April), or the equivalent word in Arabic (*rabî*) means "pasture" as well as the time of grazing; besides, it may be used for all luxuriant green vegetation. "Autumn," the "little summertide" (*iš-šêfiyye -z-zgîre*) (September, October and November), is less known, with its name *ḥarîf* which means *colchicum autumnale* or *urinea maritima* (L. BAUER).

The division of the year into two roughly equal halves has again its subdivisions. The winter is fully described, as it varies constantly and its rains are essential to the growth of the different crops. On the other hand summer with its monotonous sunshine has not given rise to much terminology. Most proverbs and common sayings therefore refer to the winter.

The agricultural year begins with the first rain, which brings new hopes for the following year. And as Palestine has been from times immemorial, in spite of her partly barren soil, an agricultural land,

the agricultural calendar is predominant, especially with *jellâhîn*. If the rainfall happens to occur before the feast of the Elevation of the Holy Cross (November 3), the rainy season is an "early one" (*môsam bâdri*), if a fortnight afterwards it is termed a "late season" (*môsam wâdri*). As the two *kanûn* months are the most rainy ones, an adage warns against travelling.¹ The month of February seems to be an unaccountable fellow, and as great interest is attached to such a month, it has a special gift in store for us. On, or two days before or after the 7th, we have for one or two days a very brief period, called *jâmrit il-hâwa* (the live or burning coal of the air), which is supposed to warm the air. A week later, about the 14th, we have a second "burning coal," in order to warm the water, (*jâmrit il-mayy*). And the third and last "live coal" which is bestowed upon us on or about the 21st is the *jâmrit il-ard*, which is thought to warm the face of the earth.² So far *šbât* seems to be "good humoured." But finally he gives us three "borrowed days" (*al-mustagra'lât*), (which are followed by another four days of March) in order to make "good." During this week the rain pours, the storm blows, and the cold tries to make itself felt. March comes in with storms and showers.³ And as one expects the last rain in April, the following saying will show the high value assigned to it—*in-nuqta fi nisân, b-tiswa -s-sikke w-il-feddân*.⁴ This should be the end of the rainy season.

¹ The period between Christmas and Epiphany is called the *tnûšar'yye* (the twelve day period). It is feared because of its rains. Sail-boats in Jaffa are always brought into safety some days before.

² I owe this to the courtesy of Dr. Cana'an.

³ The verse runs as follows:—

*adâr, abu -z-zalâzil w-il-amtâr,
biṭṭiq il-'anga u biḍāḥḥi -š-šinnâr,
binbâll irrâ'i u biddâffa bâla nâr...
u binâdi:—"yâ m'allîmti, kubbri -r-ruġfân,
qèsir il-lêl u tîwil in-nhâr..."*

March, month of earthquakes and showers...

(In it) the phoenix lays eggs and the partridge builds its nest.

The shepherd becomes wet and warms himself without fire.

He cries:—"Oh, my lady, make the loaves bigger,

For the night becomes shorter and the day is lengthening!"

The boat-men at Jaffa fear the thunderstorm of March ninth (*nûwuit toqqûz mârt*), which is known under its *Turkish* name. The sea is said to rage then.

⁴ I. e., One drop in April is worth the plough and the yoke of oxen. Or again, *in-nuqta fi nisân btiswa kull sêlin sâl* (One drop of rain in April is worth all the streams of rain which have come down).

The summer begins with May. The fellah thinks then already of harvest.¹ The "dog days" at the end of July and in the first two-thirds of August are characterized in the following way:—*fî tammâz b-tigli -l-mâyye fi-l-kâz* (in July the water boils in the jug) or this one:—*âb lahhâb* (August flames). But this heat brings a pleasant variety of fruits which refresh and delight in taste and aroma, especially grapes.² September is the time when the olives grow.³ In October the grape and fig season comes to an end.⁴ This is the time of the olive crop, when the days become shorter and shorter, and the *fellâh* says that they are only as long as a length of thread.⁵ Summer begins with Easter and comes to an end at the feast of the Elevation of the Holy Cross. The Christian peasant gives the advice to live outdoors between these two days.⁶

There are of course other less important *mawâsim* (seasons), such as that of the apricots, which falls about the first fortnight of May only, that of the melons, from the second half of July till the end of September, and last, but not least, the orange season from the second half of November to the end of April. The prickly pear ripens in July and lasts for about three months.

All these periods are commonly used by the *fellâhîn* to indicate a certain date. Thus it may be stated that a certain event took

¹ *Fî ayyâr ihmil mûnjalak u gâr* (in May take your sickle and cut with might). In June and early July is the third time when goats kid. These kids are called *şefî* (summer born ones), those born in March are *rbî'i* or *lablûbî* (Bauer), alluding metaphorically to the fresh green herbage and the tender grass. The kids born during the autumn are called *zêtûnî*, because the olive crop then takes place.

² *Fî tammâz ûqtuf il-kâz*, sc. *kâz is-şûbr*. (in July pluck the prickly pear); *fî âb kul 'inab wâlâ tahâb* (eat the grapes in August and fear not); *môsam it-tîn fîş 'ajîn* (There is no bread [needed] during the fig period); *môsam il battîh fîş tabîh* (There is no prepared meal [needed] during the melon season).

³ *Fî êlâl bitîh iz-zêt fi-z-zetûn* (in September the oil flows through the olives). [From Dr. Canaan.]

⁴ *Fî tişrîn bigâbbir il- 'inab w-it-tîn*. In October the grapes and figs fade away [Dr. Canaan]. The Jaffa people call the sea in October and November (*i*)*mtâşrîn* i. e. "it is in *tişrîn*," and mean by that expression that the sea is calm, "as calm as oil," because the scirocco is then blowing.

⁵ *Ayyâm iz-zêt tâl il-hêt*. [From Dr. Canaan.]

⁶ *Ayyid w-ûlâ şallib w-idhul* [Dr. Canaan], "celebrate the Easter feast and live outdoors, celebrate the feast of the Elevation of the Holy Cross and live indoors." Also: *mâta şallabat hârrabat*, "after the feast of the Holy Cross it (the rain) destroys." The *fellâh* then does not leave a crop on the threshing floor, fearing the coming rain.

place at the beginning, in the middle or at the end of the harvest or another season.

From the religious point of view our calendar is mostly Julian, as used by the Orthodox Church. The feasts of the Elevation of the Elevation of the Holy Cross, *ʿil eṣ-ṣalīb* (September 14), *Mār Eliās* (July 20), of *Lūdd* (November 3) and the Greek Easter are fixed points for the determination of any date. Bearing this fact in mind, it is not strange to note that practically all proverbs, adages, weather rules, and household words dealing with feasts of a somewhat fixed date are of Christian origin. The reason for it is clear; since the lunar year is usually about eleven days shorter than the solar, it shifts gradually through a cycle of 33 years, so that Mohammedans may celebrate *Ramaḍān* in different years on Christmas or Easter or Pentecost. This disadvantage of the lunar year compels the Mohammedans to make use of the solar chronology when fixing certain dates and local feasts, as already stated.

Thus the feast of *en-Nēbi Mūsa* falls invariably on the week preceeding the Greek Passion.¹ Eight days after *en-Nēbi Mūsa*, which falls always on Friday, the feast of *en-Nēbi Ṣāleḥ* is celebrated by the people of the coast, who gather at his tomb in *Ranleh*. The *Nēbi Rubīn* feast takes place in September (during the melon season) and that of the *Wēli ʿAlī bin (I)lāyyim* at the end of it.

A striking and most interesting fact is the division of the year into seven periods of about fifty days each.² This reckoning begins with Easter and the first period lasts until Pentecost; being dependent upon the Easter fast itself.² During this first period comes the harvest and threshing of lentils and *kirsème* (vicia). It lasts exactly fifty days. The second one, in which the harvest and threshing of barley and wheat takes place, ends with the feast of *Mār Eliās* (July 20), the time when watchmen begin to watch in the vineyards.³ The third

¹ It was instituted by the Sultan *Ṣalāḥ ed-Dīn el Ayyūbī*, the Fatimid, to counterbalance the large number of Christian pilgrims in the Holy City at that time.

² An account of this appeared for the first time in Dr. Canaan's "Kalender des palaestinischen Fellachen," ZDPV 1916. *Mīn il-ʿīl la-l-ʿanṣūr ḥamsīn yôm mḡāddara* (Fifty days are fixed for the period between the "(Easter) Feast" and Pentecost). The expression *ḥamsīn yôm mḡāddara* is repeated after every period.

³ *Mīn il-ʿānṣara la-l-mānṭara* (from Pentecost to the time of watching sc. the vineyards).

period practically covers the grape and fig season (54 days), and ends on September 14.¹ The fourth period extends to the feast of *Lüdd*² (November 3) thus having exactly 50 days. During it the olive harvest and the preparing of oil take place. In taking the fifth period into consideration we have again two fixed dates, between which there are 52 days.³ This is the time of ploughing, sowing and the first part of the early rain. The real winter is considered to lie between Christmas and Lent, thus making up the sixth period,⁴ the last one being Lent itself.⁵ This division of the year gives a feast to every period.

Another incomplete division is that which gives two periods of forty and fifty days each to both summer and winter. They are called *mirb'aniyyât* (*mirb'aniyyât*) and *hâmsiniyyât*. (Quadragesima and Quinquagesima.) The winter quadragesima *mirb'aniyyet es-šita* begins with the 10th of December and ends on January 19th, followed directly by the *hâmsiniyyet es-šita*.⁶ The *mirb'aniyyet es-šef* begins with the 10th of July and ends on August 19th followed also by the *hâmsiniyyet es-šef*. The two *mirb'aniyyât* have the greatest cold and greatest heat respectively.

The week consists of seven days,⁷ named by the Arabic ordinals from Sunday until Thursday. Friday, *yôm ij-jum'a*, means the day

¹ *Min il-muntara la-l-mi'sara* (from the time of watching the vineyards to that of pressing the grapes).

² *Min il-mi'sara la 'id Lüdd* (from the time of pressing the grapes to the feast of *Lüdd*, Nov. 3).

³ *Min 'id Lüdd la-l-milâdi* (from the feast of *Lüdd* till Christmas).

⁴ *Min il-milâd la-s-šâm* (from Christmas to Lent).

⁵ *Min is-šâm la-l-'id* (from Lent till Easter).

⁶ The *Marb'aniyyet es-šita* begins with the feast of St. Spiridon and ends on St. Aftimos Day. In Jaffa the *jamrit il-hawa* falls a fortnight before that of Jerusalem.

⁷ There are weeks with special names, such as the *jum'it l-(i)mnadâ* the week of "calling," where people gather for the pilgrimage to the *Nebi Mûsa* shrine, the Friday a fortnight before Good Friday. *Jum'it in-nâzle*, the Friday of the Descent, falls a week before Good Friday. Eight days later is the *Jum'it el-(i)lâyyim*, Friday of the little banner. It falls together with the "hot Friday" (*ij-jum'a l-hâmye*), the feast of the *Nebi Sâleh*, whose *maqâm* is the "white tower" of a crusader church in Ramleh. The same day has also the name of *jum'it ir-rağâyib*, Friday of the "good wishes," or, alluding to the tomb of *en-Nebi Sâleh*, *jum'it ij-jâmi' il-abyad*, Friday of the "white mosque." It is also called *jum'it in-nabât*, Friday of the "plants" (sc. flowers, when maidens pluck all sorts of flowers, dry them in the moonlight, and make essences and scents

of assembly and the name of *yôm is-sâbt* (Sabbath) is traceable to the ancient Babylonian *šabattu*, which was taken over by the Syrians and Jews.¹ [This is not certain; cf. Rev. d'Assyr. W. F. A.]

A calendaric day, *dies naturalis*, is a *yôm*. The French word *journée* covers the Arabic *nhâr*, *dies civilis*. In the Mohammedan calendar the day begins at sunset.² It has five divisions: morning, noon, afternoon, sunset, and late evening, at which five times the prayers are to be performed. The division of the day according to the Arabic calendar into 24 hours, *horae temporales* or *horae inequales*³ beginning after sunset with one o'clock, is still in use with the Mohammedans, but generally it is loosing ground in the towns and the Roman *horae aequinoctiales* (*sâât mutâdile* or *sâât mustâwiye*)

with them. Bauer has as first Thursday in *šahr el-ḥamîs* or April, *ḥamîs en-nabât*; as the second the *ḥamîs el-amwât* or *ḥamîs el-bêd* "Thursday of the Dead," or "Thursday of the eggs." It answers among Mohammedans to the Christian "All Souls Day." A week after the *jûm'it en-nêbi Šâleḥ* Mohammedans celebrate at Gaza the '*id il-munâṭâr*, a popular etymology of the arabicized Greek word Metropolitan, *mutrân*, Porphyry, who destroyed the Venus temple in the fourth century, and who is buried in the Orthodox church at Gaza.

¹ Days of bad omen are Wednesdays falling on the 4th, 14th, 24th or the fourth but last day of the month. The number "thirteen" is, by the way, replaced by "eleven" for superstitious purposes.

² See Genesis 15.—"The day is reckoned, in principle, by the Church in her ecclesiastical feasts from one disappearance of the sun to the next" (Hastings, Dictionary of the Bible, Art. "time").

³ The hours of the *night* are called as follows:—

The first hour. *Dôrt-is-srâj* (going about with the candle) begins about half an hour after sunset, and is closely followed by *ḡawy-is-srâj* (the burning or lighting of the candle).

One hour and a half after sunset is *el-'îša*, the last time for prayer, the late evening.

Between three and four hours after sunset is the '*âša* (in Transjordanian), where they place it after "having served supper for men" (*ḡâltet 'âša-r-rjâl*). The reason of this rather late hour of having supper is that the herd is kept mostly over one hour's walk from the encampment. A man goes there and returns with a sheep to the waiting guest, for whom he prepares the meal. When supper is ready it is about four hours after sunset.

The fourth hour is known as the "crow of the angry wife," whose husband is supposed to be still absent from home (*sêḥit dîk il-ḥardâne*).

The fifth hour has in Transjordanian the name *bâ'd il-'âša b-'âšayên* (two suppers after the supper) or better *'ngb 'âšayên*, i. e. after the time it takes to

are coming more and more into general use. The division of the night according to St. Mark. 13 35 is still in force.

The hour and its subdivisions are also employed. Another meaning of the "hour" (*sā'a*) is an instant or moment.¹ As an inexact fraction of an hour may be mentioned the time it takes to smoke a cigarette (*šurbit sigāra*).

Finally I will give some proverbial sayings relating to time in general. If somebody has cramp or fits,² he is said to have "his hour" (*ajat sāto*). If strange happenings take place the year may

prepare two suppers. Has it anything to do with the biblical expression "between the two evenings?"—Exodus 12 6. It is also called the "first cock's crow" (*šēht-id-dik-il-awwal*).

The sixth hour is midnight. It has also the name of *dōrt-il-ḥarāmi* (the time of the "roaming about of the thief") which may be extended even to *the seventh hour*.

The eighth hour is that of *is-šūr* the "breakfasting" (especially in the month of Ramaḍān). Then comes in

the ninth hour the "cock crow" or his "bidding," *šēht id-dik* or *adān id-dik*. In months other than Ramaḍān the *šūr* period may include the time until the *stella matutina*, *nijmet eš-šūbh*, shines, about

the tenth hour. In the "dark morning" (*šūbh il-ʾitme*) about the first dawning of the day *awwal il-fajr* when one can "tell a wolf from a dog" (*thigg il-kālb min id-dib*, Transjordan) is the time when women begin grinding the wheat, giving fodder to the cows, milking the goats, etc.

At the eleventh hour the "lights" (*maṣāliḥ*) of the firmament grow paler and paler. It is also called *dāḡše*, "the peep of day(?)" (*daḡālis in-nḥār*).—*sā'a qābl iṣ-šāms*, *qābl iṣ-šāms b-sā'a* (one hour before sunrise) is the "roaming" or "spreading of sheep" (to pasture) *nāšrit id-dābaš* (Transjordan). Sunrise is the

twelfth hour.

The twelve hours of the *day* (Joh. 11 9) are divided thus:—*sārḥit el ḡānam* takes place about the first hour (the driving out of the sheep), just after or about *tāl'it iṣ-šāms*, sunrise. The time from *two to four o'clock* in the morning is the "forenoon," *id-dāḡa*. From *five to nine* the shepherds have their siesta (*tagyilt -ir-ruḡyān*). *The sixth hour* is the *ḥōmt il-(i)ḡrāb* (hovering round of the raven), the *seventh* the "turning-point of the shade" or "of the sun" (*dōrt iṣ-ḡill*, *dōrt iṣ-šāms*). After *nine* is the afternoon (*el-ʾaṣr*), followed by *el-ʾaṣriyye*, vesper. at *ten o'clock*. Shortly after the *eleventh hour* is the "little afternoon" (*il-i'sēr*). Then comes at *twelve il-miḡrib* or *ḡēbt iṣ-šāms*, sunset, half an hour before which is the time of returning sheep and goats (*tarwiḥt il-ḡānam* or *tarwiḥt iṣ-surrah*) the "coming home of the sheep."

¹ The word for "hour" admits also the meaning of "a while" (*sā'it zamān*, *sā'a*); cf. Daniel 4 19.

² Cf. Mark. 9 22 and Matth. 17 15.

be called after them.¹ *Sittin sène sab'in yôm* (sixty years and seventy days) is said regarding carelessness. "Forty days" is the old Semitic expression for a long period² (cf. Moses, Elijah, Jesus, and Mohammed). *Bissène mâr-ra*³ (once a year) is used to denote a rare happening. *Sène u šahrên*⁴ (a year and two months) is used in poetry for a rather long time of separation; *šeh mtās'in* (an old man of ninety years) is the symbol of frailty. *Ad calendae graecas* is represented in Arabic either by the term *fî sant il-fîl*⁵ or better:—*bûkra ji-l-mîsmîš* ("in the year of beans," i. e. never, or "to-morrow, in the apricot season"). A *jîm'a mîsmîšgye*⁶ means the "happy days of yore, which passed so swiftly," or also a rare opportunity. The grieving man is consoled by telling him, that "one day is against him and another one in his favour"—*yôm ilak u yôm 'alêk*. A lazy, tiresome person is described as one "whose day equals a year" (*yômô bsène*). And if somebody is worried by a bore, he keeps smiling at the thought that everything must come at last to an end, or, as we put it, à la 'OMAR HAYYÂN, "It is only one night, O driver." (*hî lèle, yâ mkârî*).

I wish to express my thanks to DR. W. F. ALBRIGHT, Director of the American School of Archaeology in Jerusalem and DR. med. T. CANA'AN, for their kind advice and assistance.

¹ The latest year with such a name is 1920, the "snow year" (*sent it-talj*) owing to the heavy snowfall. (Lev. 124.)

² Is it not a vestige of an ancient belief, which did not allow the husband to exercise his connubial rights for a period of forty days after the confinement of his wife, which may have made a deep impression on the ancient Semites? Besides, "forty" (and also "hundred" and "thousand") is an expression for an uncertain number as with the forty martyrs. An expression with the same meaning is that a period is "longer than Lent" (*šôm el-arb'in*, fast of forty days) among the Christians, or *šôm Ramadân* (fast of *Ramadân*) among the Mohammedans; *min 'âsar il-qôm arb'in yôm šâr minkum* (he who lives with people for forty days becomes one of them). [Stephan's suggestion is identical with the theory recently proposed by Roscher to explain the origin of the forty day period. There is much in its favor.—W. F. A.]

³ It is just the opposite of the expression *kull yôm*, "daily."

⁴ Opposite to the word *sâ'a*.

⁵ Another expression which deals with the past is: *min sênit anâstum birâbbikum* (a misinterpretation of the Koran verse *alâstu birâbbikum?*), which denotes now, "immemorial times," or "the days of auld lang syne."

⁶ The apricot season is very short and lasts only one fortnight or three weeks in May.

THE SOLAR MONTHS

Colloquial Syriac (Mārdīn)	Classical Syriac ¹	Classical Arabic	The Turkish fiscal year
		<i>kanûn t̄anī</i>	
		<i>šbāt</i>	
		<i>adār</i>	<i>mart</i>
		<i>nīsān</i>	<i>nīsān</i>
		<i>ayyār</i>	<i>ayyār</i>
		<i>ḥazirān</i>	<i>ḥazirān</i>
		<i>tammūz</i>	<i>tammūz</i>
		<i>āb</i>	<i>agōstos</i>
		<i>elūl</i>	<i>elūl</i>
<i>tīšrīn qadmōyo</i>	<i>tīšrīn qadmāyā</i>	<i>tīšrīn āwwal</i>	<i>tīšrīn āwwal</i>
<i>tīšrīn trayōno</i>	<i>tīšrīn trayānā</i>	<i>tīšrīn t̄anī</i>	<i>tīšrīn t̄anī (s̄anī)</i>
<i>kōnun qadmōyo</i>	<i>kānōn qadmāyā</i>	<i>kanûn āwwal</i>	<i>kanûn āwwal</i>
<i>kōnun trayōno</i>	<i>kānōn trayānā</i>		<i>kanûn t̄anī (s̄anī)</i>
<i>šbōt</i>	<i>šbāt</i>		<i>šbāt</i>
<i>ōdar</i>	<i>ādār</i>		
<i>nīson</i>	<i>nīsān</i>		
<i>īyyār</i>	<i>īyyār</i>		
<i>ḥizerān</i>	<i>ḥzīrān</i>		
<i>tāmūz</i>	<i>tāmūz</i>		
<i>t̄ibbāl</i>	<i>āb</i>		
<i>elūn</i>	<i>elūl</i>		

¹ The Eastern dialect of Syriac, the so called *Chaldean*, has the following names of month: — *tīšrīn qadmāyā*, *tīšrīn aḥrāyā*, *kānūn qadmāyā*, and *kānūn aḥrāyā*, . . . *šebāt* . . . *āb*. The months corresponding are shown in the same line.

THE LUNAR MONTHS

Classical	I	II	III	IV
<i>muhàrram</i>	<i>muhàrram</i>	<i>(i)'wēšri</i>	<i>'āšir(a)</i>	<i>šàfar àwwal</i>
<i>šàfar</i>	<i>šàfar</i>	<i>àgrad</i>	<i>šàfar el-her</i> ⁴	<i>šàfar t̃āni</i>
<i>rabī' àwwal</i>	<i>šàfar àwwal</i>	<i>kanûn àwwal</i>	<i>rabī' àwwal</i>	<i>šàfar t̃ālīt</i>
<i>rabī' t̃āni</i>	<i>šàfar t̃āni</i>	<i>kanûn ašamm</i>	<i>rabī' t̃āni</i>	<i>qed àwwal</i>
<i>jumâda àwwal</i>	<i>jamâda àwwal</i>	<i>šbât</i>	<i>jamâda àwwal</i>	<i>qed t̃āni</i>
<i>jumâda t̃āni</i>	<i>jamâda t̃āni</i>	<i>adâr</i>	<i>jamâda t̃āni</i>	<i>qed t̃ālīt</i>
<i>ràjab</i>	<i>ràjab</i>	<i>hamîs</i>	<i>ràjab</i>	<i>kanûn àwwal</i>
<i>ša'bân</i>	<i>ša'bân</i>	<i>šahr il-lâ'qa</i> ¹	<i>ša'bân</i>	<i>kanûn t̃āni</i> (<i>ašamm</i>)
<i>ramadân</i>	<i>šahr ramadân</i>	<i>šahr ramadân</i>	<i>šahr ramadân</i>	<i>šbât</i>
<i>šawwâl</i>	<i>šuwwâl</i>	<i>šahr is-sitt- iyyâm</i> ²	<i>fîṭr àwwal</i> ⁵	<i>hamîs</i>
<i>du-l-qî'da</i>	<i>zu-l-qî'de</i>	<i>šahr bēn l(i)-'yâd</i> ³	<i>fîṭr t̃āni</i>	<i>jamâda</i>
<i>du-l-hiġġa</i>	<i>zu-l-hiġġe</i>	<i>šahr il-'îd</i>	<i>idḥa</i>	

¹ In the third month list *šahr il-lâ'qa* "the month of the licking(?)" is called thus, because it is considered as a meal, i. e., it passes away before one realises it. The proverb says:—*b-til'ago, ma btilḥago*, "You lick it, but you cannot hold it fast," as if it were composed only of joyous days.

² The *sitt -iyyâm* (six days) in the month of the same name are alternative days for keeping fasts, instead of doing so in *Ramadân*(?).

³ The *šahr bēn l(i)-'yâd* derives its name from the sacrificial feast (*'id in-nàḥr*) and that of the starting of the *ḥaġġ* (pilgrimage to Mecca) on the tenth day of *du-l-hiġġe*.

⁴ In the fourth month list *šàfar* has the attribute *el-ḥēr*, the "fortunate" month.

⁵ The feast of *fîṭr àwwal* is the first day of *šuwwâl*.



NOTE ON A SCENE IN TOMB 85 AT THEBES

E. J. A. MACKAY

(HAIFA)

THERE is an unusual scene painted on the architrave which surmounts the four square pillars along the axis of the outer chamber of Tomb 85 at Thebes, Egypt.

Owing to its position and on account of bad lighting this scene has been noticed by few, but it has been published by Rosellini who has, however, made no remarks on it. It is somewhat roughly painted, in parts unfinished, and has suffered a certain amount of damage both from the hand of man and the attentions of the mason wasp.

As will be seen from the illustration, there is on the left hand side of the picture the figure of a man, presumably the person for whom the tomb was made, Amenemhab, "Lieutenant-Commander of the soldiers," who held this office some time during the period Tuthmosis III—Amenophis II.

Amenemhab met with many adventures during his military career, but the scene being described appears to represent an episode of especial interest and for this reason he has given it special prominence, though in a badly lighted portion of his tomb.

He tells us that he was an intimate friend of the King (Tuthmosis III) and that he accompanied that king on his Syrian campaigns.

when he was repeatedly rewarded for acts of valour. He fought with the King against the King of *Kadesh* and travelled as far as *Karkemish*; he speaks also of having visited the land of *Wan* to the west of Aleppo. In the land of *Niy*,¹ in company with the King he hunted 120 elephants for their ivory, and one of the largest having attacked the king, Amenemhab went to the rescue and cut off its trunk.² Again in a battle against the King of *Kadesh*, the latter endeavoured to drive a mare amongst the Egyptian stallions with the idea of causing a commotion amongst their ranks. Amenemhab, again to the fore, slew the mare, cut off its tail and presented it to the king, for which act he was specially commended.

Amenemhab is attired in his picture in a long transparent tunic with short sleeves and tied around the neck with strings, underneath which he is wearing a loin-cloth of thicker material. These were the usual articles of apparel in the 18th dynasty. He holds a spear in his right hand and in the left a stick with a forked end (throwing-stick) which he is brandishing before a large animal painted a medium grey shading to a darker colour along the back. This animal, obviously a female, the writer would identify by both form and colouring as a wolf, an animal still to be met with in the west of Asia and up to a short time ago in Palestine.³ The stripes which are faintly shown in the illustration are curious as the wolf of the Old World is not marked in this way, though similar markings are said to occur on wolves in North America.⁴

The animal in this painted scene is nearly as tall as Amenemhab himself, doubtless an exaggeration to emphasize Amenemhab's prowess. The height at the shoulder of the normal wolf is rather under three feet.

It is, however, the smaller objects of the scene which are the most interesting. The ground colour is light-grey and on it are painted

¹ Euphrates, in the region of Aleppo.

² Literally translated, "its hand."

³ Canon Tristram when on a natural history tour in the wilderness of Judea some 57 years ago came across a wolf which he describes as larger than a European wolf and of a much lighter colour. "A Journal of Travels in Palestine" by H. B. Tristram, p. 367.

⁴ That the animal shown is clearly a wolf and not a hyaena is proved by the form and colouring and especially by the tail being bushy. I cannot call to mind a single example, with this exception, of a wolf being portrayed in a Theban tomb, though the hyaena is frequently depicted in hunting scenes.

various plant and animal forms, the most noticeable of which are a number of hemispherical objects dependent from each of which are three filaments or tentacles. These forms occur in groups of three with their filaments intertwined. They are painted blue with three rows of white spots and the tentacles are coloured red.

I would suggest that these objects are crude representations of jelly-fish for they are shown as free-swimming and not attached to anything but each other. The fact that they are shown in groups of three is difficult to explain, but it must be remembered that the Egyptians were but superficially acquainted with the habits of the jelly-fish which is purely a marine animal and only travels a short distance up the mouths of rivers.

Jelly-fish frequently have little areas of a brighter colour around the margin of the head or umbrella, but these never occur in more than one row. The three trailing appendages may be a convention, incorrect as to number, for the bundle of filaments which hang below the head. Blue is, of course, a common colour in jelly-fish.

It is certain that these jelly-fish were drawn from memory owing to the impossibility of transporting the animals from their native habitat and this would account for obvious mistakes in drawing. The artist may even have never seen the animal himself but have relied on a description.

In interpreting the scene in question we are met with an obvious difficulty. The usual method of representing water in Egyptian scenes was by a series of chevron lines in dark-blue on a light-blue ground. These are entirely absent from our picture which has a plain grey ground. A sandy beach, however, would be well represented by grey.

The plant forms shown are also of especial interest. There are four groups each of three, with red undulating stems terminating in white buds. The buds might at first glance be confused with those of the lotus, but the leaves at the base are totally unlike those of the *Nymphaeae*. The undulating stems are also quite unlike any others in the tomb paintings of Thebes and are unique. They label the plants as being aquatic, whether fresh water or marine. There is another plant-form in the scene with red stems and green leaves, but it is not peculiar in any way.

A probable explanation of this scene is that it depicts an adventure of Amenemhab during one of his expeditions with his King in Palestine or further north. During such an expedition he was attacked by a she-wolf, doubtless defending her whelps, and the scene of the adventure was probably the sea-shore, if the other objects in the scene are correctly interpreted as jelly-fish and marine plants.

LE CULTE DE JONAS EN PALESTINE

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APRÈS Élie, il n'est peut-être pas de prophète qui ait en Orient un culte aussi répandu que Jonas. Les étranges péripéties de sa mission, le symbolisme qu'ont su en retirer l'art et la liturgie ainsi que les réminiscences que nous en trouvons dans l'Évangile¹ et le Coran² ont certainement contribué à cette popularité que plusieurs savants cherchent à expliquer par la simple évolution du culte de la colombe sacrée si répandu jadis sur le rivage syro-phénicien. On sait en effet que le nom de Jonas (יִנּוֹן) signifie en hébreu «colombe», étymologie admise par les *Onomastica sacra* à côté de certaines autres moins plausibles.³ Ce n'est pas sous ce rapport que nous voulons envisager cette question, notre dessein étant de rechercher comment il se fait que le fils d'Amittai ait actuellement trois centres de culte en Palestine, le premier en Galilée, le second en Judée, et le troisième en Idumée. Aussi bien laissons-nous de côté le *Néby Yonès* qui s'élève (et pour cause) sur les ruines de Ninive, face à Mossoul, de même que le *Khân-Yonès*, à 23 kilomètres environ au sud de Gaza, dont le vocable n'est peut-être que le nom de l'intendant du sultan Barqouq, fondateur de la belle mosquée que l'on y voit.⁴ En tout cas la genèse de ce dernier lieu saint comme

¹ Matth. 12 39; 16 4; Luc. 11 29 ss.

² Sourates XXI et XXXII.

³ FR. WUTZ, *Onomastica sacra*, p. 131: 'Ιωνᾶς περιστέρα. Jona columba vel dolens (יִנּוֹן). 'Ιαὼ πόντος... S. JÉRÔME, *Prolog. in Jonam* (PL., XXV, 1117): *Si enim Jonas interpretatur columba, columba autem refertur ad Spiritum sanctum*. Cf. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Études d'archéologie orientale*, II, p. 7 ss. SCHMIDT, *Jona*.

⁴ La 'Ιγρυσός d'Hérodote III, 5, est cherchée par les géographes plus au sud, à el-'Ariš de préférence.

celle du *Khân en-Néby Younès* que l'on raconte entre Sidon et Beyrouth non loin du *râs Dâmour* demeure obscure.

I

Le village de *Mešhed* situé à cinq kilomètres environ à l'est de Sepphoris possède une petite mosquée où l'on montre un tombeau qui prétend renfermer la dépouille du prophète Jonas. C'est même à la prépondérance de ce souvenir que cette localité doit son nom arabe de *Mešhed*, équivalent de *martyrium* ou de n'importe quel sanctuaire dédié à un saint personnage.¹ Il est admis que ce nom a supplanté l'appellation antique de *Gath-Hepher*, par laquelle la Bible désigne le pays d'origine d'un prophète Jonas, fils d'Amittai, qui avait annoncé l'extension du royaume d'Israël accomplie par Jéroboam II., et que l'on identifie généralement avec l'envoyé de Dieu mis en scène dans le livre de Jonas.² On ne voit nulle part que ce personnage ait terminé ses jours dans son village ni qu'il y ait été enseveli, mais, suivant ce qu'il arrive d'ordinaire en pareille matière, sa mémoire (fût-ce la mémoire de sa naissance) s'est concrétisée sous la forme d'un tombeau. Telle était déjà la situation constatée par S. Jérôme en 395, quand il signale à deux milles de Sepphoris dans la direction de Tibériade, le hameau de Geth où l'on montre le sépulcre de Jonas.³ Bien que l'évaluation de deux milles se trouve un peu au dessous de la véritable distance, il n'y a pas lieu de douter que nous ayons affaire ici au moderne *Mešhed*.

Peu importe que les Juifs du Moyen âge offrent quelques variantes dans la tradition en indiquant ce tombeau soit sur une colline proche de Sepphoris, soit à Kafr Kennâ.⁴ Ces nouveautés dues à des vénération locales ou à des intérêts particuliers gravitaient de fort

¹ Cf. la bonne description de GUÉRIN dans *Galilée*, I, p. 165s.

² 2 Reg. 14 25: יהנה בן־אמתי הנביא אשר מנת החפר — Jon. 1 1; Josue 19 13; *Berešith rabba*, ch. 98; Talmud de Jérusalem, *Šebiith*, VI, 1. Cf. RELAND, *Palaestina* . . . p. 718 et NEUBAUER, *Géographie du Talmud*, p. 200s; VAN HOONACKER, *Les Douze Petits Prophètes*, p. 312.

³ *Prolog. in Jonam* (PL., XXV, 1118s): *Geth in secundo Saphorim milliario, que hodie appellatur Diocesarwa euntibus Tyberiadem haud grandis est viculus, ubi et sepulcrum ejus ostenditur.*

⁴ BENJAMIN DE TUDÈLE, *Jew. Quart. Rev.*, 1905, p. 297. CARMOLY, *Itinéraires* . . . p. 211, 256s. Le tombeau de Kafr Kennâ est aussi mentionné par des voyageurs arabes des XI^e et XII^e siècles. Cf. GUY LE STRANGE, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 469.

près autour de *Mešhed*, auquel d'ailleurs personne alors ne contestait l'honneur d'avoir donné le jour au fameux prophète; elles n'ont pas réussi, du reste, à faire dévier le cours de la tradition originelle puisque l'état de choses actuel répond exactement à celui du IV^e siècle qui doit remonter beaucoup plus haut. Il n'est pas téméraire, en effet, d'assigner à ce culte galiléen une origine juive assez antique fondée sur le texte biblique lui-même de 2 Rois 14 25.

II

La *Šephelah* ou partie basse de la Judée honore le souvenir de Jonas dans un *ouély* qui s'élève sur un monticule sablonneux dominant la mer vers l'embouchure du *nahr Soukreïr*. Ce *Néby Younès*, situé à six kilomètres au nord de *Mînet-el-Qala'a* qui représente le port d'Ašdod ou l'Azote maritime, évoque tout naturellement le début de la notice que les «Vies des Prophètes» consacrent à Jonas. Celui-ci, d'après la recension dite de saint Épiphanes, était «de la terre de *Kariathmaoum*, près d'Azote, ville des Grecs sur la mer».¹ Quoique la finale *maoum* puisse être considérée comme une déformation du terme *maïouma* qui désignait les marines des villes de la plaine, nous accordons la préférence à la leçon du Pseudo-Dorothee (III^e—IV^e siècles) dont le *Kariathmaous* peut s'expliquer beaucoup plus normalement.² L'Araméen possède un mot, emprunté à des langues plus anciennes, qui signifie un centre de commerce, un grand marché et aussi un port, mot qui présente, en somme, les diverses acceptions du grec *emporion*; c'est le terme *mahoz* ou *mahouz* que nous trouvons précisément employé pour dénommer certaines marines du littoral palestinien.³ Les auteurs arabes connaissent encore *Mâhouz-Yebnâ* et *Mâhouz-Azdoud*, l'un répondant au *Ἰαμυνίων λιμὴν* de Ptolémée, l'autre à l'*Ἀζώτος παράλιος* des notices byzantines, mentionné en ces termes au I^{er} siècle par Pomponius Méla (I, 10): «(*Arabia*) portum admittit Azotum, suarum mercium emporium.» Ce port d'Azote est clairement indiqué par la «Vie de Pierre l'Ibère» en des termes analogues à ceux d'Épiphanes.⁴

¹ SCHERMANN, *Propheten und Apostellegenden, Texte und Unters. zur Gesch. der Altchristl. Literatur*, XXXI, 3, p. 55.

² Pag. 56: Ἰωνᾶς ἦν ἐκ γῆς Καραθμαοῦς πλησίον Ἀζώτου πόλεως Ἑλλήνων κατὰ θάλασσαν.

³ Cf. S. KRAUSS, *Revue des Études Juives*, LVI, (1908), p. 33.

⁴ RAABE, *Petrus der Iberer*, p. 121 ss. Cf. GUY LE STRANGE, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 24, 498.

En définitive «le territoire de Kariathmaous près d'Azote, ville des Grecs sur la mer» équivaut aux environs de *Mâhouz-Azdoud*, aujourd'hui *Minet-el-Qala'a*, qui pouvait fort bien s'appeler au temps de la composition des «Vies des Prophètes» *Qiriath-Mâhouz*.¹ L'indication de la proximité d'Azote s'imposait pour couper court à toute confusion, *mahouz* étant un nom commun. Nous avons donc tout lieu de croire qu'à la base du *Néby Younès* du littoral asdodien se trouve la croyance que Jonas était originaire de ce lieu.

Cette croyance s'harmonise difficilement, il est vrai, avec l'opinion légendaire rapportée également par les «Vies des Prophètes», que Jonas était le fils de la veuve de Sarepta qu'Élie avait ressuscité. Au fait de ce trait bizarre issu d'un jeu de mot sur מִתְּנָה (vérité) et אִמִּיתַי (Amitai, père de Jonas), saint Jérôme lui attribue, et à bon droit, une origine juive.² Pour donner de la cohésion à ces éléments disparates nous devrions faire émigrer de Judée en Phénicie la veuve de Sarepta, ou bien ne regarder Kariathmaous que comme la patrie adoptive de Jonas et de sa mère, ainsi que paraît l'insinuer la notice du Pseudo-Dorothee.³ Mais il demeure très probable que les deux renseignements accolés dans les «Vies des Prophètes» n'avaient à l'origine aucun point de contact. Constatons seulement ici une tendance des Judéens à tirer à soi des prérogatives galiléennes suivant une prétention que saint Jean explicite en ces termes (VII, 52): «Examinez et vous verrez que de la Galilée il ne sort point de prophète.»

C'est en vertu de la même tendance que les Juifs proposèrent d'identifier *Gath-Hepher* avec l'une des *Gath* que l'on pensait retrouver aux environs de Lydda-Diospolis ou sur la voie d'Eleuthéropolis.

¹ La chute de la gutturale dans le grec est un phénomène connu: מִתְּנָה est devenu *Maoûs* comme מִתְּנָה a donné lieu à *Ἰωάννης*. L'identification de cette localité avec *Hamâmeh* près d'Ascalon qu'ont proposée Sepp d'après Guérin, *Judée*, II, p. 129 s., et Clermont-Ganneau, *Études d'archéol. orient.*, II, p. 7 s., se soutient difficilement.

² SCHERMANN, op. l., p. 56: καὶ θανάτῳ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς Ἰωνᾶν ἀνέστησεν ὁ Θεὸς διὰ τοῦ Ἠλία S. JÉRÔME, *Prolog. in Jonam*: Tradunt autem Hebraei hunc esse filium viduae Sareptanae, quem Elias propheta mortuum suscitavit, matre postea dicente ad eum: Nunc cognovi quia vir Dei es tu: et verbum Dei in ore tuo est veritas; et ob hanc causam etiam ipsum puerum sic vocatum. Amathi enim in nostra lingua veritatem sonat: et ex eo quod verum Elias locutus est, ille qui suscitatus est, filius esse dicitur veritatis. Cf. I Reg. 17 24.

³ SCHERMANN, p. 57: καὶ ἀναστὰς Ἰωῆς μετὰ τὴν λιμὸν ἦλθεν ἐν γῇ Ἰούδα.

Après avoir signalé la tradition de Galilée à laquelle il se range, saint Jérôme ajoute: «Certains pourtant veulent que Jonas soit né et enseveli près de Diospolis, c'est-à-dire de Lydda, ne comprenant pas que l'addition *Opher* est pour marquer une distinction d'avec les autres villes de Geth que l'on montre aussi aujourd'hui soit près d'Eleuthéropolis, soit près de Diospolis.»¹ Nous devons mentionner à ce propos la variante de Salomon de Bassorah qui fait Jonas originaire «de Gath-Hepher, de *Qouriath-Adamos*, proche d'Ascalon et de Gaza, et du rivage de la mer».² Qouriath-Adamos se présente évidemment comme une altération de *Καριαθμαός*, mais la proximité d'Ascalon et de Gaza paraît avoir été postulée par l'existence d'une Gath dans ces parages. Or, entre ces deux villes se trouve *el-Djiyeh*, l'une des *Djiteïn* des géographes arabes, la Γεθθέρη que l'Onomasticon rappelle au sujet de Gath.³ Il est possible que cette localité ait revendiqué en vertu de son nom le privilège si disputé d'avoir donné le jour au prophète, fils d'Amittai.

Ainsi, dans certains milieux, ce fut le nom de Gath (Geth) qui fit naître le souvenir de Jonas. Un exemple caractéristique en dehors de la Palestine nous est fourni par la proximité d'un *Néby Younès* et d'un village d'*el-Djiyeh* entre Sidon et Beyrouth. *El-Djiyeh* correspond sans doute à une ancienne Geth. Mais comme il eût été par trop invraisemblable d'y situer la naissance d'un prophète palestinien, on se borna d'y marquer le lieu où Jonas aurait été vomi par le monstre marin. «Nous arrivâmes, écrit d'Arvieux en 1660, au village appelé Romeyle, et suivant notre route dans des roches et des sables, nous trouvâmes auprès d'un autre Village appelé Gié une petite Mosquée blanche, qui selon la tradition du Païs marque le lieu où la baleine vomit le Prophète Jonas. Les Turcs ne manquent jamais de saluer profondément cet endroit, et de demander

¹ *Prolog. in Jonam: Quamquam alii juxta Diospolim, id est, Liddam, eum et natum et conditum velint: non intelligentes hoc quod additur, Opher, ad distinctionem aliarum Geth urbium pertinere, quae juxta Eleutheropolim, sive Diospolim, hodie quoque monstrantur.*

² *The Book of the Bee*, ed. Budge, ch. XXXII, p. 70. La leçon *Καριαθμαός* des Synaxaires grecs, de la seconde recension d'Épiphane et de Michel le Syrien (Chabot, I, p. 76) sent trop l'adaptation pour prévaloir contre celle qui a été admise plus haut.

³ Cf. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Archæol. Researches*, II, p. 196, note 1.

permission au Prophète de passer devant chez lui.»¹ Ce sanctuaire existe encore au point indiqué par les cartes *Khân en-Néby Younès*.

Nous ne sommes pas en mesure d'affirmer que la position occupée par l'ouély du *nahr Soukréir* fût celle d'une Geth de jadis. Peut-être faut-il simplement assigner l'échouage de Jonas comme origine à ce lieu saint, car nous n'avons pas à dissimuler l'importance que prend dans la question le voisinage plus ou moins immédiat de Jaffa (Yapho, Joppé), port d'embarquement du prophète décidé à fuir vers Tharsis.² En nous rapprochant de Jaffa nous trouvons à 6 kilom. $\frac{1}{2}$ au sud de cette ville³ un tertre qui domine la côte sablonneuse d'environ 200 pieds et auquel on n'a pas jusqu'ici prêté grande attention. C'est à Schick que revient le mérite d'avoir signalé ce point topographique omis jusqu'ici dans les cartes de Palestine et dont le nom est *Tell-Younès*.⁴ Malgré l'ensablement, les ruines couronnant ce sommet offrent un plan général assez reconnaissable. Au milieu d'une plate-forme entourée de murs se dessine un édifice mesurant 45 pieds en longueur d'ouest en est, et 40 pieds du nord au sud et présentant une répartition en trois nefs, ce qui ferait penser aux restes d'une petite basilique. Ce *Tell-Younès*, à notre avis, répond exactement à la situation que la carte de Mâdabâ, dans le fragment subsistant de la tribu de Dan, donne au sanctuaire accompagné de la légende *TO TOY AΓΙΟΥ ΙΩΝΑ* «de (temple) de Saint-Jonas».⁵ Il se trouve à la hauteur de Diospolis du côté de la mer en face de cette Geth ou Gitta à laquelle fait allusion saint Jérôme et qui est à placer non loin de Ramleh.

III

Le village d'Halhoul à six kilomètres au nord d'Hébron prétend posséder le tombeau de Jonas dans une mosquée qui attire de loin

¹ *Memoires*, II (1735), p. 329. Voir note précédente.

² *Jonas*, I, 3. Le prophète se lève pour fuir à Tharsis et descend à Jaffa (יָפוֹ, *eis* *Ἰόππην*). Jeté par dessus bord et englouti par le cétacé, Jonas est finalement rejeté à terre (אֶל-יָבֵיחָא, *ἐπὶ τὴν ξηράν*) au bout de trois jours (II, 11).

³ Et par conséquent à 21 kilomètres au nord du *Néby Younès* situé à l'embouchure du *nahr Soukréir*, dans l'ambiance de l'ancien port d'Azote.

⁴ *PE Fund, Quart. Statement*, 1888, p. 7s.

⁵ Voir *RB.*, 1897, esquisse après la page 164; *La Carte mosaïque de Madaba* (Bonne Presse, 1897) photogr. n° 3; Palmer et Guthe. Les commentateurs de la Carte, méconnaissant l'existence du *Tell Younès*, ont généralement identifié ce sanctuaire avec le *Néby Younès* du port d'Azote.

le regard et que l'on désigne sous le nom de *Djâmi'a Néby Younès*.¹ Depuis 'Aly d'Hérat (1173) les auteurs arabes s'accordent à préconiser cette tradition qui trouve un écho dans un ouvrage latin de 1320. «Au deuxième mille d'Hébron dans la direction de Bethléem est le lieu où le prophète Jonas demeurait, quand il fut revenu de Ninive. Il y mourut et y fut enseveli.»² En dépit de l'inexactitude touchant la distance, Odoric de Frioul, dont nous tenons ce renseignement, doit sans doute avoir en vue Halhoul dans laquelle, au dire d'Aly d'Hérat, se trouve le tombeau de Younès fils de Mattâ. Au sujet du sanctuaire, Moudjir ed-Din écrit: «Ce tombeau se trouve dans un bourg situé près de la ville de notre seigneur el Khalil (Hébron). Ce bourg se nomme Halhoul et est sur la route de Jérusalem. Au dessus du tombeau, il a été construit un masdjed et un minaret. Le minaret fut élevé par les ordres d'el Mâlek el-Mo'addam 'Ysa, sous l'administration de l'émir Rachîd ed-Dîn Faradj... dans le mois de radjab de l'année 623 (juin-juillet 1226). Le tombeau de Jonas jouit d'une grande célébrité et l'on s'y rend en pèlerinage. Mattâ (Amittâi) est enterré tout près, en un village appelé Beit Oummar. C'était un juste de la famille des prophètes.»³

Beit Oummar situé à cinq kilomètres au nord d'Halhoul montre encore aujourd'hui le tombeau de Néby Matta et il est fort possible que ce lieu saint soit celui que Willibald visita vers 725 et auquel il donne le nom de Saint-Matthias.⁴ Mais rien ne s'oppose à ce que le véritable souvenir vénéré en cet endroit au VIII^e siècle soit celui d'Amittâi, père de Jonas. On s'est demandé ce que venait faire Jonas en cette région et l'on croit communément que son culte en Idumée provient des Arabes. Les Juifs récents qui tiennent pour la localisation galiléenne de Gath-Héfer, ont substitué à Halhoul le tombeau du prophète Gad à celui de Jonas,⁵ mais leur opinion ne saurait prévaloir contre celle des Arabes dont nous retrouvons le fondement à une

¹ GUERIN, *Judée*, III, p. 284ss.; MADER, *Altchristliche Basiliken und Lokaltraditionen in Südjudaä*, p. 35ss.

² LAURENT, *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor*, p. 154.

³ SAUVAIRE, *Hist. de Jérusalem et d'Hébron*, p. 32. GUY LE STRANGE, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 447.

⁴ *Hodoeporicon*, cap. XXIV.

⁵ CARMOLY, *Itinéraires de la Terre Sainte... traduits de l'hébreu*, p. 128, 242, 388, 435.

époque aussi reculée que l'époque où nous avons constaté ailleurs l'éclosion du culte de Jonas.

C'est encore aux «Vies des Prophètes» que nous devons recourir pour ce nouvel aspect de la question et relever la fin de la notice sur Jonas négligée jusqu'ici par les critiques. Nous lisons en effet dans la recension d'Épiphane: «Les Ninivites se convertirent à Dieu et obtinrent miséricorde. Jonas s'en étant affligé revint mais ne demeura pas en son pays; il adopta le pays de Sour, terre des étrangers, en se faisant ce raisonnement: Ainsi je me laverai du reproche de m'être trompé en prophétisant contre Ninive. Ayant donc habité la terre de Saar, il y mourut et fut enseveli dans la caverne du fils de Qenaz, juge.»¹

Le fils de Qenaz «juge d'une tribu aux jours de l'anarchie» comme s'exprime le Pseudo-Dorothee, n'est autre qu'Othoniel, le frère cadet de Caleb, dont l'activité s'exerça sur les confins de la tribu de Juda, en territoire édomite.² Les entités topographiques de Σούρ et de Σαάρ contenues dans la notice nous reportent dans le voisinage d'Halhoul. Entre Beit-Oummar et Halhoul (à 1500 mètres de cette dernière localité) se trouvent les ruines de la célèbre forteresse de Beit Sour; de plus, à trois kilomètres au nord-est d'Halhoul existe encore de nos jours le village de Sa'ir, où l'on montre le tombeau d'Esau. Halhoul appartient donc excellemment à la région de Sour et de Saar où Jonas aurait vécu ses dernières années et où il serait mort et enseveli, partageant la grotte funéraire du juge Othoniel. Consacré d'abord par le souvenir du fils de Qenaz, le sanctuaire y associa celui de Jonas qui finit par prévaloir et par éclipser toute autre mémoire en ce lieu. Le texte d'Odoric rappelé plus haut s'inspire, selon nous, de la tradition des «Vies des Prophètes»: «*Secundo miliario versus Betlehem ab Ebron est locus, ubi Jonas propheta manebat, postquam venit de Ninive. Et ibi mortuus est et sepultus.*»³ C'est ainsi que l'Idumée en fixant sur son territoire les derniers jours du prophète réussit à posséder de son côté un Nēby Younès qui obtint chez les Arabes une vogue beaucoup plus grande que les autres sanctuaires palestiniens dédiés à Jonas.

¹ SCHERMANN, *op. l.*, p. 56: παραλαβὼν τὴν Σούρ χώραν τῶν ἀλλοφύλων . . . Καὶ κατοικήσας ἐν γῇ Σαάρ ἐκεῖ ἀπέθανε καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ τοῦ Κενεζίου κριτοῦ.

² *Juges*, III, 7—11. La correction d'*Aram* en *Édom* s'impose dans ce passage. Cf. I, 13. LAGRANGE, *Le Livre des Juges*, p. 48.

³ LAURENT, *Peregrinatores* . . ., p. 154.

Que la diffusion du culte de Jonas soit due à la simple évolution de la vénération de la colombe et du poisson des mythes syro-phéniciens, c'est une supposition qui attend encore des preuves solides. Comme de nombreux ouélys de l'Orient, les sanctuaires de Jonas ont leur origine dans un essai d'interprétation du récit biblique. Les uns évoluent autour de certaines localités tenues pour Gath-Hepher; les autres naissent sur la côte dans une relation plus ou moins étroite avec Jaffa, en raison de l'embarquement et de l'échouage du missionnaire. Seule la légende iduméenne présente des origines moins faciles à saisir. Mais on ne saurait douter qu'elle remonte au moins au début de l'ère chrétienne.¹

¹ En récapitulant nous obtenons donc la série suivante: 1° *Khân N. Younès* entre Beyrouth et Sidon; 2° *Tell Younès* à une heure au Sud de Jaffa; 3° *Néby Younès* du nahr Soukreir; 4° *Khân N. Younès* à 23 kilom. au sud de Gaza; 5° à Mešhed et aux environs; 6° à Ḥalḥoul. Conder en signalant un ouély de Jonas à Saraḥand-Sarepta paraît confondre avec l'ouély de *Mâr Elyâs*. *QS.*, 1888, p. 8.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

ONE APHEK OR FOUR?

In his interesting paper on "Aphék" (*Journal*, Vol. II, pp. 145—158) Mr. Tolkowsky has skilfully defended the theory that the three or four Apheks mentioned in the Old Testament are in reality identical. While he admits that other Apheks may have existed, the admission becomes of no historical significance, because all the occurrences of the name in a narrative context are referred to a single hypothetical Aphék, localized by Tolkowsky, following Conder and others, at Fuqû' on the summit of Mount Gilboa. It seems to the writer that this position is hardly tenable, and that we must, instead, distinguish between no less than five Apheks in Palestine and southern Syria, two of which are mentioned in the historical sections. Before proceeding to argue against his position, let us summarize our knowledge from extra-biblical sources. Egyptian sources mention one Aphék, cuneiform one or two, Greek three, and Arabic two.

Of these Apheks the best known is the Aphék situated at the northern end of the famous Pass of Fiq, eight miles in a straight line northeast of Semah. Eusebius mentions it in his *Onomasticon* as a large village (κόμη μεγάλη) near Hippos, called Αφεκα. Eight hundred years after Eusebius, Yâqût speaks of the place, describing its location accurately and tracing the references to it in Arabic literature from the seventh century on. His account commences with the following words: "Afiq—is a town of the Haurân, on the road of the Ghôr, at the beginning of the pass known as the Pass of Afiq, and generally called Fiq, a pass about two miles long down which one descends into the Ghôr, that is, the Jordan (Valley)." This Fiq is usually identified with one of the biblical Apheks. The name *Afiq* is Hebrew, meaning "strong, fortified" (cf. Assy. *epêqu*,

"be strong, firm, solid"), and accordingly there can be no doubt that an Aphek existed here in early Israelite days, before Aramaic became the tongue of the land. Its position, commanding the important pass of Aphek, on the road from Damascus to Beth-shan and the Plain of Esdraelon, was so strong that it could not have been neglected in the strategy of the wars between Damascus and Israel.

The second Aphek lay near the headwaters of the Nahr el-'Aujû; Josephus (*Wars*, II, 513) says that Cestius and his army occupied Antipatris, while the Jews gathered in a certain fortress called Aphek (ἐν τινι πύργῳ Ἀφεκου καλουμένῳ). For a long time the site of Antipatris was in doubt. Šanda (MVAG 1902, 51—60) in his discussion of the Aphek problem tried to identify Antipatris with Mejdél Yâbâ and Aphek with Qal'at Râs el-'Ein. In 1911 Guthe attacked the question, also in connection with Aphek (MNDPV 1911, 33—44), and showed conclusively that Antipatris lay at Râs el-'Ein, a view which is now the common property of scholars, and that Aphek must have been Mejdél Yâbâ, two miles southeast of Râs el-'Ein, on a very striking site, high above the plain, at the opening of the Wâdî Deir Ballût, which leads up toward Bethel and Shiloh. The name Mejdél Yâbâ may be traced back to the Middle Ages (Yâqût, etc.), as pointed out by Hartmann (MNDPV 1912, 57—58), but this fact does not affect its identification with the older Aphek, which has been adopted by Dalman (PJB 1912, 21—22, and 1914, 31) and others. The antiquity of the name at this spot is proved by the Tuthmosis list, No. 66. As was observed long ago, the names of the towns in this part of the list follow the route of the king in his march up the Philistine Plain to Yaḥam, from which he turned off to cross the hills to Megiddo; the best discussion of the campaign is given by Alt (PJB 1914, 53—99). Of importance for us are Nos. 64—68 in the list of Palestinian towns which submitted to Tuthmosis III:

64. *Rw-t-n*, i. e. Luddôn, Hebrew Lodd, Arab. Ludd. It must be noted that there is no *l* or *d* in Egyptian. The endings *ô* and *ôn* interchange constantly, and are frequently lost or added.
65. *Îw-in-îw*, i. e. Ônô (*îw* was pronounced *ô*), Heb. Ônô. Ono probably lay at El-Yehûdiyeh, a mile and a half northeast of Kefr 'Ânâ, "the village of Ono," and six miles north of Ludd.
66. *Î-pw-q-n*, i. e. Efeqôn, Heb. Afeq, probably Mejdél Yâbâ, five miles northeast of El-Yehûdiyeh.

67. *S3-w-k3*, i. e. Sauka(o), Heb. שוכה, modern Šuweikeh, eighteen miles north-northeast of Mejdél Yâbâ. The three biblical Socohs are all represented by modern Šuweikeh, properly the diminutive of Šôkeh, "thorn." See Alt, PJB X, 69, n. 1.
68. *I-h-m*, i. e. Yaḥam, which Alt has convincingly identified with Tell el-Asâwir, ten miles north of Šuweikeh.

While one might place Aphek, in accordance with the list, further north, the fact that the Jews tried by occupying it to bar Cestius's advance from Caesarea to Jerusalem shows that this is out of the question. That it was in Sharon is shown by Jos. 12 18.

The Apqu of Esarhaddon's campaign against Egypt (Winckler, *Textbuch*, pp. 53 ff.) lay on the direct road from Tyre to Raphia, and so must be identical with either the Aphek just mentioned, or the Aphek of Asher, mentioned Jos. 19 30 between Accho (read עכה = עכו) and Rehob (Tell Berweh?). Fortunately, Esarhaddon gives the distance as 30 double-hours (*bêru*); the actual distance by road from Accho to Raphia is about 150 miles, or 60 hours for a large army with a baggage-train, so we must decide in favor of the northern Aphek. To be sure, if we follow Delitzsch and Langdon in maintaining that the Assyrians preferred a shorter *bêru*, of only an hour, we obtain a distance agreeing exactly with the distance of sixty miles in a straight line (or about 75 by road) between Mejdél Yâbâ and Raphia. However, their position is almost certainly wrong.

The most famous of all the Apheks in Syria is the Greek Aphaca (Αφακα) modern Afqâ, east-southeast of Byblos, at the source of the river Adonis (Nahr Ibrâhîm), where one of the most ancient temples of Tammuz was located. It is quite possible that this Aphek is the *Apiqa*^{ki} of the list of towns of the Assyrian Empire in Schroeder, KAVI, No. 90, Rev. 13. The same form of the name is found in a fifth Aphek (אפֶּחַס) in southern Judah (Jos. 15 53); the form in question is probably derived from an **Apiqat*, which evidently interchanged with **Apiqôn*, the Egyptian *Efeqôn*. The ordinary form of the name in Hebrew is *Afiq* or *Afĕq*, for **Afiq*. The various vocalic alterations point to a very great antiquity of the name, whose original meaning was early forgotten.

We have thus five certainly distinct Apheks in Palestine and southern Syria—must we add a sixth, to be identified with modern Fuqû' on the top of Gilboa? Tolkowsky prudently gives up Conder's

original argument—the phonetic similarity—and substitutes a series of strategic considerations. It is true that the Arabic form, meaning “mushrooms” is doubtless a popular etymology, but *Fuqû'* may easily represent a Hebrew **Paqqû'ah*, or the like, meaning “colocynth” (i. e. place of colocynths), and the combination with *Afeq* defies all philological law. Let us then consider briefly the arguments presented by Tolkowsky.

The best treatment of the Battle of Ebenezer is that by Guthe, already referred to, but his argument may easily be made even stronger. We must remember that Judah, as appears from the story of Samson, was already tributary to the Philistines, and that their attack was therefore directed against the northern tribes, Israel proper. The Philistines naturally gathered on the border between them and the Israelites, that is, at a point southwest of Israel. The best route by which to invade Israel was the Wâdî 'Azzûn, leading up from a point a few miles north of Râs el-'Ein to Shechem, the focus of the Israelite confederation. Directly east of Râs el-'Ein is the mouth of the Wâdî Deir Ballût, leading up toward Bethel and Shiloh (see above). Here was water in abundance for the horses and footmen, and a fortified town (Aphek = Mejd el Yâbâ) to which to retreat in case of defeat. No argument can be deduced from the tribal affinity of the messenger who bore the evil tidings to Shiloh, since the latter was quite as sacred to Benjamites as to Ephraimites, and swift runners were not likely to outdistance the rest merely in order to get home first, when they might be the first to bring news to the capital.

All critical exegetes agree that we have in 1 Sam. 28—31 one of the displacements of the text found in this book; ch. 28 3-25 belongs between 29 and 31 (30 is an episode from David's career). With this rearrangement everything falls into place. The Philistine forces are marshalled at Râs el-'Ein, just north of their own land, in the tributary region. When the contingent from Gath ('Arâq el-Menšiyeh!) comes on the scene, David is found with Achish, and a protest against the presence of so suspicious a person is immediately made; of course, this occurs before the march into the hostile land begins. Ch. 29 11 shows that Jezreel was the goal of the Philistine march, which accordingly followed the Dothan route to Jenîn and Zer'in. It is clear that, as Tolkowsky remarks, the Philistines were endeavoring

to occupy the Plain of Jezreel, the richest part of Saul's domain, thereby cutting his kingdom into two parts. The Philistines evidently had cavalry, which prevented Saul from attacking them on the plain, so the latter took up his position on the western slopes of Gilboa, where the Philistines finally attacked him, not being able to coax him down. The elaborate twentieth century tactics assumed by Tolkowsky are out of place here, where the most reliable parallels forbid our supposing armies of over five thousand men.

The Aphek of the Philistine wars cannot be identified with the Aphek of the Syrian wars, since 1 Kings 20²⁶⁻³⁰ shows that the latter was the Syrian base, in Syrian territory, or at all events on the border. In the time of Benhadad II we know that nearly all Transjordan, excepting only Gilead proper, was under Syrian control, so Aphek must have been situated just north of Gilead, on the road from Damascus to Samaria. These conditions are fulfilled admirably by (A)fiq, southeast of Chinnereth, commanding the pass on the road from Damascus to the Jordan Valley, as attested by Yâqût. The term "go up" (עלה) used of marching from Damascus to Aphek is no argument for the location of the latter on Mount Gilboa, since this expression is employed whenever a hill is ascended; Fiq is on a hill. Naturally the Hebrews had no aneroids, so we cannot take such idioms too literally.

In conclusion it may be observed that in a visit to Fuqû' April 25, 1920, I was unable to find any traces of ancient occupation; Aphek was a walled town (1 Kings 20³⁰) and so like all walled towns must have had a *tell*. In Fuqû' the native rock crops out everywhere, and there is no *tell* within miles.

Additional note:—In Forrer's remarkable work, *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches* (Leipzig, 1921), pp. 14—18, he shows that there was also an Assyrian Apqu west of the Tigris, in northeastern Mesopotamia. It is possible that Apiqa is identical with this Apqu. In his map Forrer identifies the Apqu of Esarhaddon's text with Aphek near Antipatris. In view of the fact that the journey from Apqu to Raphia was partly through the desert, Esarhaddon may have made a circuitous trip through the Negeb, in order to enlist the support of the Arabs, which he says he obtained. In this case the distance actually covered may have been twice that in a

straight line from Apqu to Raphia. It may be observed that the length of the standard *bêru*, or double-hour, according to Thureau-Dangin, the greatest authority on Babylonian metrology, was 10,7 km., or nearly seven miles (*Revue d'Assyriol.*, 1921, p. 41). In marching with a large army over difficult country the *bêru* would naturally be much smaller, just as in the case of the parasang.

W. F. ALBRIGHT.

BOOK REVIEWS

BOYLAN, PATRICK, *Thoth, the Hermes of Egypt*. Pp. VIII + 215 (8 vo.).
Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, etc., 1922.

With the advance of the Berlin Dictionary of Egyptian and the appearance of the long-awaited *Aegyptisches Handwörterbuch*, by Erman and Grapow, Egyptian philology may be said to have reached firm ground. Much detail work in lexicon, phonology, and syntax remains to be done, but Egyptian can be read, and read correctly. The time has evidently come when the involved problems of Egyptian religion may be attacked with some hope of success. It is not yet possible to treat the subject systematically; we are still in need of much painstaking preliminary work. Grapow has begun the task of preparing critical comparative editions of the most important chapters in the Book of the Dead, tracing the development of each formula separately, from the earliest time to the Ptolemaic period. In this way only will it become possible to correct the mistakes of later scribes, and analyze the various layers of glosses and accretions. Blackman, Moret, and others have begun to study the religious rites and practices, carefully gathering the graphic and literary evidence, and drawing for suggestions and commentary upon the vast stores of ethnographic materials which are now available for study, thanks largely to Frazer. A third, in some respects even more necessary task is the collection of all the material bearing on individual gods and cults. The masters of two generations have gathered much, but their work is now for the most part hopelessly antiquated, and we must therefore start afresh.

The book before us is the very first monograph devoted exclusively to a single Egyptian deity which has appeared for many years. Every page shows the thoroughness of the training received by the author

under Erman and Junker, the great Austrian Egyptologist, who read the proofs and saw the book through the press in Vienna. To the fact that Junker is the unrivaled master of the difficult and enigmatic texts of the Ptolemaic period is due the extended use of these documents. There can be no doubt that the religious texts of the Ptolemaic period, with characteristic Egyptian conservatism, have saved to us myths and conceptions of all kinds, otherwise unrecorded. At present they form an almost virgin field of research, not the less interesting because it lies between early Egypt on the one side, and Plutarch and the Hermetic books on the other, and will thus provide us eventually with data for evaluating the influence of Hellenic philosophy on Graeco-Egyptian syncretism.

We are only beginning to estimate properly the extent of Egyptian influence on the religion of Palestine and especially of Phoenicia. The mass of Egyptian amulets and images of the gods discovered in Gezer and elsewhere in Palestine should teach us that the religion of Canaan was profoundly affected by Egypt. Palestine remained in the sphere of Egyptian influence throughout its history, and every strong king and powerful dynasty, from the Thinite age down to the time of the Ptolemies, regarded it as part of the Egyptian Empire. This was even truer of Phoenicia than of Palestine, since the rich stores of timber in the hinterland of the Phoenician coast were always an object of Egyptian cupidity. Egyptian relations with Phoenicia are mentioned repeatedly in the Old Empire, from the time of Soris (Snofru) on, while Byblos appears already in the Pyramid Texts. The remarkable discoveries of Montet in Byblos are accordingly no surprise, though it cannot but stir the pulses of the most phlegmatic to read of monuments from the Thinite and Memphite periods being found in an Egyptian temple in Byblos! As we shall see Phoenician religion was deeply influenced by Egyptian, and the former was not slow to borrow gods outright, though clothing them in garments of its own choice. It so happens that Thoth was one of the gods which it borrowed, a fact which immediately enlists our interest, as students of Syro-Palestinian antiquity. Since this is not yet generally known, it may be proved before we proceed to discuss the book itself.

Philo of Byblos (Fr. ii, 11) says that in the cosmogony of Phoenicia a pair of brothers was created, named respectively *Μισορ* and *Συδεκ*,

i. e. Heb. *mêšûr(im)*—not *mîšôr*, which would become in Phoenician **Mîšûr*—and *š'deq*, “uprightness” and “justice”, corresponding to Assy. *Mêšaru* and *Kittu*, the two attendants of Šamaš. From *Mîšôr* *Taavros*, the inventor of writing, sprang; Sydyk begot the *Kabeiroi*. Philo goes on to say that *Taaut* is the Phoenician pronunciation of the name of the same god called by the (Upper) Egyptians Θωθ, by the Alexandrians Θωθ, i. e. Thoth. It is very remarkable that the Phoenician form of the name preserves an older vocalization, *Tahût*, which prevailed during the Eighteenth Dynasty, when the worship of Thoth was at its flood in Egypt, and spread to Phoenicia, as we now see. The association between *Mîšôr* and *Taaut* reflects that between *Mê'e* (older **Mû'e*, from *Mû'et*), the personification of truth and justice, and Thoth.

While the identity of *Taaut* with Thoth has, of course, with sundry curious exceptions, been recognized, the antiquity of *Taaut*'s naturalization in Phoenicia has not. And now comes a much more important combination, which, as I see from Baudissin, *Adonis und Esmun*, p. 209, n. 6, was partly anticipated by Maspero, *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes*, Vol. II, p. 258: *Ešmûn*, the Phoenician form of *Asclepius*, is also a thinly disguised Thoth. The explanation of the name as standing for **Ešmân*, from *ešm*, “name,” given by Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, Vol. III, pp. 260—265 (independently five years later in *AJSL*, XXXVI, 273, n. 4) is accordingly wrong. Damascius (cf. Baudissin, *op. cit.*, p. 208) states expressly that the name Εσμωνος meant ὄγδοος “ogdoad.” There is no reason to doubt the statement of Damascius, who has proved himself singularly well-informed concerning Babylonian religious ideas. By a curious coincidence the Egyptian and Phoenician pronunciations of the common Semitic word for “eight” in the first millennium B. C. were practically identical: Old Egyptian *ḥmnw* became *šmûn* (Coptic ⲩⲙⲛⲉ) and Old Hebrew *šmônê* had to become **šmûnê* in Phoenician, or rather, since double consonants at the beginning of a word were not tolerated, **ešmûn(ê)*. The association of *Ešmûn* with the Ogdoad shows that *Ešmûn* is a reflection of the Egyptian Thoth, the lord of the Ogdoad, *nb ḥmnw*, and lord of the City of Eight, *nb Ḥmnw* (Hermopolis Magna), modern *Ešmûnein*, whence he was himself named *Ḥmnw*, later *šmûn*. The Ogdoad was composed of the eight cynocephali (baboons) of *Ḥmnw*, who were worshipped with Thoth,

the baboon god, and sometimes identified with him. The eight sacred baboons were the demiurges who assisted Rê in his creation of the world. All this we find with slight alterations in the mythology of Phoenicia, especially at Berytus, the centre of Ešmûn worship. Ešmûn is intimately associated with his cousins, the seven *kabeiroi*, with whom the sacred eight is built up. Like Thoth and his cynocephali Ešmûn and his *kabeiroi* were the patrons of wisdom and especially of medicine; Ešmûn was identified with Asclepius-Aesculapius, who borrowed his serpent-staff, henceforth the symbol of the healing art. In Ptolemaic times the Thoth of Pnubs received, in token of his identity with Ešmûn-Asclepius, the serpent-staff of the latter. In a somewhat similar way Isis-Ba'alat of Byblos returned to Egypt as Hathôr, lady of Byblos.

Thoth always remained god of the moon, a fact which the Egyptians never forgot. We should therefore expect traces of a lunar origin also in Ešmûn, nor are we doomed to search in vain. The standing Phoenician appellation of Ešmûn was מֵאֲרַח (Gr. *Μηνῆς*), which may be simply equivalent to Heb. יָרֵחַ, "moon," but more probably represents a **Me'arreh*, for **meyarreh*, which may correspond to Arabic *mu'arril*, for **muwarriḥ* (**warh*, "moon"; *arrāḥa* is denominative) "recorder of chronicles," i. e. the one who determines dates and events by lunar chronology (cf. our "annalist"). So also Thoth, as moon-god, is the reckoner of time (*ḥšb ḥ'*) and the reckoner of years (*ḥšb rnpwt*), etc. (see Boylan, *op. laud.*, p. 193). The importance of the reckoner of time, of interest on money, and the recorder of documents among a commercial people was so great that we cannot be surprised to find them venerating Ešmûn in this capacity, just as the Egyptian scribe considered Thoth, the inventor of writing (like Taautos) and the reckoner of time, as his special patron. Hence a figure of the ape-god was set up in the office of the scribes (*ibid.*, p. 100). Through the philosopher Xenocrates, who borrowed extensively from Phoenicia, we can further prove that the association between the moon and the Ogdoad was recognized in Phoenicia as well as Egypt. Cicero, *De natura deorum*, I, 13, 34, says that Xenocrates increased the number of planetary gods from seven to eight, the eighth being the moon, while Clemens of Alexandria states that the philosopher made the eighth planetary god (i. e., the moon) τὸν ἐκ πάντων αὐτῶν συνεστῶτα κόσμον, that is, the universe which consisted of them all, the Ogdoad, Thoth-*Hmnw*-Ešmûn (*Cohort.* V, 58).

To the gods already known which Phoenicia borrowed from the older civilization of the Nile, Isis-Hathôr (= Ba'alat), Môt (later Mût, the mother-goddess; the archaic form of the name points to the Eighteenth Dynasty), and Taaüt, we may now add Ešmûn, a form of the latter. Taaüt-Ešmûn may also appear as the demiurge Chûsôr (*Xovσωρ*), whose name we may then emend to *Chonsor* (*Xovσωρ*), and derive from *Hons-Hôr*, i. e. Moon-Horus, an appellative of Thoth (Boylan, *op. laud.*, p. 194). Thoth was also worshipped in ancient Canaan, to judge from the numerous ape figurines discovered, especially at Gezer.

To return to the work before us! Thanks to the excellence of Viennese publishers and the lowness of the Austrian exchange, it has been possible to print the work, despite the fact that every page bristles with hieroglyphs, at a very low cost, as well as very accurately. There are relatively very few misprints, even in the English. Besides the corrigenda given on p. VIII we may note the following (disregarding the errors in English spelling, which every reader can correct automatically):

Pag. 83, l. 9 from below, insert "living" before "ruler."

Pag. 92, n. 1. Read *mukîn nindabê*, "he that establishes the offerings." The author's extensive and effective use of Assyrian parallels is very commendable, and points to a very profitable interchange between Egyptologists and Assyriologists in the future. The Assyrian quotations are not always pointed and accented quite correctly.

Pag. 92, n. 2, and 93, n. 2. Read תרפים in place of טרפים, a peculiar form which is quoted from Eisler's Kenite work without verification. In this connection it was particularly rash to quote Eisler; while "טרפים" might be derived (phonetically!) from Eg. *drf*, "hieroglyphic script" (!), תרפים cannot be so derived. The less said about this particular series of speculations of Eisler's the better. The Orientalist has unfortunately come to regard the effusions of the Munich School with suspicion, though their suggestive value is often very great.

Pag. 193. Read *lr wdzt* and *lr bqf* instead of *g wdzt* and *g bqf*.

The author devotes the first chapter of his book to the form and significance of the name Thoth, which he traces back to a **Delhowti*,

supposed to mean "He of the city *Dhwt*." Since the city in question is otherwise wholly unknown, this explanation is very precarious. Moreover, it is possible to find a much better etymology of the name, as I have shown in an article still unpublished, to appear in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*. The oldest form of the name was approximately **Ṣaḥaūtī*, which became **Ĝ(D)ahautey*, and **Tehowt* (after the thirteenth century, as will be shown elsewhere). The stem of **Ṣaḥaūtī* is **ṣḥw*, Semitic *ḏḥw* "shine, be bright," which appears in Ar. *ḏāḥā*, "expose to sun" (denominative), Ethiopic *Dahāḥ* (ዕሕደ) "sun," and Ar. *ḏāḥā*, "morning." From the same root *ḏḥ* come the closely related words, Ar. *ḏaḥḥ*, "sun," and *wāḏaḥ*, "moon" (the bright one, like Heb. *lebanāh*). It is probable enough that the association between Thoth and the ibis originated, as so often, in a paronomasia, though the word *tīḥi* (ⲧⲓⲏⲓ) in Bohairic means "crane." There should be no difficulty about the *nisbe* form in *Dhwt*, properly "bright," which is like *mṣ'ty*, "just," from *mṣ't*, "truth, justice."

The "outflow of Osiris" (*rdw Osīr*), which the author discusses on p. 17, referred primarily, not to the spewing forth of the waters of the Nile, but to their being poured forth from his male organ, as the generative semen which fecundated the earth every autumn. Evidence from the Pyramid Texts for this explanation of the efflux from the body of Osiris—which in later times was unquestionably replaced by the other—has been presented JAOS XL, 325, n. 39, but an even clearer passage is Pyr. 265—266: Behold this king Neferkerē, whose feet are kissed by the pure waters which came into being through the agency of Atūm, which the phallus of Šū creates, and the vagina of Tefēnet brings into existence (*mky Nfr-k3-R' pn, isnty rdwyf in mw w'bw wnnw ḥr Tm, ḥr ḥnn Šw šḥpr k3t Tjnt*). The waters are created in the seminal glands of Šū (= Osiris) and come forth from the womb of the earth-mother, a conception found also in Babylonia and elsewhere (JAOS XXXIX, 70). As pointed out in the latter paper, the Sumerians thought that the water of the Two Rivers was created by the moon and born from the vagina of Mother Earth. This same idea is stated explicitly in a Sumerian text not then considered (cf. tentatively Pinches, JRAS 1919, 195, Rev. lines 6, 8: Let the water (in Sumerian the same word means both semen and water) of the moon-god, the pure water, be in my womb—let my water, like the water of my king, go to the earth

(a *ʿZuen-na a-laḡ-laḡ-ga šà-ma ni-gál — a-mu a-lugal-mu-gim ki-šù ḡé-im-ma-gin*). There are a large number of passages which point to the originally lunar nature of Osiris, who seems to have been primarily a vegetation god with lunar associations, like Tammuz and Ešmûn. The king became Osiris primarily because Osiris as the moon was the *kš* of Rê, with whom the living king was identified (cf. Van der Leeuw, JEA V, 64, who shows that the moon was considered the *kš* of the sun, and for Osiris and the moon JAOS XXXIX, 88f., as well as XL, 333f.).

On p. 27 the author comes very near solving the question of the origin of Thoth, according to one of the most ancient Egyptian myths. The purport of the passages referring to his birth is clear enough. One text says that Thoth in his name *wpt* (skull) sprang from the skull of the *ḥm-mty*; since the latter word is written with the ideograms for vulva and phallus it clearly means "hermaphrodite." We are reminded of the birth of another lunar deity, Athene, from the head of Zeus. Another conception is that he was created by a paederastic union of Horus and Set. The text from the Book of the Dead, 134, 9, quoted by Boylan, says that Thoth was son of a stone, sprung from two stones (*s; ḥnr pr m ḥnrty*), which simply means that Thoth was engendered either by onanism, or by paederasty. This means that the moon is self-created, engendering and bearing itself monthly without the assistance of a second principle. The onanistic conceptions of Oriental mythology are discussed JAOS XL, 324ff.

Pag. 37. The enmity between Set and Horus has a very complicated origin. In the case of Bitis and Anubis it would seem that we have the familiar Semitic motive of the hostile brothers, as with Samemrumus and Usous, or Jacob and Esau; Bitis corresponds directly to Tammuz, Anubis indirectly to Nergal, also lord of the underworld. The conflict of Horus and Set, however, while derived from the same dualistic conflict of the power of death and destruction with that of life and fertility, is somewhat different. Horus corresponds rather to Nâbû than to Tammuz, who is Horus's father Osiris. On the other hand Set is a figure closely related to Tammuz; both are connected closely with the swine, while Set's emasculation is like that of the Babylonian god of fertility, imitated by

the eunuch priests of his retinue. Set is himself a god of fertility worshipped extensively in northern Egypt, who owes his later Typhonian reputation to the fact that his followers were worsted in their conflicts with the servants of Horus, who substituted him for Anubis, or some other deity hostile to Osiris and Horus.

Pag. 91. Sin is also the great artificer of heaven, *Lamga-gal-anna-gè*.

Pag. 104. The legend that *Hw* and *Ši3* sprang from a drop of "blood" which issued from the phallus of Rê is not merely "a crass form of a myth which represented Understanding and Utterance" (properly Utterance and Intelligence) "as the first potencies which sprang from Re," but obviously meant originally that these faculties came into existence as soon as Rê attained puberty, called by the Hebrews the age of discerning between good and evil.

Pag. 140. The *qblw* are not the gates of heaven, but the lakes or pools, originally at the first cataract, where the king was purified for the apotheosis; cf. especially Chassinat, *Recueil de Travaux*, XXXVIII, 33—60, and *AJSL* XXXV, 187ff.

Pag. 190. The word *mrht* does not mean "balance," but "plumb-level." The latter was one of the principal instruments of the ancient architect, to whom the spirit-level was naturally unknown. Thoth is the great architect.

Pag. 196, line 1. *Šnwy n R'* means "second to Rê," not "a second Re."

Pag. 199, 7 from below. Render "He who gives breath to Osiris Onnophris" (*rdj nfw n Wnn-nfrw*).

It is a pity that the author does not discuss in more detail the after-history of Thoth-Hermes, who as Hermes-Poemandres enjoyed a great vogue in the Roman and even in the Christian East. The Hermetic writings were translated from Greek into Syriac, and later into Arabic. No one seems to have observed that the Arabic Idris is really a conflation of Thoth and Enoch, but this is absolutely certain, and is certainly not without interest for the student of ancient survivals in Islam. For this reason we may devote a final paragraph to the proof of our statement. The present situation may be seen from Wensinck's article on Idris in the *Encyclopaedia of*

Islam (1919). Nöldeke pointed out many years ago (ZA XVII, 84f.) that the name *Idrîs* was probably a corruption of *Andreas*, which he thought might be the name of the apostle Andrew, though he could not find a connecting link. R. Hartmann (ZA XXIV, 314; cf. also ZDMG LXVII, 743, n. 1) then suggested that the immortal *Idrîs* was originally *Andreas*, the cook of Alexander, who dived into the fountain of life, obtaining immortality by his plunge. The name *Idrîs* is indeed derived from a Greek *andrîs*—the final element in *Pîmandrîs* (Πομπάνδρης), an abbreviation by no means unparalleled in Arabic literature. Abû'l-Fâraj says in his *Târîh muhtâsar ed-dîwal* (ed. Şâlḥânî, p. 11) that Enoch (Ḥanûh) is identical with *Hermes Trismegistus* (i. e. *Poemandres*), while the Arabs call him *Idrîs*. The historian goes on to distinguish three *Hermes* (هرماسة)—that is three *Thoths*—: *Hermes* who lived in Upper Egypt, who first taught the arts and sciences, inscribing them in the Pyramids in order to save them from destruction in the Deluge, which he foresaw (note the *Xisuthrus* motive!); the Babylonian *Hermes*, who lived in *Kalwâḍah* and built Babylon after *Nimrod's* death; *Hermes Trismegistus*, who composed the *Hermetic* writings. The first *Hermes* is naturally *Thoth-Hermes*, the third is *Thoth-Hermes-Poemandres*, who was erroneously distinguished from the former. I have no idea who is meant by the Babylonian *Hermes*, who cannot here be *Oannes*. It is curious enough to find the old Egyptian moon-god still revered as *Nébi Idrîs* in the modern Orient.

W. F. A.

I. MODERN PALESTINIAN PARALLELS TO THE SONG OF SONGS¹

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(JERUSALEM)

WE may safely assume that the beautiful love ditties of the Song of Songs circulated among the people, who sang them on different occasions, as is still the case with our folksongs. We may hear the same songs on weddings as well as on other occasions, whenever opportunity offers. A comparison of these early Palestinian songs with those which are in use to-day, some 2500 years later, shows a striking resemblance between the old and the new, both in the expression of ideas and in the grouping of words. The freshness and vigour of their imagery as well as the gloom of their passions in the nuptial and erotic pieces are delightful.²

From the semasiological standpoint it is worth while comparing the ancient and the modern modes of describing the beauty of the man and the woman. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that the beauty of the man is a subject almost neglected in our folksongs.

In the following paper I shall let each word speak with its own force, unchained and unchanged, since I am not defending any theory.³

¹ I wish to render hearty thanks to Dr. W. F. Albright, without whose kind help and assistance I should never have completed this work, and to whose interest and encouragement I owe very much. Furthermore, he has had the kindness to go through the whole article and to give me valuable advice.

² I hope that no one will be offended by the breadth of treatment in this paper.

³ Copies of the Bible used:—a) *Biblia Sacra Vulgatae editionis Sixti V et Clementi VIII*; b) *Holy Bible transl. from the Latin Vulgate and diligently compared with other editions* . . . (Douay 1609 and Rheims 1582) published as revised and annotated by authority (R. & T. Washbourne, London); c) the Authorised and the Revised English Bibles; d) *Dr. Martin Luther's Bibel, durch-gesehene Ausgabe*; e) Arabic Translation of the RR. PP. de S. J., Beyrouth; and f) those of the American Missions with and without annotations.

There is no doubt whatever about the general idea of these poems, which is the same as that treated of in Canticles—the mutual love of the sexes. In monologues and dialogues are described the reciprocal love and longing of the male and female for each other.¹

To him “she” is altogether a charming and beautiful maiden. She is of *good family* (7 2)² for he calls her the *prince's daughter*. Her *stature* (7 7; 2 14)³ is like a *palm tree*. She is *beautiful, sweet and yet terrible*⁴ (6 3), *fair as the moon*,⁵ *bright as the sun* (6 9).⁶ Her *feet* (7 1) are beautiful.⁷ Her *face* (2 14)⁸ is comely, “*pars pro toto*.” Her *speech*⁹ and *voice* (2 14; 4 3)¹⁰ are sweet. Her *odours* (3 16; 4 10, 12–14)¹¹ are aromatic, full of the fragrance of all spices and sundry powders of the perfumer. Although her *complexion* (1 5)¹² has been bronzed by the sun, which has burnt her *face* (1 6), she is none the less fair, attractive and beautiful. Our contemporary songster is so much absorbed by her charms that he calls her *his life*.¹³ The ravenblack *hair*¹⁴ with its attractive *curls* and *locks* (4 3; 6 6) is coloured with *henna*¹⁵ for the wedding night and appears to him like purple (7 5; 6 4).

The *hair* and the dark *eyes*,¹⁶ with which she has ravished his heart (4 9), so that he cannot but cry out, calling her the *fairest amongst women* (1 8; 4 9; 5 9 and 17; 6 4),¹⁷ are her most striking features. Both Canticles and the folksongs praise her *dove-like eyes*

¹ See Professor Haupt's "Canticles," JAOS 1902.

² See note to Text, Cant. 7 2.

³ See note to Text, Cant. 7 8 and song no. 3.

⁴ Stanza 1 of song No. 3 and song no. 28.

⁵ and ⁶ See note to Text, Cant. 6 10 and song no. 9.

⁷ See note to Text, Cant. 7 1.

⁸ See note to Text, Cant. 1 13 and 6 10.

⁹ See song no. 28.

¹⁰ See song no. 34.

¹¹ See note to Cant. 4 10 and song no. 9.

¹² and ¹³ See note to Cant. 1 4 and 5, and song no. 4, stanza 1. *šā'irha mīl il-lēl* (her hair is like the night = شعرها مثل الليل) or *ṭāl l(i)ḥbāl* = طول الحبال "as long as (tent) ropes."

¹⁴ A *marwāl* sings . . . *u šā'rik mīl 'ēnik mīl ḥāẓẓi, kaḥūlyn fi kaḥūlyn, fi kaḥūlyn* =

... وشعرك مثل عينك مثل حظي كحظي في كحظي في كحظي

"And your hair is like your eye and like my hard luck: dark, dark, dark."

¹⁵ See song no. 5, stanza 5.

¹⁶ and ¹⁷ See Cant. 4 7 and 9; cf. song no. 3, line 2.

(41; 115b); yet we in our turn go a little farther, and ascribe to her doe-like or gazelle-like eyes.¹

Her lovely cheeks² seemed to the old bard to be a slice of pomegranate (43; 66), yet we consider them nowadays like apples,³ white and red, or like roses.⁴

When Canticles compares her teeth (66) to a flock of white sheep coming up from the washing, our present songsters are inclined to liken them to hail-stones or to silver.⁵ Her lips are considered nowadays not so much as a thread of scarlet (43), but more as delightful roses in full blossom, as sweet as honey or sugar (411).⁶ Her mouth is like the best wine (79);⁷ and her throat⁸ has the same attribute of beauty, though it may be compared now and then to amber.⁹

Her breasts, seemingly the most attractive part of her graceful person, are to the old singer like wine (12; 410), even far better (410; 12). We consider them as pomegranates and rarely as clusters of grapes (78).¹⁰ But in common parlance "the groom may take one breast for a cushion and the other as an eider-down quilt."

يا عريس لا تخاف: بز مخدة وبز لحاف.¹¹ His love for her inspires him to describe her with a variety of pretty appellatives, common to both periods, such as *dove* (214),¹² *roe* (36)¹³ an *enclosed garden*,¹⁴ a *spring shut up*,¹⁵ a *fountain sealed*¹⁶ (412); a *garden fountain*, a *well of living water* (415).¹⁷ He is captured by her beauty; first he considers her

¹ Song no. 6, line 14, and song no. 25.

²⁻⁴ See song no. 36. Her cheek is like the apple (red), *hàdda zayy it-tuffâha* (خدها زي التفاحة); or like the leaf, *zayy ir-rîf* (زي الرغيف); also *zayy il-wârd* (زي الورد) like roses; and *zayy il-hêtaliyye* (زي البيطلية) like starch with milk; or like fresh prepared cheese, *zayy ij-jîbne -t-tariyye* (زي الجبنة الطرية). Cf. the note to song no. 9. *wilward fâttaḥ 'ala haddo*, "the roses have budded on his cheek" (الورد فتح على خده).

⁵ Note to Song no. 16. We say also *snânha zayy il-fàḍḍa* = سنانها زي الفضة, her teeth are like silver.

⁶ *Zayy il-aqîq* = زي العقيق; *zayy il-murjân* = زي المرجان, like ruby and like corals.

⁷⁻⁹ See song no. 8, stanza 7, and notes to Cant. 410.

¹⁰ But a woman between "trente et quarante" in her "dangerous age" is considered to be only *tâli-l-'anqûd* تالي العنقود the rest of the grape cluster.

¹¹ This is from Dr. T. Canaan's unpublished collection of Palestinian proverbs.

¹² See note to text on Cant. 214 and note 62.

¹³ Song no. 17.

¹⁴⁻¹⁷ It is quite possible, owing to the scarcity and importance of water, to use these appellative names for the girl, but still they would be exceptional. See the notes to the text of Canticles.

fair,¹ and then as spotless (47).² Yes, to him she is at the same time a *rose in a flower garden* (21)³ and a *proud horse* (19).⁴

It is not usual to enumerate the attractions and charms of the man. So we have in our contemporary songs comparatively few ditties which deal comprehensively with the beauty of the male.⁵

The bride describes him as "white and ruddy, chosen out of thousands"⁶ (510). His *form*⁷ and *countenance* are excellent (515) and therefore the virgins love him (12).⁸ His flowing *locks*⁹ are bushy and black as a raven (511).¹⁰ His *cheeks* are as a bed of spices (513). His *mouth* is very sweet, altogether lovely (516). His *hands* are gold rings set with beryls (514).¹¹ And last, but not least, his *stature* is like the cedars—nowadays like a palm tree (515)¹²—and his *belly* is like ivory overlaid or set with sapphires (514).¹³ Such is her friend and her beloved (516),¹⁴ a handsome youth,¹⁵ who is sure of the sincere love of maidens (12). To him she said in olden times: "Draw me and I will run after thee" (14). She may hear today just the same words from his lips.¹⁶

He calls her *sister, bride* (49)¹⁷ and *friend* (210). She in her turn calls him her *beloved* (54; 17; 23; 58), and her *friend* (51; 29). The words "friend, beloved, graceful, fair" and half a dozen synonyms

¹ and ² See Psalm 45:3 and stanza 2 of song No. 3.

³ Song 13, stanza 6, and note to Cant. 21.

⁴ In a song the Bedawi addresses his love thus:—*w-inti-l-mùhra w-àna hayyâlik* = وانت المهره وانا خيالك, and you are the filly and I am your rider.

⁵ See songs nos. 26, 2, 18, 22 (first stanza), 27, and note to Cant. 510.

⁶ See note to Cant. 510.

⁷ Notes to Cant. 78.

⁸ Song no. 27.

⁹ "Barhum" song no. 2.

¹⁰ See note no. 15 above.

¹¹ See note to Cant. 73—5.

¹² See Cant. 78 (note to text).

¹³ See Cant. 73—5.

¹⁴ See note to Cant. 31.

¹⁵ A despised lover rejoices in the hope that he will colour his beard and hair and become "a smart lad, loved by all girls," *w-îlib šabb (y)hlêwa kull il-banât ti'sâ'ni*... واقلب شب حليوى كل البنات تعشقني.

¹⁶ *jurrîni w-àna banjârr šilîni w-àna banšâl* وانا بمنجر شيليني وانا بمنشال. Draw me and I shall be drawn, carry me and I shall be carried.

¹⁷ This expression is nowadays used only in Egypt.

are used equally for both sexes. All these expressions are taken over into the mystical and spiritual terminology of the Šūfis.

While in the Canticles the man is compared to a deer or a hart,¹ in our days it is the wife to whom these attributes are solely applied. The palm tree and the bird are common to both parties.²

¹ Cant. 8.14 and 2.9.

² Although *nomina propria* do not come exactly under the head of songs, yet they cast a light of their own, which elucidates some ideas of ours concerning this matter. I give in the following a collection of Arabic female names, not pretending to give the exact Latin, Keltic, Hebrew or Greek semantic equivalent.

a) Abstracta. *Šarīfeh* شريفه Ethel, Eugenia, Patricia; — *Farīdeh* فريده and *Wahīdeh* وحيدة, the unique one; — *Šālah* صالحة (diminutive *šallah* صَلَّحَ) Pia; — *‘Alyah* عليه Augusta; — *Hākmeh* حاكمه Martha; — *Ġālbeh* غالبه Victoria; — *Fauziyyeh* فوزيه Eunice; — *‘Āyseh* عايشه, *‘Ēšeh* عيشه, (Y) *‘wēšeh* عوديشه, *‘Awwāš* عواش, *Ayyūš* عيوش, Vivian; — *Maḥbūbeh* محبوبه Mabel; — *Hāmḍa* حمدا (dim. *Hamḍiyyeh* حمدية) Antonia, Antoinette; — *Sū‘da* سودا, *Maš‘ūdeh* مسعودة, *Sū‘ād* سعاد, Faustine, Beatrice, Felicia; — *Salma* سلمى Salome; — *Salimeh* سليمة Frederica, Irene; — *Fahriyyeh* فخريه Alberta; — *Šafī‘ah* شفيقه Clementine; — *Rāḍiyyeh* راضيه Lois; — *Wadād* ودا Amy; — *‘Atiyyeh* عطيه Dorothy, Theodora; — *Asma* اسما Augusta; — *Amīneh* امينه Fidelia; — *Āmneh* آمنه Salva; — *Labībeh* لبیبه Sophronia; — *Naḥībeh* نكيبه Adeline.

b) Names derived from Adjectives. *Hylrah* حلوه Dulce; — *Sūbhah* صباكه Clara; — *Zarīfeh* ظريفه Grace; — *Jamīleh* جميله Belle; — *‘Adīleh* ‘Adleh عادلہ Dinah; — *Hūsna* حسنا Bertha, Ruth; — *Majīdeh* مكيدة Honoria, Nora; — *Ḥabībeh* حبيبه Mabel, Amy; — *Faḍiyyeh* فضيه Cordelia(?); — *Dalīleh* دليله Delilah; — *Zahīyyeh* زهيه Florence; — *Mīlīah* مليكه Agatha; — *Bahīyya* بويه Claribel; — *‘Afīfeh* عفيفه Agnes; — *Syrrīyyeh* سرية concubine; — *Hūrīyyeh* حوريه houri (from Paradise); — *Farḥah* فرحه Edna; — *Šadī‘a* صديقه Aimee; — *Sayydeh* سيدة Amīrah اميره Adeline, Adelaide, Alice (*Almira* = amira); — *Šūṭāneh* سلطانہ Augusta; — *Mālakeh* ملكه Regina; — *Laṭīfeh* لطيفه Anne; — *Yūsra* يسره Phyllis; — *Badī‘ah* بديعه Clara.

c) *Nūr* نور Eleanor; — *Munīrah* منيره Lucinda and Lucrecia; — *Bādrāh* بدره and *‘Amrah* قمره (diminutiv *‘Ammurah* قمره Helen; — *Saniyyeh* سنیه Augusta; — *Ša‘la* شعلا Phoebe; — *Zuhra* زهراء, زهره Venus; — *Turayyah* ثوربا Pleiades; — *Nījmeh* نكبه with its diminutives *Njēmeḥ* نكبيه, and *Najjām* نجم Esther, Stella; — *Zēnab* زينب Zenobia; — *Nasīmeḥ* نسيمه Zephyr; — *Nūda* ندی dew.

d) Names borrowed from plants. *Fullah* فلة Nycanthem zambac; — *Ḥaḍra* خضرا (dim. *Hāḍraj* خضرج) the (ever) green; — *Zahrāh* زهره and its plural form *Zhār* زهور Flora; — *Zāneh* زانه teak; — *Hēzarān* خيزران Spanish reed (*Arundo Donax* L.); — *Wardeh* وردة Rhoda, Rosa; — *Zu‘farān* زعفران safflower, saffron thistle (*Carthamus*); — *(U)ḡsūn* غصون Phyllis (the Arabic word is plural); — *Zulāyah* زليخة (the classical form being *sūliyah* سوليه) and a similar name *Zālḥa* زالحه Cassia; — *Sārwe* سرو cypress; — *Yasmīn* ياسمين Jasminum

The *erotic motives* in all songs, old and new, are numerous. We shall dwell on them only enough to show the common ideas of both periods. The *tattooing*¹ of hands and arms is common to both sexes. But the fairer sex, especially the *fellahât* and *badariyât* permit themselves to be tattooed even on their belly (5 14b) as far as the mons. There are two colours, red and blue, used expressly for this purpose. The use of the *mandrake* (7 13) as an *aphrosidiae*² is still known in Palestine, but it serves more for that purpose in Upper Mesopotamia.³ The nuptial couch (1 16) is often mentioned in our songs.

She pretends to be love-sick during his absence:⁴ neither of them can sleep for longing to be with the other.⁵ Yet he asks her acquaintances not to wake her up before she wishes (2 7).⁶ What is said in Cant. 8 6, that love is fire, is in full agreement with our ideas.⁷

officinale;—*Zahwe* زهوة Florence;—*Riwâdah* رويضة (little flower) garden. Cf. also the name '*Asaliyyeh* عسلية the honey-like one.

e) Names borrowed from animals. *Gazâleh* غزاله gazelle, Dorcas;—*Hamâmeh* حمامه dove;—*Asfûr* عصفور, *Têrah* طيرة bird;—*Zağlûleh* زغلولة little pigeon;—*Šunnârah* شنارہ partridge;—*Andalîb* عندليب nightingale; *Šahîndeh* شاهنده falconet;—*Harâfeh* خروffe ewe (unusual form for *na'jeh* نعجة);—*Nîmrâh* نمرة tigress;—*Fûhdeh* فحده leopard;—*Dîbeh* ديبه Adolpha; *Lâlû* لولو Lulu, Margaret;—*Murjâneh* مرجانه coral.

f) Names derived from minerals, etc. *Šâm'ah* شمعہ candle;—*Zabâd* زباد cibeth;—*Almâsah* الماسه diamond;—*Zumûrrud* زمرد emerald;—*Ya'ût* ياقوت Ruby;—*Ferûzah* فيروزه with the diminutive *Frêz* فريز and *Frôssô* فروسو turquoise;—*Jôharah* جوهرة pearl.

¹ See note to Cant. 5 14 and song nò. 4, stanza 3.

² See note to Cant. 7 13.

³ Cf. Genesis 30 14.

⁴ Song 42, stanza 7.

⁵ Song 41.

⁶ *hîlli -lhiylwa tîşba' nôm . . . خلي الحلوة تشبع نوم*, let the sweet one be satisfied with sleeping. A proverb says:

nôm is-sarârî la-d-dâha l-'âlî نوم السراري للضكى العالي
nôm is-şabâya la-d-dhâya نوم الصبايا للضحايا

The sleep of the odalisques lasts to the late fore-noon

And the sleep of (other) maidens (only) to the forenoon.

Vide Song No. 38.

⁷ *nâri yâ nâri, nâri 'alêhum . . . O the fire of me, for them . . . (i. e. of my love for them).*

Nature, with her unrivalled beauty, has made a deep impression on our poets. The moonlit *night*, the *stars*, *flower gardens* and *orchards*, *wells* and *springs*, *flora* and *fauna*, and even *minerals* have their place in our folk-songs. The beloved girl is likely to be compared with them all: the proud *horse*, the graceful *doe* or *gazelle*, the lovely *dove* or *birds* in 'general. Even the *sun*, the *full moon*, *Orion* with the *Pleiades* are not as strange metaphors as they would seem at first sight. *Flora's daughters* are almost all numbered among the similes applied to the female charms. The *mountains* and the *valleys* have their rôles; nor are even the *earth* and the *stones* forgotten. *Wind* and *weather*, as well as the *seasons*, must do their utmost to please the beloved one. And *Nature* as a loving mother will surely deign to help her on all occasions required . . .

Such is our idea of the charms of *Nature*. We love her in our own way; now and then we fear her; but all her beauty we ascribe to our own sweethearts.

II. NOTES TO THE CANTICLES

CHAPTER I

Verse 3.

Ašûf miš'al râyih 'a-t-tahûne اشوف مشعل رايح عالتاحونه
ya mħabbîb miš'al b-il-'ât(i)r madhûne يا محبة مشعل بالعطر مدهونه
 (I see Miš'al going to the mill—
 O, the love of Miš'al is anointed with fragrance.)

Verses 4—5.

Yâ âsmar is-sûmri yâ ma 'ayyarûni fik يا اسمر السمر يا ما عيرونني فيك
wa kullama 'ayyarûni zâd ġurâmi fik وكلما عيرونني زاد غرامي فيك
 O darkest one, how often was I blamed for (loving) you!
 But the more they blamed me, the more my passion for you increased.

In another stanza from a love ditty the girl says:

baħûbbo, baħûbbo u bamût alêh بحبه بحبه و بموت عليه
 I love him, I love him, and would die with (longing for) him.

Verse 7.

The shepherds have siesta from the fourth to the ninth hour of the day (*hora aequinoctialis*), a period termed *tagyîlt ir-ry'yân* (تقييلة). Vide the classical term *qailûle* (قيلولة).

Verse 8.

yâ bôhod sitt il- banât, yâ ... 'à-n-niswân

(Either I get the queen of girls or I'll not care a fig for women.)

يا باخذ ست البنات يا ... عالنسوان

Thus a fair woman may still be termed *sitt il- banât* or *sitt in-niswân* ست البنات, ست النسوان.

From a description of a symposium with hetaerae (?).

Verse 9.

The word *ḥabîbi*, my darling, is still in use. It also answers to the English "Good gracious." Sarcastically used, it may be rendered by "fiddlesticks."

Verse 10.

Prof. Haupt suggests that these chains may have been coins. Cf. the *ṣâṭwe* (شطوة) of the fellahât, a row of silver (or gold) coins which are attached on a "mutch" a round the forehead, and are usually worn at weddings and other festivities.

Verses 10—11.

yâ nâs la tlâmûni 'ala mḥabbîtha يا ناس لا تلوموني على محبتھا
hiy ḥabbâtni wâna ḥabbêtha هي حبتني وانا حبيتھا
ya rêtni 'uqd jôhar fî raqbîtha يا ريتني عقد جوهر في رقبتھا
tifna l- a'âdi wâla tifna maḥabbîtha. تفنى الاعادي ولا تفنى محبتھا

O people, do not blame me for loving her;

She loved me and I loved her (also in present tense).

O that I were a pearl necklace round her neck . . .

May our enemies perish, but not her love.

Verse 11.

"The diamond set suits you, oh my eye," *bilbâ' lak ṣâkl il-almaz,*
 يبلىق لك شكل الالمازاه يا عيني.

Verse 12.

In the mountainous part of northern Mesopotamia (Miafârgin and neighbourhood) the bridegroom is still called "king" (*sultân*) and acts during the feast as such, exercising a limited power.

Verse 13.

An 'Atâba verse from Gaza says:

ṣabâḥ il-ḥêr kullo ilik ya ṣâbḥah

tîswi mît wâḥde mmi-l-ḥêl w-il-bâgar ṣabḥah

*niyyâl min nâm fi hîdênik wâdhâ
utâfa nâr gâlbo ha-l-miṣ'îla . . . ba.*

صباح الخير كله لك يا صبحه
تسوي مية واحدة من الخيل والبقر صبحي
نيال من نام في حضينك واضي
وطفى نار قلبه هالمشعله . . . با

Good morning all of it to you, O Ṣabḥa!
You are worth a hundred horses or cows.
Happy, who sleeps in your bosom till morning,
Thus extinguishing the burning flame of his heart.

Fuad. N. S.

The *henna* flower (ثمر حناء) is very much liked.

الله يعزها	شفتها بتمشي وبتزها
ساعه والله	ماحلى النومه على بزها
قلبي حبها	شفتها بتنقي حبها
ساعه والله	ماحلى النومه بعها
<i>šuftha bîmši u bithizza</i>	<i>alla i(y)izza</i>
<i>māhla n-nōme 'āla bizza</i>	<i>sā'a wālla</i>
<i>šufta bîtnà'i ḥābba</i>	<i>'ālbi ḥābba</i>
<i>māhla n-nōme bi'ubba</i>	<i>sā'a wālla.</i>

I saw her walking and swaying—

May God honour her!

How sweet is sleep on her breast even for an hour.

(Cf. Daniel 4 16!)

I saw her cleaning her corn;

My heart loved her,—

How sweet is sleep in the flap (of her garment)

Even for an hour!

Verse 15.

Il-bint iṣ-šalabiyye (i)'yūna lōzīyye, البنت الشلبييه عيونها لوزيه.
'The fair girl has almond-like eyes', begins an almost forgotten love ditty.

Verse 16.

The word "green" (*ahḍar*) means also in Arabic, vigorous, young, freshly made or cut. Cf. St. Luke 23 31 (*ḥaṭab āḥḍar*, 'ād āḥḍar). An old man desirous of marrying again may be pointed out as having a "green soul" *nāfso ḥaḍra*, نفسه خضرا.

CHAPTER II

Verse 1.

Hur'usi lâbi' yâ wâr(i)d 'âbi' (Dance nicely, O well-scented rose).
 ارقصي لابق يا ورد عابق. The attribute of being like a rose (*zê il-wârde*,
 زى الورد) is applied to a fair girl.

A striking similarity shows the following Kurdish ditty, which I heard from the *Kedkân* Kurds between *Jerâblus* (the ancient Carchemish on the Euphrates) and *Mimbij* (the ancient Bambyce).

'addûle tēja jwêda gôl u sūsân gî pêda...

O 'Addûle, you come along there, all scented with roses and tulips.

Verse 5.

A proverbial saying runs as follows:—التفاح ما ييشبّع بس ييسّلي
it-tuffâh mâ bisâbbi', bâss bisâlli, Apples do not satisfy the hunger;
 they only console one (occupy one). Var. التفاح بس ييقعد النفس
it-tuffâh bass bi'a'id in-nafs, Apples only stimulate the appetite.

[Dr. Canaan.]

In a *fellâh* verse which I heard at a wedding, the bridegroom is supposed to tell the bride that he will have everybody bring her figs to eat.

وما بك علة تشكي الطب ولكن المليح اله دلال...
u mâ biç 'illatin tişci-t-tîbb u lâcin l-imlîh île dalâl.

And there is nothing which ails you—however, the fair one is pampered.

Verse 7.

It is still usual to adjure people in order to make them act according to one's wishes, or to "force" them to answer one's question or the like; *e. g.*,

"I adjure you by God, the prophet, and everything dear to you,"

baḥûlfak (ḥallaftak) bûllah u bi-n-nâbi u bkûll şî ḡâlî 'alêk

بجلفك [حلّفتك] بالله وبالنبي وبكل شي غالي عليك.

ḥâlli l-ḥijlwa tişba' nôm. Let the sweet one be satisfied by sleeping the "beauty sleep," خلّلي الحلوة تشبّع نوم.

Verse 9.

Nowadays she is likened to a gazelle, and he to a lion.

شوفوا حبي يا عيونى واقف برا والى عمال يتمايل اصل الغرّة

šûfu ḥibbi yâ (i)yûni wâ'if bârra . . .

w-illi 'ammâl yitmâyal âsl il ġurra . . .

Look, O my eyes, my beloved is standing outside,
And his shock of hair is waving . . .

Verses 11—13.

ya mâḥd il- bîd, ḥâšlyš bi-d-dâhab ḥâšlyš

(ù)šbur 'al-l-bîd ḥatta (y)wàrrig il-mišmiš

(ù)šbur 'a-l-bîd ḥatta tyhmàrr ḥaddèhyn

w-i(y)bân (y)hlâl il-gâmar myn bèn 'ynèhyn.

يا ماخذ البيض خشخش بالذهب خشخش

اصبر عالىبيض حتى يورق المشمش

اصبر عالىبيض حتى تكمر خديهن

وبيان هلال القمر من بين عينيهن

O, you, whe are marrying the white ones, chink, chink your gold coins!
Wait for the white ones till the apricot is green (spring season);
Wait for the white ones till their cheeks grow ruddy;
And the crescent of the moon (*i. e.* their faces) appears from between
their eyes . . .

NOTE. The advice to delay the marriage till the apricot is in leaf (April) is in agreement with the common saying, that he who marries in December-January will lick the pots (*illi bitjâwaz fî kanîn biylḥas l-i-qdâr*, *اللي بيتجوز في كانون يملحس القدور*), since he will have insufficient food, whereas if he marries in April, as is in vogue with the *fellahîn*, he will have meat, eggs, milk, and all sorts of vegetables in abundance.

Verse 12.

فتح ورد الجنائن

yâ ḥabîbi ya nâyim

يا حبيبي يا نايـم

fâttaḥ wârd ij-janâyin.

Oh my beloved, who are asleep,

the roses, in the flower-garden have budded.

Verse 13.

We still say *it-tîn 'â'ad*, *التين عَقَد*, denoting the gradual advance of spring.

Verse 14.

(h)îbsir ya hâda jîbna ḥamâmtak

jîbna bint 'ammak jîbna qarâbtak.

ابشر يا هذا جينا حمامتك
جينا بنت عمك جينا قرابتك

Cheer up, you, we have brought your dove,

We have brought your cousin, we have brought your kinswoman.

Husband and wife may call each other "cousin," using the feminine or masculine form in addressing or speaking to and of each other; *bint'ammī*, بنت عمي; *ibn 'ammī*, ابن عمي correspond to German "Base," French "cousine," German "Vetter," French "cousin."

طلعت عراس الجبل ادور على طيري
tli't 'a-rās ij-jābal adāuwir 'āla fēri . . .
I went up the hill in search of my bird.

CHAPTER III

Verse 1.

A lover may justly complain with the poor victim of the *bargūt* [flea] *tūl il-lēl w-āna sahrān* . . . I was awake the whole night, طول الليل وانا سهران.

Ya ḥabibi, ya ḥabīb 'ālbi, ya ḥabib 'ēni, "O my beloved, O beloved of my soul, O beloved of my eye" are still very common appellatives: يا حبيبي, يا حبيب قلبي, يا حبيب عيني.

بقيت نائم على فراشي متوهمي اجى خيالك على بالي وجتمني
baqēt nāyim 'āla frāši mithānni āja ḥayālāk 'āla bālī u jannānni

I was enjoying sleep in my bed

when your form came to my mind and deranged me.

For the first stanza cf. the note to 4 9.

Verse 4.

بيت امي . بيت ابوي

Bêt ummi (ūmmak, ūmmo), the house of my (your, his) mother, is sometimes used instead of *bêt abūy (abūk, abāh)*. Cf. John 14 2.

Verse 5.

An Egyptian ditty begins: It is lawful, O daughters of Alexandria, to fall in love with you, *yā banāt Iskandariyya 'is'ikum ḥalāl* (يا بنات اسكندريه عشقكم حلال).

Verse 6.

This merchant is our contemporary *'aṭṭār* عطار (German "Gewürzhändler," French "épicier"). Nearly every big Oriental town has a *sūq il-'aṭṭārīn* (سوق العطارين).

Verse 9.

As the Hebrew word *appiryôn* is of Greek origin, so the colloquial Arabic word *tāht(a)rawân* (تختروان) is a Persian loanword.

Verse 10.

"For the sake of the daughters of Jerusalem" (Vulgate), *i. e.*, out of love for them. In one of the best known Arabic wedding songs (*Thāttari yâ zēna*) after the enumeration of everything the bridegroom has done, the bride is reminded that he has performed "all this for your sake, O fair one," *U kullo 'ala sânik yâ šalabiyya* (وكله... شانك يا شلييه).

CHAPTER IV

Verse 4.

A *Beirût Zağrûta* runs as follows:— (Y. H.)

شو هالشب الطويل مزينه طوله
اله تم خاتم ذهب مسموك بلولو
šu haššâb it-ṭawîl (mzeino ṭûlo)
ilo tumm hâtim dâhab mahbûk bilûlu...

What a slim young man, (and his slimness fits him)—
He has a mouth (like) a gold ring, set with pearls...

Verse 5.

tôm (توأم) twins are considered as the symbol of symmetry.
sîdrik 'amârah billâjar wiblâdina, Your breast is a stone house
and our home land (صدرك عمارة بالحجر وبلادنا).

Verse 6.

Daybreak, *ṭâl'it is-šûb(u)h* (طلعة الصبح).

Verse 7.

Yâ-lṭi ḥalâutik wâla fiš kîda abadâinna (Egyptian), O my sister,
there is nothing like your beauty (يا اختي حلاوتك ولا فشي كدا ابدًا [ابدن]).

Verse 9.

وقفت قبالي واخذت لي بالي
مثل الثريا في السما العالي
wî'fîṭ (h)i'bâli w-ahdîṭli bâli...
mîtl it-turâyya fî-s-sâma l-'âlî...

She stood opposite me and deprived me of reason—
She is like the Pleiades in the sky on high...

عينيك السود قتلتني وأنا اغني
 حواجبينك رمت عرق الحيا مني
'inêki s-sûd qatlâtni wâna ġànni (for aġànni)
ḥawâjbînik râmât 'âraq il-ḥàya minni

Your dark eyes slew me while I was singing (i. e. being without care),
 And your eyebrows drove shame from me . . .

For the second hemistich cf. note to 3 1.

w-il-'ên kàhla, w-il-ḥawâjib àhla, The eye is painted with kohl and
 the eyebrows are "sweeter" (والعين كحلا والحواجب احلى).

Habîbi ĵâni mit'anni حبيبي جاني متعني
lâbis il bādle -l-bînni لابس البدلة البني
sawâd i'yûno jannânni سواد عيونه جنتني
kîmil uṣâfo bilmarra كمل اوصافه بالمره

My beloved came to me (troubled?), smartly (clad)

And wearing his coffee-brown suit.

The darkness of his eyes distracted me—

All his good points are complete. (Cfr. Cant. 4 7.)

Ya lâbise l-lemûni يا لابس الليموني
ya nûr i'yûni يا نور عيوني
sûd i'yûnik dabahûni سود عيونك دبكوني
dummîni šwayy ضميميني شوي

O one clad in citron (yellow garments),

O light of my eyes!

The darkness of your eyes have slain (lit. slaughtered) me,

Embrace me a little.

Another verse of a similar song is the following:

ya lâbiset il 'irmiz · *iš'ik bihriz* يا لابس القرمز عشقك يسحرز
w-i'yûnik sûd u btîgmiz, 'atlit wâlla وعيونك سود وبتغمز قتلت والله
 O one clad in purple clothes, it is worth while falling in love with you,
 For your eyes are black and sparkle, and have slain (me) indeed.

Verse 8b.

There are no more lions in Palestine and Syria; although leopards
 are said to have their dens in the neighbourhood of the three great
 rivers, in deserted and pathless regions, they are very rare.

Verse 10.

I smell the odour of *ḥandaqôq*—

The one above has deprived me of my senses.

شامم ريحة حندقوق اخدت عقلي هلي فوق
šâmin rihet ḥanda'o' àḥdit 'à'li ḥàlli fô'.

This is a quotation from a camel driver's song (*ḥida*).

يا لابسة الشنبر لا يتغير
 وريحتك مسك وعنبر ضميني شوي
yâ lâbisit is-šambar lâ yitgâbbar
u rihtik misk u 'âmbar dummîni šwâi. . .

O you with the gauze mantle, let it not become dusty,

For your fragrance is musk and ambergris.—Embrace me a little.

لا يبيع هدمي عشان بوسه من خدك الحلو الملبن
 يا حلوة زي البسبوسة ومهلبيه وكمان احسن
l-abî' hudûmi 'aşân bôsaḥ min ḥaddiki l-ḥûlu l-mâlban
yâ ḥ(y)lwah zâyî il basbûsaḥ w(y)mhallabiyye u kamân âḥsan.

I'll sell my garments for a single kiss

From your *mâlban*-like transparent cheek,

O you who are sweet as *basbûsaḥ*

And *mhallabiyye* and even sweeter . . .

Malban ملبن is prepared and dried grape syrup, which looks like leather. *Basbûsaḥ* is a sweetmeat prepared from butter, sugar and flour. *Basbûsa* بسبوسة is better known under the name of *bûse* بيسة. *Mhallabiyye* is thick rice pudding. زيدة حلاوة احلى من السكر على البقلاوة احمر حدا الابيض
'âla l-ba'lâwah, âlmar ḥida l-âbiad.

The red and white (colour) adds to its sweetness, more than that of sugar strewn on *ba'lâwah* . . .

(*Ba'lâwah* is a sort of puff paste very sugary and much liked.)

قومي العبي تا سوسه يا جينة المكبوسه
 قومي العبي يا ساره يا غلبة العطاره
'âmi-l'âbi ya Sûseh yâ jîbnit il-makbûseh
'âmi-l'âbi ya Sârah ya 'lbit il-'attârah

Stand up and play (dance) O little Susannah,
 You cured cheese.

Stand up and play (dance) O Sarah,

You box of the perfumer.

اقبلت ست البنات ريقها سكر نبات
ḥâ'balat sitt il-banâti rî'uha sùkkar nabâti

There comes the queen of girls;

Her saliva is like crystal sugar (or sugar candy).

يا مألحى مَصَّ شَفَائِفِهَا اَحْلَى مِنَ السُّكَّرِ وَالْعَسَلِ
ya mähla mãssi šafâifiha âhlâ mni-s-sukkar w-il-'asali

O, how sweet is the sucking of her lips, sweeter than sugar or honey.

(This verse and the following are of Egyptian origin.)

بِسْتَانِ جَمَالِكَ فِي حَسَنِهِ اَزْهَى وَاجْمَلُ مِنْ بَسْتَانِ
bistân jamâlak fi hüsno âzha wa-âjmal min bistân

The garden of your beauty in its bloom is fairer and more resplendent than a flower garden.

Verses 12—15.

بَرِّكَ يَا هَذَا مِثْلَ حَبَّةِ الرِّمَانِ
 وَعَيْنُكَ سَبَبُنَا بِحَقِّ اللَّهِ وَالرَّحْمَنِ
 خَدُّكَ مَبْقَعٌ كَأَنَّهُ مِنْ تَفَاحِ الشَّامِ
 مَأْلَحَى جَنَاهُ الصَّبْحِ وَنَفْتَحُ الْبِسْتَانَ
*bizzak ya hâda mîtil hâbbt ir-rummân
 u 'inêk sabâtna bħagq âllah u-ir-rahmân
 hâddak mbâqqij kînno min tuffâh is-šâm
 mähla janâh is-sûbh u niftah il-bistân . . .*

(Continued under chap. 7 3—5.)

Your breast, O you, is like a pomegranate fruit,

And your eyes have captured us, by God, and (by) the Merciful One.

Your cheek shines as if it were a Damascene apple;

How sweet to pluck it in the morning and to open the garden

(i. e. to enjoy with you connubial bliss!) (See also verse 16.)

Verse 12.

In opposition to the "garden enclosed," a girl deprived of her virginity is colloquially termed "opened," *maftûha* (مفتوحة). See above note.

Verse 13.

The following ditty, addressing the bride, comes from Nazareth (Miss Marie N.):

<i>ürugşi ya hâbaga</i>	ارْقَصِي يَا حَبَقَه
<i>wûburmi 'a-wâraga</i>	وَابْرُمِي عَوْرَقَه
<i>kull hÿşlitin fiki</i>	كُلِّ خَصْلَةٍ فِيكَ
<i>büddha hâraze zârga.</i>	بِدْهَا خِرْزَه زَرْقَه

Dance, O basil-shrub, and turn on a leaf, [ocymum Basilicum]
Every lock of you needs a blue glass pearl . . .

(in order to divert the spell of the evil eye).

Huṣle stands also here for stalk (of the basil herb).

CHAPTER V

Verse 1.

The following is a quotation from a song describing a symposium with hetaerae:

هيا بنا حتى نسكر في جنينة خود وهات

نقطف الورد عن امه والعوائل نايما

hàyya bîna ḥatta nîskar fi jinênit ḥôd u hât

nûṭuf il-wârdi 'an immo w-il-'awâzil nâyimât.

Well then, let us be drunk in the garden of caressing (lit. take and give);
Let us pluck the roses "from her mother" while the critical are asleep.

There is an Egyptian verse which runs as follows:—

نزلت انا بستانكم قطفت انا رمانكم . . .

(i)nẓilt àna bistânikum 'aṭāft àna rummânûkum . . .

I entered your garden and plucked your pomegranates . . .

Verse 2.

وحياة رب العالي فكرك ما يروح من بالي

w(i)ḥyât rābb il-'ālî fîkrik mâ yruḥ min bâlî

By the life of God, the Almighty,

Your memory does not leave my mind.

Verse 4.

This quotation and the following are from a song addressed to a hetaera:

وحياة ربي وربك قلبي من جوا حبك

w(i)ḥyât rābbi u rābbak 'ālbi min jûwwa ḥābbak . . .

By the life of my Lord and yours,

My heart from within loved you.

Verse 2.

The dew is believed to be harmful to the eyes; cf. also Dan. 4 22, 30; 5 21.

Verse 6.

The rendition of the colloquial Arabic expressions is nearly exact:
rûḥi (rôḥi) ṭil'it (or *zâhza'at*), "my soul went out," or "was near to"
(روحي طلعت (زهزقت).

Verse 7.

An old *haddāwīyye* from Jaffa makes the girl say:

عالسرايا سكبوني	مني ومنه قام الغوش
ضربوني على كعابي	الف عصايه ضربوني
يا بوسه بلا عضة...	وكعابي حلق فضه
<i>Minni u minno 'ām il ḡôš</i>	<i>'aṣ-ṣarāya sāḥabūni</i>
<i>Alf 'aṣāya ḍarabūni</i>	<i>ḍarabūni 'āla k'ābi</i>
<i>w-ik'ābi ḥāla' fādḍah</i>	<i>yā bōseh bāla 'adḍa.</i>

The quarrel rose between me and him:

They dragged me to the *sarai*;

They beat me a thousand strokes;

They beat me on my ankles.

And my ankles are (better than?) silver ear rings—

O, for a hearty kiss (lit. without a bite)!

Verse 10.

The girl is supposed to tell her mother her wishes:—

ما يريد غير شتّ حلو وكويس القامه
طوله كطول الرمح والخذ حوريّه
<i>mā brīd ḡēr šabbīn ḥīlu u kwāyyis il-'āmi</i>
<i>ṭūlo kaṭūl ir-rūm(u)ḥ w-il-ḥadd ḥārīyya</i>

I only want a handsome young man of good stature

As slim as a lance, with a houri cheek.

Verse 12.

There is a parallel in a "kinderlied":

من هالبركه لى هالعين	حمامتين تمشين
<i>ḥamāmatēn itmāššēn</i>	<i>min ḥā-l-birke la-ḥāl-'ēn</i>

Two doves went out strolling from this pool to that spring.

Verse 16.

Cf. the parallel in our conventional phrases "you are all beauty, you are beauty itself."

CHAPTER VI

Verse 4.

We may nowadays (especially in Syria) term a town beautiful (*ḥylwe*, حلوه) but we cannot make a direct comparison between a girl and a town.

Verse 6.

There is a striking classical Arabic parallel to this verse:

بَيْضٌ صِغَارٌ كَنَعَاجٍ جَمٍّ يَصُبُّكَكُنَّ عَنْ كَالْبَرَدِ الْمُنْعَمِ

(The teeth are) white, small, like many ewes;

They laugh like "pouring" hail pellets.

However the comparison seems to stand alone.

Verse 8.

I heard the following from a lady of Nazareth:

عَرَبِيْسُ يَا عَرَبِيْسُ لَا تَنْدَمِ عَلَى الْمَالِ
عَلَى عُرُوسَتِكَ حَوَاجِبُ خَطِّ الْمَيْالِ [الاقلام]
عَلَى عُرُوسَتِكَ حَوَاجِبُ جُوزِ مَكْمِيهِ
تَسُوِي بَنَاتِ حَارَتِكَ أَوَّلَ عَلَى ثَانِي

'arîs ya 'arîs lâ tîndam 'ala -l-mâli

'ala 'arûstak ḥawâjib ḥattî il imyâli (Original: il-(i)glâmi)

'ala 'arûstak ḥawâjib jôz malmîyya

tiswâ banât ḥârtak âwval 'ala tâni.

O bridegroom, O bridegroom, do not regret the wealth

(sc. which you have spent in obtaining the bride)!

Your bride has eyebrows coloured with kohl pencils;

Your bride has eyebrows arched and well guarded . . .

She is worth all the girls of your quarter, both first and last.

Verse 10.

الله يَزِيدُهُ نُوْرَ	وَجْهِكَ زِي الْقَمَرِ
وَرْدَةٍ فِي بَتُوْرَ	وَشِفَتِكَ يَا حَبِيْبِي
wîššak zài il-'amar	allah i(y)zîdo nûr
u šiftak ya ḥabîbi	wârde fi bannûr

Your face is like the moon—May God increase its shining—

And your lip, O my beloved, is like a rose in (a) crystal (vase).

وَالْبَدْرُ خَالِكَ ...	وَالشَّمْسُ اخْتِكَ يَا قَمَرِ
w-iššamsi ûlytak ya 'amar	û-il-bâdri ḥâlak

O moon, the sun is your sister, and the full moon is your uncle.

In Arabic the sun is female and the moon male. The last part of this stanza refers to the proverb *tuttên il-wâlad la-ḥâlo*, تُثْنِيْنَ الْوَلَدَ لَخَالِهِ. Two thirds of the boy take after his uncle (i. e., his mother's brother).

يا ميمتي طلع الخبر اني بحبه ل هالقمر
inni bahybbo la ha-l-ʿamar *ya mēmati ṭil' il-hābar*

O mother the news has been spread that I have fallen in love with
 this moon.

وانت القمر بالسما وانا النجم حاويك
wāna n-nijm hāwīk *w-inte -l-ʿamar bi-s-sāma*

And you are the moon in the sky and I am the constellation about you.

انا وحببي في العتمه زي القمر والنجمه
zai il-ʿamar wi-n-nijmeh *āna u ḥabibi fi l-ʾitmeh*

I and my beloved in the dark are like the moon and the constellation.

"Like the moon," *zei il-ʿamar* (زي القمر) is nowadays still a very common attribute of a fair girl.

Verse 12.

ما بعرفش كيف تى, انا (مش) داري (عارف) كيف تى, مانيش عارف كيف...
ma ba'rāfš kīf ta..., ana (myš) dāri ('ārif) kīf ta..., manīš 'ārif kīf...
 etc. = "I do not know how" with all its variations is a very convenient phrase in and out of season to help us where we cannot account for a thing.

CHAPTER VII

The description of the female body is comprehensively dealt with in the "Arabian Nights". The face shines like the full moon. Although the form is slim, yet the body is plump, likened to a silver bar or ivory, as soft as the tail of a sheep. The eyes fascinate and captivate like those of the gazelle, and are painted with stibium (*kohl*). The lashes are long and so are the eyebrows. Like a bouquet of flowers are the cheeks—rosy apples, with a freckle, which enhances their beauty. The teeth gleam like pearls, the lips are as sweet as honey or sugar. The breasts are budding; they are well rounded, like pomegranates, seductive, and as white as ivory. The navel may hold an ounce of oil, and is like the bottom of a tiny coffee cup. The legs are round columns of choice marble, the thighs are cushions stuffed with feathers, and the nates are full and as heavy as a heap of sand.

Although the comparison is not consistently carried out, one may grasp that the chief object of the narrator is to impress on his hearers that "she" is in every respect a very fine woman.

Verse 1.

يا صنوبر منقى امشي دقه دقه
 عروستنا من حقها (حقه) كل العرايس من كذب
imši dà'a, dà'a, ya šnôbar (i)mnâ'a
kull il-'arâyis min kizib 'arûsîtna min ḥâ'a.

Go step by step, O chosen pine (nut),
 All brides are deceptive— (only) our bride is all right.

The following verse is sung to the *šāḥjah*:

قاتلنا بطوله قتلتنا بطوله
 يا رنة حجوله يا رنة حجوله
winnôme ma' ṭûlo والنومه مع طوله
tiswa kull aḥylna تسوى كل اهلنا

He slew us with his slimness;
 Alas, the tinkling of his anklets!
 And sleep with him (lit. his stature)
 Is worth all our kinship.

Cf. also: *min hân la Ġâzze min hân la Ġâzze huṭṭ il gâdam 'algâdam*
w-il-ḥûṣ(y)r yinhâzze, من هون لغزة من هون لغزة حط القدم عالقدم
 والخصر ينهنز, From here to Gaza put one foot before the other while
 your hips sway . . .

diri wiššik tanšûfik, ديرى وجهك تنشوفك, "turn your face that
 we may see you," are words to the bride in an obsolete song.

tâ'i tanšûfik, تعي تنشوفك, (come, that we may see you) is a usual
 phrase.

railîn nšûf il-'arus, رايحين نشوف العروس, "we are going to see the
 bride," expresses the intention to visit her.

Bint akâbir, bint awâdim, ibn il-akâbir بنت اكبر, بنت اوادم, ابن الاكابر
 Daughter of nobles, daughter of well-to-do people.

The latter is from the song "Give me, O mother, my bird."

hatîli yumma 'asfûri ها تيلي يما عصفوري

The husband and the wife address each other with *ya-(i)bn in-nâs*.
ya bint in-nâs, يا بنت الناس, which reminds us
 of the old "son of man" in Daniel 7 13.

حبي علينا اه يا سلمى وجودي مآحلى قوامك على دق العود
ḥinni 'alēna aḥ ya Sālma u jûdi mālḥla 'awâmik 'ala dà' il-'ûdi
 Have pity on us O Salma and be generous (with your charms)
 How sweet is your gait accompanied by the playing of the 'ūd!

Verses 1—5.

The usual description of the beauty would be summed up in some such a way:—Her head is like a dove's head, *râsha râs il-ḥamâme* عيونها عيون الغزلان (*i'yûnha (i'yûn il-guzlân* راسها رأس الحمامة she has gazelle-like eyes; *il-ḥadd mûnbyz* الخد مقنبر the cheek is chubby; *dinêha dnên il-aṣâyil* ذنبيها ذنين الاصيل her ears are like the ears of noble horses; and her eyelashes fill her eye هديها ملئ [ملا] عينيها her eyelashes fill her eye *ḥud(u)bha mâla 'inêha*; her fingers are silver pencils *qlam faḍḍa* قلام فضه; her back is straight like a lance *ḡahrha mitl ir-rumḥ* ظهرها مثل الرمح; *sidrha balât mârmar* صدرها بلاط مرمر her breast is a marble flag, and the breasts are like well-rounded cups طواسي [حمام] *ṭawâsi ḥammâm*, or like honey-filled pots, *mitl (y)jrâr* (sc. *il-'âsal*) مثل شلايل حبر *ṣalâyil ḥarîr*; her belly is like bundles of silk, *ṣurriḡtha mitl il-finjân* صرتيها مثل الفنجان and the abdomen is like a young dove filled (stuffed) and prepared, *mitl iz-zaḡlûl il-mâḥṣi* مثل الزغلول المحشي; her stature is like a pot of oil (جرة الزيت) *ṭûlha ṭûl il-jarra* (jart *iz-zêt*), or like a sack of wheat (فردة القمح) *mitl il-farde* (fardet *il-'am(y)l*). Both these metaphors are also applicable to the belly.

ونهودك عليه ناطور	صدرك بلاط رخام
قلت انا عليه بنور	والبطن ابيض وناعم
تيال آل عليها بيدو	والصره من عاج
بالليل ما فيه نور	يا فرحة الاعزب
<i>ṣidrik balât (i)rḥâm</i>	<i>winhûdik 'alêh nâtûr</i>
<i>wil-bâṭn âbyaḍ u nâ'im</i>	<i>qûlt ana 'alêh bannûr</i>
<i>wiṣ-ṣurra min 'âj</i>	<i>nîyyâl il-'alêha budûr</i>
<i>ya fârḡyt il-â'zab</i>	<i>bîl-lêl mâ fih nûr.</i>

Your breast is a marble flag,
 And your breasts (bosom) are (is) its watchman.
 And the belly is white and soft—
 I called it crystal.
 And the navel is of ivory;
 Happy he who turns on it.
 How great is the joy of the bachelor
 In the dark night

badâri bymḥabbîtkum badâri بداري بمحببتكم بداري
 'âla -mm ynhûd wi-s'ûryn badâri على ام نهود وشعور بداري
 niyyâlak ya tôb tytfârraj badâli نيا لك يا ثوب تتفرج بدالي
 'âla-mm ynhûd wiš'âr lalyk'âba على ام نهود وشعور للكعابا

I try to agree well with your love

On behalf of her with the breasts and the hair.

Happy are you, O garment, who instead of me gaze at

Her, with the breasts and the hair . . . right down to the ankles.

Verse 6.

Kill il-hâna fîha كل آلهنا فيها (first verse of *عالم روزنه*) all happiness is in her, so as to make the bride a "foyer de vrai bonheur."

Verse 7.

Mârhaba wâhla مرحبا واهلا
 bi'uênt il-kâhla بعوينة الكحلا
 ya nâhle ṭawîle يا نخله طويله
 ṭiftah bâb limdîne تفتح باب المدينه

A hearty welcome

to the Kohl-painted eye.

To the slim palm tree

which opens (even) the gate of the city.

Some forty years ago, the gates of Jerusalem used to be closed during the night. The gate-keeper used then to cry aloud bidding those who wished to leave the city to hasten, as otherwise they would be compelled to spend the night within the walls. [Yusif D.]

A man of fine stature is likened to a palm tree (*tûlo tûl in-nâhle* طول النخله).

Verse 8.

يا رائحين ع حلب حبي معاكم راح
 يا محملين العنب فوق العنب تغاح
 ya râyihîn 'a-hâlab ḥubbi ma'âkum râh
 ya mḥammilîn il-'înaḥ fô' il-'înaḥ tuffâh

O you, who are going to Aleppo, my beloved has gone with you;

O you, who have loaded the grapes (sc. breasts), above the grapes there are apples (sc. cheeks).

maddêt îdi 'âla r-rummân
 'âl li l-hîlu ṣâhbo mḥarrj

مديت ايدي على الرمان
 قال لي الحلو صاحبه مخرج

I stretched out my hands for the pomegranates,
But their fair owner told me:—It is forbidden.

Verse 9.

rî'uha sùkkar nabâti

her palate is crystal sugar. Cf. note to 4 10.

Verse 12.

rummân ibzâzha 'âtfo şubhîyye صبحيه برزها قطفه رمان (In the morning one plucks the pomegranates of her breasts). This belongs to a song about the fair girl (*il-bint is-şelbîyye*), which circulated about 1903.

Verse 13.

It is not impossible that the term „apple” (Hebrew *tappû(a)l*) denotes the golden apples of the mandrake, Haupt, *Canticles*, Note 5 on No. 7.

The *mandragora officinalis* is called *banj* بنج or *tuffâl il-bâjan* تفاح المجن (المجل) *tuffâl il-majann*, *mâjal* (المجل) تفاح المجن (Gaza) or *tuffâl il-majânîn* تفاح المجانيين. The proverb says (Gaza) *tuffâl il-mâjal bijîb il-lâbal* تفاح المجل بيجيب الحبل. Mandragora is thought to promote pregnancy (cf. Gen. 30 14). The leaves green cut and mixed with other vegetables, cooked in a pie, and given to a woman are said, however, to be a sure way to make her sterile. This is one of the secret recipes said to be used by women against each other.

CHAPTER VIII

Verse 1.

Children of different families, who have (for some reason) sucked the same breasts (Milchbrüder) are called *ahwâ bi-r-rîlâ'a* أخوة بالرضاعة, lit. brothers in suckling. They are considered in social life as brothers and sisters and are not allowed to marry each other.

Give him the breast *addî l-bizz* البزّ (اعطيه) is said ironically to a boy (or grown-up man) who behaves childishly, in order to remind him that he has passed that period definitely.

Verse 2.

In Persia syrup or must is still extracted from pomegranates for culinary purposes, where it plays the role of mayonnaise in the French cuisine.

Verse 6.

Amulets are fastened on the arm, the hand, or they hang loose on the neck. Sometimes they are sewn to the clothes, especially to the *ṭarbūṣ* طربوش etc. They are mostly Koran verses written on paper wrapped in leather and sometimes put in a specially prepared tin tube or etui. Silver is also used to make these boxes.

Verse 7.

An adage reminds us, that love is dearer than everything and is sometimes ascribed to a divine or demoniacal source.

والا كتبه وسجوره مآدري المحبة من الله
mādri l-maḥabbe min Alla willa ṭitbe wi-shūra

I do not know whether love comes from God, or whether from
amulets and charms.

انا كلي (مالي وحلالي) قدامك 'uddāmak

I am (with all my goods and my possessions) before you

تحت امرك . على كيسك . على حسابك
taḥt amrak . 'ala kisak . 'ala ḥsābak

(i. e. at your disposal) are still some of our fine conversational phrases which have not lost entirely their original meaning. We may hear these phrases from shore to shore, wherever the Arabic language is spoken, in town as well as in tent. We express also our consent to something, or our willingness to help materially without any mental reservations.

III. PREFATORY NOTE TO THE ARABIC FOLKSONGS

I have used Professor Dalman's excellent *Palästinischer Diwan* only so far as to avoid repeating songs already in his book. Professor Haupt's work on the Song of Songs has been of great help to me in selecting the pieces. The songs, being primarily collected for poetical purposes, cannot be used as material for phonetic researches, as in most cases they are sung differently by different persons, though perhaps with only slight alterations. Nor is it a strange thing to hear three or even more versions of one and the same song in the same town, village or district. I have selected the following poems from my collection because of their bearing on my theme, although they are not always of interest as literature. "But there remains a residuum of true folk-poetry, which is of the greatest interest," since, even in the "words of these partly rustic songs there are many charming passages."

As to the origin of these songs and ditties, some of them show clearly the influence of Egyptian poetry, if not an Egyptian origin. Syrian influence is also strong. Strictly speaking, no songs of the towns are really autochthonous, as seems to be the case with the Canticles. [The relative lack of independence in the lyric literature of modern Palestine when compared with that of ancient Israel is naturally due to the fact that it now has the same language and culture as the surrounding lands, while ancient Palestine was cut off by differences of language from regular interchange of songs with its neighbours. On the other hand, we must not exaggerate this independence, after the discovery of a catalogue of Assyrian erotic lyrics showing a close similarity in metaphors and expressions to the songs of Canticles (cf. Langdon, JRAS 1921, 169—192), especially since Meek (AJSL 39, 1—14) has demonstrated that Canticles contains many quotations from lyrics belonging to the cult of Tammuz. W.F.A.].

Songs No. 14 and 17 are of Egyptian origin; Nos. 6 and 10 are influenced by Egyptian models. Whereas No. 13 is a true Syrian song, Nos. 1 and 31 are of doubtful origin, but the Syrian element prevails. These songs are sung throughout Palestine and I know them all from persons who sing them frequently, most of them not having been outside Jerusalem.

As there is a (sometime wide) difference between the *rhythm* as sung and as recited, in almost every case I have tried to give the accentuation of the Arabic text as it would be recited. As to the *metre* I do not hesitate to state that the bard has generally no rule, but composes empirically. The *tune* is an important factor in the construction of stanzas, at least more important than the metre. In a later article I hope to deal with the metre and music of the Arabic folk-songs in Syria and Palestine. Generally spoken, vernacular poetry is (with the exception of the Egyptian songs) independent from classical, so that it is often next to impossible to scan the stanzas according to fixed classical rules.

As to the different types of songs, I have tried to select at random, though a different choice might have given a better anthology. Purposely I have not included many *zajārāt* زجاریت, although forty of them would have been sufficient to prove the similarity between Canticles and our contemporary songs.

Ġanāni غنائي (sing. *ġunnāwīyye* غناوية) are Nos. 1, 2, 3, 8, 10, 12, 15, 17, 20, 21, 27, 30 and 32. These are all sung in the towns, No. 9, also by *fellāḥīn*.

Atāba عتابه verses are Nos. 50—53. They have been collected from the Tul-karm district and from the northern borders of ancient Judaea. They are known in the towns but sung mostly by *fellāḥīn*.

Mawāwil مواويل (sing. *mauwāl* موال) are 18 and 24-26. Nos. 33-36, 38 and 39 are from Nazareth and the neighbourhood.

The *ḥaddāwīyye* حداوية No. 37 comes from the *fellāḥīn* north of Ramallah. No. 23, 28 and 29 represent the so-called *dabče* (Beduin). Another Beduin ditty is No. 16.

Sāḥje سحجه are Nos. 19, 22 and 23 from Samaria.

All have to a certain extent undergone, *nolens volens*, a linguistic modification, as the dialect in which I render them is a compromise between *fellāḥī* and town vernacular, but more of the latter, as they are known in towns in this form. All in all, the Canticles as well as our contemporary poetry "in its natural sense is so full of purpose and meaning, so apt in sentiment, and so perfect in imagery," that the real sense cannot be easily mistaken.

I

- 1 *yā rābb ya-l-āl*,¹ *šlōn*² 'ābdak *zālāmtō lē*³ *ḡāl'i kasārto*?^{4 5 6}
2 *mārru*⁷ 'alāyya⁸ *tnén*, 'āṭa'u *ṣalāṭi*⁹ *wāḥid ḥabīb ir-rôḥ, wāḥid ḥayāti*.¹⁰

¹ *vide* Psalm 91 1.

² *šlōn?*: (how?) in the Aleppo dialect. *Šlōn kēfak, šlōnak (šlōmak)?* How are you? The word stands for *ēš laun(ak)*. Cf. also the Hebrew *mā šlōm-ḥa?*—How do you do?

³ *lē?* is Egyptian colloquial for *lēš?* [لاي شي] = ليش.

⁴ Another rendering is *zālāmtō laḡl'il*, *kasārto* . . ., a bare statement.

⁵ Cf. also Psalm 22 1 and 14; 69 30.

⁶ This verse is the refrain.

⁷ Also: *mārrum* etc. The ending of the third pers. plur. in all tenses is influenced by Egyptian forms with affixed *m*. This applies, however, only to songs.

⁸ Usually *mīra* 'anni (and not 'alāyya): *mārag 'inni bitlāṣṣat ḥawālēh* (No. 46).

⁹ Mohammedans pray at fixed times indoors and out. (Matth. 6 5.)

¹⁰ Cant. 1 17. Another versions runs: *uīnte ḥayāti* . . . and you are my life).
وانت حياتي.

- 3 sállam 'alàyya¹ u-râh mitl il-ġaribe² ya dām'atyn bi-l'ên kūni sakibe^{2 3}
 4 sállam 'alàyya u râh rākȳb (y)ḥšāno yislam ḥabib ir-rôh yislāmli šāno⁴
 5 sállam 'alayya u râh rākȳb ḥanṭûro yislam ḥabib ir-rôh yislāmli ṭlō
 6 mališ ġaraḍ bi-s-sû⁵ marrêt tašûfak ili santên myštâ' mâ rwit myn šôfak⁶
 7 râhu⁷ 'ala l-ḥammâm⁸ ḥallu šâ'irhum⁹ küll il-banât (y)nĵûm ḥubbi'amârhum¹⁰

- 1 O Lord, Almighty, (look) how Thy servant is doing:
 Thou hast maltreated him, why?—and broken my ribs.
 2 There passed two by me and made me break off my prayer;
 One (of them) is the beloved of my soul, one is my life.
 3 He saluted me, as if I were a stranger, and went on his way—
 O, flow, tears from my eyes . . .
 4 He saluted me and went away, riding his horse;
 May he be safe—the beloved of my soul—and may his affairs prosper.

¹ This is equivalent to *Sallam 'alàyya mitl il-ġaribe u râh . . .* سلم علي مثل الغريبه وراح.

² Coll. fem. *e* changes in singing into *a*.

³ Variant: *kūni adība*, be discreet, كوني اديبه.

⁴ Literally: May his prestige always be intact.

⁵ The market; cf. Matth. 11 16, 20 3, 23 7; Mark. 7 4; Luke 7 12, 11 43.—Cf. also Song II, note to line 4.

⁶ Variant: *'adli santên 'aṣṣân mâ rwit min šôfak* عاد لي سنتين عطشان ما رويت من شوفك. (These two years I am thirsty from longing for you . . .) Long period—cf. Cant. 2 11 and No. 22, stanza 4.

⁷ See pag. 225 note 7.

⁸ Ezekiel 23 40.

⁹ Also *šâ'irhun* or *'amârḥon*. Another variant is *šî'irhum* for *šî'ârhum* شعورهم their hairs (collective).

¹⁰ Also *'amârḥun* or *'amârḥon*. Cant. 6 10.

The singer is thought to be a girl, the last verse being sung by "him." The song is known all over Palestine and Syria, also in Egypt and Mesopotamia, where I heard it early in 1914 (Baghdad). The rhyme is good. The metre differs slightly when sung, as is the case with the majority of the folksongs. The underlying metre is:—

a) sung: verse 3

|| ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ — || — ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ — ||| — — ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ — —

b) recited: verse 3

|| ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ — || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ — ||| ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘

- 5 He saluted me and went away in his phaeton;
May he be safe—the beloved of my soul—and so may his tall stature.
- 6 I have nothing to do in the market, I only passed by to see you.
These two years I long to see you and yet I am not sated with looking.
- 7 They went to the bath, loosening their hair.
All girls are stars, my beloved is their moon . . .

II

- 1 Barhûm¹ ya Barhûm, ġamāzni b-‘êno,³ b-îdo tiškîle.^{4 5}
yà-bu-l-jidîle²
- 2 Barhûm -ṣ-ṣ‘atûḥ⁶ w-išša‘(i)r w-il-‘āl(i)b majrûḥ³ jûrḥ is-sikkîne.⁸
bilûḥ⁷
- 3 Barhûm bi-l-ḥammām w-il-kāff’ ûṭlub w-itmānna³ til’a -l-ġanime.¹¹
mḥānna^{9 10}

¹ *Barhûm* is the diminutive form of *Ibrâhîm*.

² Cant. 5 11.

³ *ya yûmma*, O mother, or *ê w-alla*, yes, by God, are sung before the next to the last word in every stanza.

⁴ *Teškîle* stands for *šâkle*, bouquet.

⁵ Variant: *îdo ṭawîle*, his hand is long, which is an attribute of beauty.

⁶ Flat roof: see 2 Sam. 11 2; 1 Sam. 9 25; Matth. 24 7; Mark. 13 15, etc. The *ṣ* (*ṣad*) for *s* (*sin*) is partial assimilation to the *ṭ* (*tâ*). So *ṣat(y)ḥ*; *ṣtûḥ* roof, roofs.

⁷ Cf. as a parallel: *يا بنت ياللي عالسطوح والشعر الاشقر عم بيلوح*,
O girl, O you on the roofs, *ya binti yûlly ‘aṣṣytûḥ*
With your brown hair waving, *w-išša‘îr l-aš‘ar ‘am bylûḥ*
from the song *dondürma* [Jaffa, 1903].

⁸ Otherwise usually *ḥanjar*: *ṣaḥab il- ḥanjar ḍaràbni bāyyan nhûdo ḥabibi* . . .
or = *šibriyye* = *سكيب الخنجر ضربني بين نهودة حبيبي* he drew the
dagger and slew me and shewed his breasts my beloved.

⁹ Cant. 5 14.

¹⁰ This shows a striking resemblance to the stanza from *miš‘al*:—

ašûf miš‘al yâ ḥilli bašûfo, mdâḥḥn-il-ġurra w-imḥānni kfûft
اشوف مشعل يا خلي بشوفه مدهن الغرة ومحنني كفوفه

This is at least five years older than the song *Barhûm*.

¹¹ Cant. 7 14^b.

- 4 Barhûm b-il-hâra¹ bišrab sigâra² dâhlik ya Sâra³ (i)l-lêle ftaḥîlo.⁴
- 5 w-alla ma-ftâhlik ta-sâwir âhlik fi âwwal jâhlik³ ḥâyif tirmîna.^{5 6}
- 1 Barhum, O Barhum, O you with the curled locks!
He winked at me, with a bouquet of flowers in his hand . . .
- 2 Barhum is on the roof and his hair is waving—
O, my heart is wounded as by a dagger.
- 3 Barhum is in the bath and his hand is dyed with henna—
Ask and wish—you'll find a prize.
- 4 Barhum is in the streets smoking cigarettes—
Please, O Sara, open the door for him to-night!
- 5 "By God, I'll not open the door for you without consulting your people;
In your teens I fear you'll get us into trouble . . ."

¹ *Hâra* is a quarter in a city or village as well as an open place, street or market. See note 5, pag. 226.

² Smoking seems to be an attribute of men only. This shows him in a dandified attitude.

³ See pag. 227 note 3.

⁴ Cant. 5 2. See also Song 17 line 3.

⁵ Sâra sings this stanza.

⁶ This ought to be read:—*ḥâife tirmîna* خايفه ترمينا, as she is expressing her anxiety. These stanzas come from a lengthy poem with a story from real life in the background. This song, from which a number of unimportant verses are omitted, is originally a lamentation of a sister for her brother. He was said to have returned from America to his father's house in the evening during the temporary absence of his sister. His parents accepted him as a guest, and, not knowing his relation to them, killed him that night in order to get his money. Next morning the sister awoke and recognised him. She is said to have made this lamentation. (Judges 11 40.)

The metre is generally thus:—[verse = *barhûm 'aṣ-ṣṭûḥ* . . .]

a) when recited:—

[˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ||]

b) when sung:—

[˘ ˘ — — ˘ ˘ || *barhûm 'aṣ-ṣṭûḥ*

˘ ˘ — — ˘ ˘ || *w-iš-sâ'(i)r bilâḥ*

˘ — ˘ ˘ — || — ˘ ˘ or ˘ ˘ ˘ || *w-il-'âl(i)b majrûḥ* || *yâ yumma*

— ˘ ˘ — — ||] *jûrḥ is-sikkîne.*

˘ ˘ — || — ˘ ˘ — — || *ê w-allah* || *jûrḥ-is-sikkîne.*

III

1 ¹ 'addika ² l-mayyās ya 'umri anta àhla -n-nās ⁴ fī nāzari	ya gūṣen il-bān ka-l-yūsari ³ šawwarak wa našāk ⁵ ya 'umri. ⁶
2 dā" il-bāb fataḥtillo ⁷ kāṣ il-mudām sakabtillo ⁹	ya àhla u sābla 'ultillo ⁸ 'ultillo tfaḍḍal yā 'umri.
3 da" il-bāb ⁷ (i)b-laṭāfe jibtillo ṣaḥn (i)knāfe ¹⁰	fataḥtillo b-zarāfe w-il-māza ¹¹ min wār(i)d ḥaddo.
4 mār'at 'anni l-gandūra ya rābbi yislāmli ṭūla ¹³	'a-rāsha šakle u manṭūra ¹² hū ḥubbi w-āna ḥubbo. ¹⁴
5 āna u ḥabibi bi-l-(i)juēna ¹⁵ ṭalābt il-bōse mni-jbīna ¹⁵	w-il-wārd(i) ḥayyam 'alēna ¹⁵ ya rābbi tūstur 'alēna. ¹⁶

¹ Verse 1, 4, 6 are recited by the lover, who addresses his beloved using in verse 1 the masculine gender. See also text of songs nos. 7, 14, 17, 20, 37. Both classical and vernacular Arab poetry know this usage. Verses 2 and 3 are from the girl's standpoint.

² Cant. 2 14.

³ Cant. 7 8 *yūsar* يسر palm branch.

⁴ *àhla -n-nās* احلى الناس. Cant. 5 9 and 10, and Cant. 1 5; 6 1.

⁵ *šawwarak wa-našāk* وشاك ووشاك sc. *subhān illi šawwarak wa-našāk* سبحان الى صورك ووشاك Praise to Him, who has formed and created you.

⁶ A version: *jalla man sawcāk* جل من سواك. May he be revered, who made you.

⁷ Cant. 5 2.

⁸ Cant. 5 6 and 8 2.

⁹ Cant. 8 2 and 5 1^b.

¹⁰ (Y)knāfe كنافه is a sort of pastry with almonds, nuts (or pine kernels).

¹¹ *māza* مازة is the Arabic form of the Turkish *meze* مزه which seems to be derived from the Latin (Italian) *mensa*. Another form of the same root is the Turkish word *māşşu* ماصه (also used in colloquial Arabic in Mesopotamia). *Māza* مازة reminds one of the *mensas consumere* of the Romans, with their flat bread cakes and fruits. Nowadays we understand by this term all sort of fruits taken in small bits while sitting and taking a drink of spirits, especially 'araq عرق (Turkish *râqi*). Bread in small pieces is simultaneously served. But salty or sweet pistachio nuts, almonds, hazel nuts or other dried fruits, as well as any sort of salads and sardines, come under the same head. This word can also stand for the Latin *mensa secunda*.

¹² Or *šaklet manṭūra*, a bunch of shrubby stock — *mathiola incana*.

¹³ Vide the first song, line 4.

¹⁴ Cant. 2 16; 6 2; 7 10.

¹⁵ Cant. 5 1; 2 3^b; 2 16^b — note the gender — حبيبي masc. and جبينها fem.

¹⁶ Cant. 8 1^b.

- 6 àna u ḥabibi bi-l-karrôsa¹ wi-‘(i)yûno sûd u maḥrûsa²
 ya rābbi tislāmli bôsa³ “ya ḥôš geldi, şafâ geldi” . . .⁴ 5

- 1 Your swaying stature, O my life,
 O willow bough, is like a palm branch.
 You are the most beautiful one to me!
 (May) your creator and maker (be exalted), O my life!

- 2 He knocked at the door and I opened to him
 And welcomed him.
 I poured him a glass of sweet wine,
 Saying: “Please take it, O my life.”

- 3 He knocked at the door with grace;
 I opened it for him gently,
 And served him a dish with “*knâfe*,”
 The dessert being from his rosy cheek.

- 4 The coquette passed by me,
 On her head a bunch of flowers and shrubby stock (*mathiola incana*).
 O God, mayest thou keep her (stature) safe.
 He is my beloved and I am his.

- 5 My beloved and I in the flower garden—
 Roses overshadowed us.
 I asked for a kiss from her forehead,
 O God, mayest thou guard our secret!

- 6 My beloved and I in the cab
 His eyes are black and guarded.
 O God, may a kiss be saved for me!
 “You are quite welcome to it”!

¹ Vide song 1, line 5.

² Cant. 5 12.

³ Cant. 8 1.

⁴ *Ḥôš geldi şafâ geldi خوش گلدی صفا گلدی* is the Turkish form of welcome to the guest.

⁵ I have known this song since 1906.

The metre is:—

˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ — ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ —	(˘) ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ — ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ —
--	--

IV

- 1 ʾsmar¹ u lābis ʾamiš in-nôm² w-imzàrriro b-ḥàbbi murjāni
 sâ'a yiskar³ u sâ'a iymil⁴ yîšbah ʾûd ir-rîḥāni.⁵
- 2 ya wàʿfiti ʾal-bâb wàhdi⁶ àmsaḥ (i)dmûi b-maḥrām̄ti
 w-in saʾalûk ʾanni -l-gidʾân⁷ ʾāšiʾw-imfâri⁸ šāhibti.
- 3 ya mdàʿdaʿa⁸ ʾāla šfâfik bustik wāla ḥadan šâfik⁹
 w-in-nôme tāht (i)lḥâfik btiswā alfên u miyya.¹⁰
- 4 ya nhûd ḥabîbi kâma¹¹ l-ballôr¹² ʾātfun¹³ safârjal u rummâni¹⁴
 ya rêtani bēnhum madfûn bēn il-yasmîn w-ir-rîḥāni...¹⁵ 16
- 5 ya ṭālîʿin ʾal-ʾāsri lafôʾ ya nâzilîn sâllimû-li
 ʾāla ḡazâl (i)yûno sûd hû sâbab ḥûzni u nôḥi...
- 6 inzilt ʾal-bâḥ(i)r l-atḥâmmam jîmlit ḥabâyib ḥammamûni
 lâhû b-life¹⁷ wāla b-šâbûn illa bi-ḡamz (i)l-iʿyûni.¹⁸

¹ A girl is meant:—Cant. 1 5.

² Cant. 5 3.

³ Cant. 5 1.

⁴ Cant. 8 5.

⁵ Sweet basil (*ocymum basilicum*), sacred herb.

⁶ Cant. 5 2.

⁷ Literally:—handsome, reckless youth.

⁸ Tattooing on the lips as well as on other parts of the body is considered as beautifying, especially among *fellaḥât* and *būdawīyyât*, who may also in their youth (in Egypt up to the 6th year) tattoo the belly as far as the *mons mulieris*. Of late I saw a tattooed child painted with red on her belly in nearly the same way in which some figurines represent the Phoenician Astarte. The child was probably Trans-Jordanian and not older than four years.

⁹ Cant. 8 1.

¹⁰ This verse is identical with another of the song *ya binti*, ʿeni u-ʿinayya which circulated before 1906. Good verses of older songs often appear in new songs of the same metre.

¹¹ Cant. 5 14. *kâma* is classical for *zei* or *mitl*.

¹² Colloquially *bannâr*, Cant. 5 14. Both passages deal with the whiteness of the body.

¹³ This is the form used for ʾātḥum or ʾatḥum in colloquial speech.

¹⁴ Cant. 4 13. Vide Note 5, p. 236.

¹⁵ Cant. 2 16; 4 6; 4 14; 6 2.

¹⁶ *Yasmîne* is the *jasminum officinale*. Cant. 7 12. Variant:—*bēn in-nihûd w-it-tahtâni* (inter mammas et montem veneris).

¹⁷ These two verses are considered to form a separate song.

¹⁸ Cant. 4 9. It is not unusual for youths in public baths to wash each other when kneading of the body (massage) and rubbing with fibre is necessary.

- 6 I went down to the sea to bathe;
 A number of friends bathed me —
 Not with fibre, nor with soap,
 But with the lilt of the eyes.
- 7 Do not admire a handsome, reckless youth,
 Walking and flapping his sleeves.
 He eats and drinks from the market . . .
 And his mother grieves . . .

V

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| 1 | Fùlla, ya Fùlla, ¹ ya zàhr il- fùll ² | hatû-li ḥabîbi u ḥallûni afÿll ³ |
| 2 | Fùlla ya 'êni
l-alÿffo bi-ḥdêni ⁵ | ya 'inab iz-zêni ⁴
'âla 'ên il-kùll . . . ⁶ |
| 3 | Fùlla ya 'âdi ⁷
l-abî' (i)grâdi | w-âna fik myš râdi
w-a'if ⁸ il-kùll. |
| 4 | Fùlla ya kbîre
îš'ik ya Sarine ¹⁰ | wârde ⁹ yasmine
bisbi l-kùll. ¹¹ |
| 5 | Fùlla bitmâlli
lertên 'usmâlli ¹³ | w-iš-ša'r mḥanna, ¹² mdâlli
'âla 'ên il-kùll. |

¹ Nomen proprium, fem.

² Plant and its flower: *nycanthes sambac*.

³ This word is generally used in Syria — sc. away (with him).

⁴ Cant. 1 14 and 7 9.

⁵ Cant. 2 6; diminutive of *ḥudni*.

⁶ Cant. 8 1.

⁷ Here and in the following verses see notes.

⁸ This expression is mostly used in Syria.

⁹ Rose, Cant. 2 1. The tulip is not mentioned in our folksongs. A striking resemblance to this passage is shown by a Kurdish verse (cf. note to Cant. 2 1).

¹⁰ *Sarine*, *Serena* (Sp. *Serena*), is the name of one of the numerous Arabic speaking Spanish Jewish actresses who are favorites in the theatres at Damascus, Aleppo, Beyrouth and other cities of Syria and Palestine. *Rûḥlo* (Rachel), *Têra*, *Ḥasibe*, *Frôssô*, are the names of some of these "stars", who have gained notoriety in Thespis's service.

¹¹ Cant. 4 9.

¹² Cant. 7 6; 5 11.

¹³ *Lera* is derived from the Italian *lira* (Latin *libra*), *'usmâli*: Turkish عثمانلى *osmanli*, from *'Ufmân* plus the Turkish suffix *li*. It is used as an Arabic word.

6	Fùlla btydwàdda ¹ 'àla bôse u 'àdda ³	b-ibrî' ² il-fàdda 'àla 'ên il-kùll.
7	Fùlla bythârib ⁴ w-àlla l-aṣâhib ⁶	b-il-'ên w-il-hâjib ⁵ 'àla 'ên il-kùll.
8	Fùlla b-il-hâra ⁷ bahûbbik jakâra ⁹	btišrab sigâra ⁸ 'àla 'ên il-kùll.
9	bayyâ' l-(i)mhâllal ¹⁰ l-âhdo w-atkâllal ^{11 12}	bimši u biddâllal 'àla 'ên il-kùll.
10	bayyâ' l-(i)knâfe ¹³ il-bôse mn (i)šfâfo ¹⁵	bimši blatâfe (bzarâfe) ¹⁴ btiswa l-kùll.
11	bayyâ' il-mârmâr l-abûsak w-âskar ¹⁶	bimši u bithâssar 'àla 'ên il-kùll. ¹⁷

¹ Ablutions are performed before the prayer. Here "she" is referred to as a Mohammedan.

² This word (*ibrîq* ابريق) means besides "pitcher for ablutions" also, now and then, "pot or jug".

³ 'àla bôse u 'àdda . . . على بوسة وعضة . . . sive puer furens impressit memoram dente labris notam . . ." Horatii Carminum Lib. I, xiii, 12, ad Lydiam.

⁴ See note to Cant. 4 7-9 and Song 25.

⁵ Dark eyebrows are indispensable elements of beauty.

⁶ The *pronomen personale* is here omitted for the sake of the rhyme.

⁷ An unheard of thing.

⁸ Mohammedan women smoke cigarettes relatively more than the *nargîle* (نارجيلة اركيله).

⁹ This word is derived from the Persian and Turkish *âškâr* آشكار "plainly; openly, decidedly," and is used in common parlance in the same sense. But *jakâra* جكارا which accidentally resembles the classical Arabic *jahâran* جهارا stands only for "wilful, in defiance of."

¹⁰ Cant. 2 3; (3 2).

¹¹ Cant. 2 9.

¹² Here she is thought to be a Christian, as the word in this connection only refers to the wedding ceremony of Christians.

¹³ (*Y*)*knâfe*: Cf. note 10, p. 229.

¹⁴ Cant. 7 1.

¹⁵ Cant. 5 13; 4 11 and 12.

¹⁶ Cant. 1 2.

¹⁷ The words *yâ Fùlla* are sung at the end of every verse. Christian, Mohammedan and Jewish elements are mixed here.

The metre is as follows:

[˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ||] — ˘ ˘
يا فله

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1 Fulla, O Fulla, O jasmin flower! | Bring me my beloved and
let me go! |
| 2 Fulla, O my eye,
I'll wrap him in my bosom | O beautiful grapes!
In spite of all! |
| 3 Fulla! O judge,
I'll sell my property | I do not like you.
And forsake all! |
| 4 Fulla! O big one,
Your love, O Serena, | O rose, O jasmine!
Captures all! |
| 5 Fulla is drawing water —

Two Turkish pounds (I would give for...) | Her hair is dyed with henna,
hanging down.
In spite of all! |
| 6 Fulla makes her ablution
(I'd) like to have) a kiss—a bite— | With a silver pitcher.
In spite of all! |
| 7 Fulla fights
I'll make friends (with her) by God, | With eye and eyebrows.
In spite of all! |
| 8 Fulla is on the streets
I'll love you defiantly | Smoking cigarettes.
In spite of all! |
| 9 The seller of mixed pickles
I'll take him for a husband and wed him | Walks mincingly.
In spite of all! |
| 10 The seller of <i>knâfe</i>
A kiss from his lips | Walks daintily.
Is worth all. |
| 11 The seller of marble
I'll kiss you and be drunk (of it) | Walks around and sighs.
In spite of all...! |

VI

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------------|--|
| 1 | ṭāl'a min dâr abûha | nâzle bêt ij-jirân |
| | lâbse fuṣṭân 'al-môḍa ¹ | w-il- (i)'yûn ² bṭùdrub salâm... ³ |

¹ This word is the Arabic form of the French *à la mode*.

² Variant: *w-il-'ûskar* . . . (. . . and the sentry salutes her). ضرب *ḍarb salâm* "beating" the salute, is a military expression.

³ These two stanzas form the refrain. The other verses are all in dialogues. Some stanzas were omitted, being offensive.

- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| 2 | 'ultilla yâ hîlwa rwîni
'âlâtli rûh yâ maskîni | 'âla sidrik fârrijîni ¹
u şidri balât (i)rham. |
| 3 | 'ultilla yâ hîlwa rwîni
'âlâtli rûh ya maskîni | 'âla bzâzik fârrijîni
(i)bzâzi tuffâh iş-şâm. ² |
| 4 | 'ultilla yâ hîlwa rwîni
'âlâtli rûh yâ maskîni | 'âla bâṭnik fârrijîni
yâ bâṭni mâḥmar 'ajjân. |
| 5 | 'ultilla yâ hîlwa rwîni
'âlâtli rûh yâ maskîni | 'âla fhâdik fârrijîni
(i)fhâdi 'imdân (i)rham. ^{3 4} |
| 6 | 'ultilla ya hîlwa rwîni
'âlâtli rûh yâ maskîni | 'âla nhûdik nâyyimîni
(i)nhûdi kûz ir-rummân. ⁵ |
| 7 | 'ultilla yâ hîlwa rwîni
'âlâtli rûh/yâ maskîni | 'âla (i)'yûnik fârrijîni ⁶
w- i'yûni (i)'yûn il-ğuzlân. |
| 8 | 'ultilla yâ hîlwa rwîni
'âlâtli rûh yâ maskîni | 'âla ḥawâjbik fârrijîni
ḥawâjbi (i)hlâl şa'bân. ⁷ |
| 9 | 'ultilla ya hîlwa rwîni
'âlâtli rûh yâ maskîni | 'âla timmik fârrijîni
'u timmi ḥâtm(i) Slimân. ⁸ |
| 10 | 'ultilla yâ hîlwa rwîni
'âlâtli rûh yâ maskîni | 'âla ḥdûdik fârrijîni
kinno lissâtak sakrân? |

¹ In the following the word *nâyyimîni* نيميني may be substituted for *fârrijîni* فرجيني. Cf. *şidrha ha-l-lôh* . . .—Song no. 19.

² Damascene apples are the best all over Syria and Palestine.

³ Cant. 5 14.

⁴ Cant. 5 15. For the whiteness of the body cf. the second verse too.

⁵ The word *kûz* كوز is generally used for the prickly pear (cactus)—*şàbr* or *şubbeir*. Cf. the following verse from the poem beginning:—*makkâr, yâ bu-z-zûluf* . . . مكار يا بو الزلف, *rummân şdêrik dîbil rûşši 'alêh mûyya* رمان صدريك دبل رشي عليه ميا . . . من قلة الميا. The pomegranates of your breast are faded (sic!)—give them some water—or, owing to the scarcity of water.

⁶ She is a Mohammedan girl and must veil her face, Cant. 2 14.

⁷ The crescent of the month of Şa'bân is a good omen, presumably because it reminds the people of the approaching feast (Ramaḡân).

⁸ King Solomon still plays the rôle of the greatest magician, as is evident from some tales of the Arabian Nights (The Fisherman and the Genie). A similar passage is in no. 16.

- 7 I said to her: "O fair one satisfy me,
And let me see your eyes."
She told me:—"Go away, you wretch,
My eyes are eyes of gazelles."
- 8 I said to her:—"O fair one satisfy me,
And let me see your eyebrows."
She told me:—"Go away, you wretch,
My eyebrows are as the crescent of the month of Ša'ban."
- 9 I said to her:—"O fair one satisfy me,
And let me see your mouth."
She told me: "Go away, you wretch,
My mouth is like King Solomon's signet."
- 10 I said to her:—"O fair one satisfy me,
And let me see your cheeks."
She told me:—"Go away, you wretch,
It seems that you are still drunk."
- 11 I said to her:—"O fair one satisfy me
And let me see your wrist."
She told me:—"Go away, you wretch,
Methinks you are still dreaming" . . .

VII

- 1 l-ḥinna, l-ḥinna, ya 'aṭr in-nāda,² ašūfak ḥabibi, ya 'eni, jallāb³ il-hāwa.⁴
2 min⁵ ajatni ḡmmo, tis'alni 'alē, l-aḥuṭṭo bi-'eni, w-atkàḥḥal 'alē.

¹ Henna is a cosmetic used for painting the hands and dying the hair, especially at weddings, in the country as well as in the town (Mohammedans). Here it stands for *tāmer ḥinna* ثمر حناء Lawsonia inermis from the leaves of which it has been prepared Cant. 1 13.

² It conveys here the meaning of nectar. Some people sing wrongly 'aṭr in-nāda عطر الندى, which is naturally senseless.

³ This line forms the refrain, *marādd*.

⁴ Or *gallab*, the Egyptian form of the classical *jallāb*. This is the Aleppo version and more probable. The Jerusalem version runs *šubbāk ḥabibi, ya 'eni, gallāb il-hāwa* شباك حبيبي يا عيني جلاب الهوى —The window of my beloved (O my eyes) is the bringer of passion.

⁵ *Min* is the contraction of *lammin*: classical *lamma*. It stands in this passage for *in*, "if." Another variant:—*min ḥōfi min ḡmmo (ūḥto, 'ammto)* من خوفي من امه (اخته عمته) in their respective places), fearing that his mother (sister, aunt) might ask me about him . . .

3 min ajätni ühto, tis'älni 'alê, l-aḥùṭṭo bi-übbi,¹ w-atzàrrar 'alê.
 4 min ajätni 'ammto, tis'älni 'alê, l-aḥùṭṭo bi-kümmi, w-adümmo 'alê.
 5 min ajätni ḥabibto, tis'älni 'alê, l-aḥùṭṭo bi-ḥdêni,² w-aṭḥànnan 'alê.
 6 min ajätni ḥabibto, tis'älni 'alê, äna u ḥabibi, niddalla' ³ säwa.⁴

1 Henna, henna, O, drops of dew! I would see you, my beloved,
my eye, bringer of passion!

2 If his mother comes, asking me about him,
I'll hide him in my eye (O my eye!) and paint kohl over him.

3 If his sister comes asking me about him,
I'll hide him in my bosom and button (my garment) over him.

4 If his aunt comes asking me about him,
I'll hide him in my sleeve and close it over him.

5 If his beloved comes asking me about him,
I'll hide him in my bosom and fondle him (have pity on him).

6 If his beloved comes asking me about him,
I and my beloved caress one another (flirt, dally with each other).

VIII

1 'al-hêla,⁵ l-hêla, l-hêla, yâ râbbina
yâ râbbi tijma' mà'a l-habâyib šâmlina.⁶

¹ Cant. 8 6.

² Variant: *l-adummo* لا ضمه; Cant. 2 6; 8 3.

³ Cant. 2 16; 2 3; 6 3.

⁴ *Sawa* is the vernacular form of the classical *sawīyatan* سوية, سوى. Several other verses are omitted because of their sotadic character. Throughout the ditty "she" speaks. Cf. song No. 3, note 1.

The metre is:—

Verse 1: ♪ ♫ _ ♫ ♪ _ ♪ ♫ _ | ♪ ♫ ♫ ♫ ♫ ♫ ♫ ♫ ♫ ♫ ♫ _
 Verse 2: ♫ ♫ ♫ ♫ _ ♫ ♫ ♫ _ ♫ | ♫ ♫ ♫ ♫ ♫ ♫ _ ♫ ♫

⁵ The word *hēla* هيلة admits according to *Muḥîṭ il-Muḥîṭ* two meanings, viz. local as well as temporal.

⁶ Verse 1 is the refrain (*maradd*) and is sung after verse 2, etc. with which it makes a double verse.

- 4 She rose up and cried:—"O Faraj,
I am neither crazy, nor have I lost my senses.
But I'll build an upper room for my beloved and a staircase too—
With a lock and a key, and I'll be guardian."
- 5 She rose up and cried:—"Good gracious!
I'm neither crazy nor silly . . .
Who will give me for God's sake a loaf of bread?
The loaf of my beloved would last me a year . . ."
- 6 She rose up from sleep, only a little girl,
Carrying the bundle and looking distracted.
I asked her:—"Why do you, O girl, look so distracted?"
She answered:—"In spite of my youth I am lovesick . . ."
- 7 She rose up from sleep calling her uncle.
The odour of her mouth is like a perfume box.
Happy—twice happy is he, who courts her and loves her,
For she would add to his age eighteen years . . .

IX

- 1 'āla dal'ōna,¹ 'āla dal'ōna, āsmar sabāni bġāmz il-i'yūna^{2 3}
- 2 'āla dal'ōna bit'ul dahīlak⁴ lissātni zġāyyra⁵ māniš min jīlak
ūšbur 'alāyya ḥatta aḥkilak 'al-li jarāli mbāreh w-il-yōma . . .
- 3 mār'at 'alāyya min bāb id -dēri āhlan u sāhlan,⁶ yā māsa -l-hēri.
tuffāḥ šami 'āla-l(i)šdēri⁷ willa safārjal, 'ūmu-'tufūna!

¹ This form is poetical for the usual *mdalla'a*, *mdallale*.

² This verse is the refrain.

³ Cant. 4 9.

⁴ *Dahīlak* دحيلك or *dāḥlak* دخلك is an expression used to implore somebody most earnestly. It has its origin in Beduin custom according to which one seeks protection and refuge in the tent of a Bedawi, who in his turn must protect him even at the risk of his own life.

⁵ *Zġāyyra* زغيرة is the diminutive form of *zġire* زغيرة; Cant. 8 s.

⁶ These words of the conversation are the stereotype form of bidding welcome to the guest.

⁷ Cant. 4 13. See also n. 2, p. 236.

- 4 mār'at titlāṭṭam¹ hiyye u 'ammitha² riḥa u rawāyeḥ riḥet 'udlitha³
dāḥlik yā yamma māḥla bōsitha bēn il-ḥawājib 'asal bi-ṣḥūna.⁴
- 5 šuftha btitmāḥṭar ḥāmila -l-jārra bēda u garīre⁵ ḥawāṭṭa b-alla⁶
māma, yā māma ḥabibi bārra⁷ lābis mitlābbis w-imkāḥḥil (i)'yūno.
- 6 'ala dal'ōna, 'ala dal'ōna, āsmar sabāni b-gāmz il- (i)'yūna.⁸
āsmar sabāni w-āna sabēto ṭū'u ya l-'ida billi tid'ūna.
- 7 'a'dat h(i)bāli w-aḥdāt-li bāli⁹ ḥādd il-bunāyya bālāḥ (i)jbāli.⁹
ḥylwa yā ḥylwa 'ūmi mni-'bāli¹⁰ ḥylwa ya ḥylwa n-nāf(i)s mal'ūna.
- 8 ṭil'at 'a-j-jābal dōse 'a-dōse¹¹ nizlit ij-jābal dōse 'a-dōse.
w-in kān yā ḥubbi 'awiz-lak bōse uṣbur 'a āhli ḥatta (i)ynamūna...^{12 13}

¹ Cant. 7 1.

² Her aunt is here the "dame d'honneur."

³ Cant. 3 6; 1 3; 4 10^b.

⁴ Cant. 4 10. A parallel to this stanza is the following:

احلى من العسل بول كانوا خد البنيه جينه طريه
ḥadd il-bunāyya jibne ṭarīyye āḥla mni-l- 'asal bāwwal kanūna

The cheek of the little girl is (like) fresh cheese,

Sweeter than honey in the beginning of winter

(*kanūn ūwwal* and *kanūn tāni* are considered to be the most rainy period in the year).

⁵ Cant. 8 8.

⁶ *Ḥawāṭṭa bālla* حوطتها بالله is a sort of a charm against the evil eye. Psalm 91 was used for amulets, and would answer this purpose.

⁷ Cant. 5 2; 2 9.

⁸ Cant. 4 9.

⁹ Cant. 7 8; 5 16. *Bālāḥ jībālī* بلح جبالي is a special sort of date, very sweet. The palm tree is said to reach a height of only one meter(?) and grows especially in the district of the Rūwela Arabs in Transjordan. (Yusuf A.)

¹⁰ Cant. 6 4, 5.

¹¹ Cant. 7 1.

¹² Cant. 2 17 and 4 6.

¹³ Another verse of this song reminds us of Cant. 1 9:

'ala dal'ōna 'ala dal'ālik winte -l-mūhra wāna ḥayyālik
وانت المهره وانا خيالك على دلونه على دلالك

About the spoiled girl and about her (your) coquetry—
and you are the (noble) filly and I am your rider.

This song is of Fellāḥ origin, but it has become so common that the version of the city has been given here, being the better known one.

The metre runs generally as follows:—

٤ ٤ ٤ ٤ — | ٤ ٤ ٤ ٤ — || ٤ ٤ ٤ ٤ — | ٤ ٤ ٤ ٤ — | ٤ — ٤ ٤ —

- 1 (A song) about the spoiled girl, about the spoiled girl . . .
A brown one caught me with the lilt of his eyes . . .
- 2 About the spoiled girl! She says:—"I implore you,
I am still a little girl and not of your age.
Have patience, while I tell you
What happened to me yesterday and to-day . . ."
- 3 She came past me from the convent gate:—
"How do you do? What a fine evening!
Have you on your breast Damascene apples
Or quinces? Let's pluck them."
- 4 She passed by with her aunt, walking proudly.
The odour of her forelock is the fragrance of perfumes.
Oh mother, how sweet would it be to kiss her
Between her eyebrows—like honey in the comb!
- 5 I saw her walking proudly carrying her pitcher,
White and fair,—I encircle her with the name of God!
Mother, oh mother, my beloved is outside
With his best clothes on and his eyes painted with kohl.
- 6 About the spoiled girl, about the spoiled girl.
A brown one caught me with the lilt of his eyes.
A brown one caught me and I caught him too—
May you burst with envy (rage), oh my foes, at your own curses.
- 7 She sat opposite me and distracted me,
(For) the cheek of (this) little girl is like desert dates.
O fair one, O sweet one, go out from my presence,
O fair one, O sweet one, the soul is unaccountable . . .
- 8 She went up the hill, step by step,
She went down the hill, step by step.
And if you, my beloved, want a kiss,
Wait until my family has gone to sleep . . .

- 3 Oh my full moon, your mole and your cheeks,
And the lilt of your eyes—oh, my eyes!—
Have driven me to love you frantically,
And they have maltreated me in my love for you.
- 4 Oh white one, of jasmine colour,
With roses on your cheeks—
By your beauty and your cheeks,
I am captivated by your love...

XI

- 1 mārmar zamāni, mā sa'āni sūkkar,¹ 'ālbi tiwālla' bihawāk ya-l-āsmar²
2 mārmar zamāni, ma sa'āni 'āmbār,¹ āna u-ḥabibi bi-l-jinēna niskar.³
3 ya rāyḥa 'a-l- ḥammām ḥudini ma'āki, l-āḥmil il-bū'je u-āmši warāki
4 w-in kan abūki ma a'tāni-yyāki l-āmal 'amāyil mā 'imilha 'Āṇṭar.⁴
5 baḷḷāhi yā 'assis u-lā ṭḥākiha, hādi bunāyya, w-il-hāwa rāmiha.⁵
6 "ūlu la-ēn iṣ-sāmsi lā tiḥmāši, ḥabibi ṣābbah b-il-barāri⁶ māši."^{7 8}

- 1 He embittered my life and never gave me sugar (syrup) to drink—
My heart is inflamed with your love, O brown one!
- 2 He embittered my life and never gave me amber (syrup) to drink—
My beloved and I drink in the flower garden.
- 3 O, you, who are going to the bath, take me along with you,
That I may carry your parcel and walk behind you.

¹ Cant. 4 11. Vulgate, Cant. 1 2, 4; 4 10; 7 13.

² Cant. 1 5. Cf. the following verse:

والهوى شق الثوب
سوحني بنوب بنوب
il-hôb il-hôb il-hôb
ala ḥusnak u-jamālak

الهوب الهوب الهوب
على حسنك وجمالك
w-il-hāwa šaqq it-tôb
sauwakni bnôb, (y)bnôb...

Hôb, hôb, hôb (senseless)

For your beauty and your charms have ravished me completely.

³ Cant. 5 1; 6 2-3.

⁴ 'Antar is the Arab ideal of chivalry.

⁵ Cant. 2 5.

⁶ Cant. 3 6.

⁷ Verse 6 reminds on Verse 6 of Psalm 121.

⁸ Metre: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
 ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘

- 4 And if your father does not give you to me (for a wife)
Surely I'll do things, which even Antar never did.
- 5 By God, O priest, do not speak to her (reproachfully),
She is but a little girl and love has made her ill.
- 6 "Tell the eye of the sun not to shine hot,
My beloved went this morning walking in the desert."

XII

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| 1 | Âhi ¹ ya âsmar il-lôn
ḥabîbi wi-'yûno sūd | ḥayâtî ² l-asmarâni ³
âmma l-kūḥli sabâni. ^{4 5} |
| 2 | šufta wâ'fe 'al-mîna
šubb il-'âra' w-is'îna ⁸ | b-îda fülle u yasmîna ^{6 7}
ḥayâtî -l-asmarâni. ² |
| 3 | šuft il-'hÿlwa ya 'îsa ⁹
lâmma šâlḥat 'amîša ¹¹ | zây iŝ-šam'a ¹⁰ bi-knîsa
šâr il-mislim nuŝrâni . . . ^{12 13} |

- 1 O brown of hue! The brown one is my life!
My beloved one has black eyes, but the kohl (stibium) captured me.
- 2 I saw her on the quay—in her hand *full* and jasmine.
Pour out the arak and give us to drink, my life, my brown one!

¹ Particle of interjection—*âh*.

² Cf. stanza 1, Song 3.

³ This verse is the refrain.

⁴ *Asmarâni* اسمراني for *âsmar* اسمر is a more poetical form.

⁵ Cant. 4 9.

⁶ See stanza 4, Song 3.

⁷ *Full* فل *nycanthem sambac*; *yasmîn* ياسمين *jasmine officinale*. Both these names are also *nomina propria fem.*

⁸ Cant. 5 1; 2 4.

⁹ The Mohammedan form 'Îsa عيسى stands for Christian *Yasû* يسوع Jesus, but this name has nearly become a prerogative of the latter.

¹⁰ Cant. 5 14. This passage indicates whiteness of the body in particular and bodily beauty in general. Cf. also *Horatii Carmina No. XIII ad Lydiam*.

¹¹ Cant. 5 3.

¹² A very unusual thing.

¹³ Many verses are omitted because they are tedious and do not answer our purpose. Metre:—

Recited Verse 2:	$\begin{array}{cccccccc} \backslash & \cup & \backslash & \cup & \cup & \backslash & \cup & \cup \\ \backslash & \cup & \backslash & \cup & \cup & \backslash & \cup & \cup \end{array}$
Sung Verse 2:	$\begin{array}{cccccccc} \backslash & \cup & \backslash & \cup & \cup & \backslash & \cup & \cup \\ \backslash & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \backslash & \cup & \cup \end{array}$

3 I saw the fair one, O Isa, like a candle in the church.

When she took off her chemise the Mohammedan became Christian.

XIII

1 'al-(i)'màyyim,¹ 'al-(i)'mâm,² bêḏa u ḥamra,³ ya salâm...⁴

2 'al-(i)'màyyim, 'ad-dabbûs⁵ dârat ḥadda u 'âlat bûs⁶
maddêt idi 'al-maḥrûs⁷ râfrîf, ya têt il-ḥamâm...⁸

3 'al-(i)'màyyim 'âlât-li:— (zrâr id-dikke ḥallât-li)
biddi šabb ikûn mît-li âfruš bi-ḥḏêno w-anâm.⁹

4 'al-(i)'màyyim, 'al-birke ḥadfâtni¹⁰ bi-j-janârki¹¹
yîḥri' bâyya, šu ḥirke¹² aḥdât-li 'âli 'awâm.¹³

¹ (*I'*)*màyyim* is the diminutive form of 'am, uncle.

² (*I'*)*mâm* is the plural of 'am: colloquially (*i'*)*mâm(e)*.

³ This song deals with a girl of doubtful virtue.

⁴ *Ya salâm* is an expression probably of Egyptian origin. This stanza is the refrain, *maradd*.

⁵ Here in the meaning of *membrum virile*. Words are often inserted to complete the rhyme, although they may be sometimes senseless and even misleading.

⁶ Variant: *ḥayyarâtni mnên abûs*... حيرتني من اين ابوس (She puzzled me—where I should kiss). Cant. 7 s.

⁷ Literally, "the guarded thing or person." *Maḥrûs* means usually "son" and is used in polite conversation, e. g.: *kîf ḥâl ilmahrûs (maḥrûsak)?*—i. e., How is your son getting on? Here the sense of *mons mulieris* underlies.

⁸ *Têt il-ḥamâm* often applies in folk-song to girls; cf. the song *jôz il-ḥamâm*... Here it conveys the meaning of *membrum virile* for which *ḥamâme* and *bûsar* (the latter also Hebrew, *bašar*) are colloquially used.

⁹ *Ḥḏên* is the diminutive of *ḥiḏḏun*, lap. This form is poetically preferred. Cant. 23 and 213.

¹⁰ Syrian form for *râmat*.

¹¹ *Janârki* (Persian and Turkish: *jânarik*), for Arabic *swêda*, green-gage, plum, is used in Northern Syria on the Turco-Arabic linguistic frontier.

¹² *Bayha*, her little father, is Syrian dialectic. The literal rendering of this expression would be: "May her father be burnt." This verse is undoubtedly of Syrian origin.

¹³ Variant: *sabât-li*, she captured my mind. Another version: *jâbat-li ḏàḥri 'awâm*... (*Acceleravit ejaculationem seminis mei*).

- 5 'al-(i)'māyyim, ya Āsma,¹ taḥt it-tīne tbāuāsna²
 āja l-'ārs³ u kamāšna⁴ w-āḥad minni mīt (i)ryāl.⁵
- 6 'al-(i)'māyyim ya šbīni⁶ ya zāhr il-basatīni⁷
 l-āḍrub ḥālī sikkīne w-āḥsib il-'ūm(u)r mâ kân.⁸
- 7 'al-(i)'māyyim ya 'ammi ḥudlak bōse min tūmmi
 abūyi ṭālla' ummi w-aḥūyi sâfar 'aš-šām.⁹
- 8 'al-(i)'māyyim ya Mansūr taḥt iṣ-ṣūrra fi 'aṣfūr¹⁰
 fi 'arabiyye, fi ḥanṭūr fi lukānda lal-manām. . . .¹¹
- 9 'al-(i)'māyyim ḥôd u jīb¹² taḥt iṣ-ṣūrra šī¹³ ajīb
 fi 'ubtānji, fi babbôr¹⁴ râkib fī 'Ābd il Ḥamīd . . .¹⁵⁻¹⁷

¹ *Nomen pers. femin.*

² Cant. 2 3 and 2 13.

³ The word 'arš means "procurer, scoundrel, fancyman, petticoat pensioner," and is often used insultingly.

⁴ Literally: — seized us, i. e., surprised us. In this sense the word is used in Syria.

⁵ Approximately twenty pounds sterling. He receives an unusually large sum in order to keep quiet.

⁶ This part of the song seems to be of Christian origin.

⁷ Cant. 4 13.

⁸ Literally: — And consider that life did not exist (for me).

⁹ This stanza is of Mohammedan origin. That is, a distant place or a large city, where nobody knows him, so she is naturally left to herself.

¹⁰ "Bird" stands here for *pudendum muliebre*. It means elsewhere also *membrum virile*, but is rarely used in both senses.

¹¹ "Lodging-house."

¹² Take and give" refers to the coitus. Cf. note on Cant. 5 1.

¹³ šī for īši: something, i. e., collum uteri, spatium interlabiale.

¹⁴ Heard in Aleppo as 'ubtānji, an Italo-Turkish loan-word. The Jerusalem version is: fi 'ubtān u fī babbôr . . . فيہ قبطان و فيہ بابور.

¹⁵ 'Abdulḥamīd plays in contemporary minds the same rôle given to Harūn ar-Rašīd in the Arabian Nights.

¹⁶ There exist about ten more or less ambiguous songs without the excellent rhyme of this one, and otherwise in many respects inferior to it.

¹⁷ Some stanzas of this song have been omitted as being needlessly offensive. The popularity of this song, which circulated already before 1912, is proved by the fact that there are numberless variants and a considerable number of local verses all over Syria, Mesopotamia (towns), and Egypt.

The underlying metre is double when sung:— ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ || ◡ ◡ ◡ |||

- 1 On the little uncle; on the uncles:—(she is) white and ruddy, what joy!
- 2 On the little uncle:—with the club—she turned her cheek and told me: “Kiss!”
I stretched out my hand to the guarded thing: beat your wings, O dove!
- 3 On the little uncle:—she told me—she unbuttoned her petticoat—
I want a youth like myself, in whose bosom I may spread my couch and sleep.
- 4 On the little uncle: at the pool she throw a green gage at me,
She is d-d dexterous, for she distracted me so quickly!
- 5 On the little uncle:—O Asma, under the fig tree we exchanged kisses,
The procurer came and took from me one hundred mejidis.
- 6 On the little uncle:—O my god-father, you blossom of the gardens,
I’ll stab myself with a dagger and forget that life exists.
- 7 On the little uncle:—O my uncle, take a kiss from my mouth,
Father has divorced mother, and brother has gone to Damascus.
- 8 On the little uncle:—O Mansur, there is a bird under the navel,
There is also a landau and a phaeton, a hotel as well.
- 9 On the little uncle:—take and give—, under the navel is a wondrous thing,
There is a captain and a ship, on board of which is Abdulhamid . . .

XIV

- 1 âs-il-¹ ‘uzâr² fo’ wâjnatê(h) âbyaḍ³ yâ nâr ‘âlbi ‘alê(h)
mâ ‘utt âna ânsa-l-jâfa,⁴ yâ mûnyati, ḥarâm ‘alêk.
- 2 zûrni yâ-bu-l-wâjhi-l-bašûš, w-ibri⁵ ‘ulêbi min-il-gušûš,
l-âksîf ‘âla sidrak w-ašûf bistân⁶ u-mašâlla⁷ ‘alê(h).
- 3 zûrni yâ-bu-l-‘âlbi-l-ḥanûn, w-ibri ‘ulêbi min-il-humûm,
il-ḥubbu da kûllo finûn,⁸ waššâni maḥbûbi ‘alê(h).

¹ Âs is “myrtle.”

² This expression is pre-Islamic and was already used by Imru’ul Qais in
كَتَبَ الشَّاعِدُ.

³ Cant. 5 10.

⁴ Literally, frigidity.

⁵ This is the classical *ibri* ابرى.

⁶ and ⁷ See pag. 250 notes 1 and 2.

⁸ Literally, This love is an art. *Bistan* may mean a flower garden as well as an orchard. Cf. the Latin *hortus*, *hortulus*. Though the one addressed is

- 4 āna baḥibbak min zamân, rūḥi fidâk, 'albi kamân,
mazrû' 'āla ṣidrak bistân,¹ maktûb (u) mâšalla 'alê(h).²

- 1 The blushing myrtle is on his cheek,—
He is white, O—the burning of my heart for him.
I cannot more forget the cruelty,
O, my desire, it is not right of you (sc. to let me suffer).

- 2 Visit me, O, you with the radiant face
And heal my heart from its miseries.
Then I shall uncover your breast and see
a garden—what a fine one too!

- 3 Visit me, O you with the tender heart,
And heal my heart from sorrows.
All this love (making) is a farce,
Which my beloved imposed upon me.

- 4 For long I have loved you;
My soul and heart is a ransom for you;
There is a garden planted on your breast
Written above it: *mâšalla* (i. e. it is a beautiful one).

masculine "she" is meant. The language is semi-classical. I have known it since 1906; it appears to be of Egyptian origin. The metre is:

∟ ∟ ∟ ∟ — ∟ ∟ ∟ ∟ || ∟ ∟ ∟ ∟ — ∟ ∟ ∟ ∟

¹ Cant. 4 12 and 13. Cf. also the following two verses from different songs:—

(n)zilt āna bistānikum 'atāft āna rummānikum . . .

I went down to your orchard And plucked your pomegranates . . .

قطعت انا رمانكم

نزلت انا رومنانكم

and yâ ḥabîbi, ya nâyim

fāttah ward ij-janâyin . . .

O my sleeping love,

The roses in the gardens have blossomed . . .

فتح ورد الجنابين

يا حبيبي يا نايم

Cant. 5 14. Cf. the stanza: *rîḥân ṣdêrik dibil min 'illit il- mayya* . . . (The basil shrub of your breast has faded from lack of water.)

² *Mašalla* (from the classical *mā šā'a llāhu* sc. *kāna* is often used as an expression of admiration for persons, things and actions; it may also be used ironically. It is written on house-doors and carved on charms as a talisman to repel the evil spirits or the spell of the evil eye.—Cant. 1 13 and 14; 4 12.

XV

1	il-i'zûbiyya 'ûmi ḥṭubili ²	ṭâlat ¹ 'alâyya ya mâma ⁴ wâḥde šalabiyya ...
2	libsat il-bûrnus myš râiha tûḥluṣ ⁵	'âl'at il-bûrnus ³ ya mâma ⁴ ha-l-i'zûbiyya ⁶ ('askariyya). [~]
3	Taḥt il-lemûne ⁷ immik ḥanûne	nâmi ya 'yûni ya mâma ḥannit 'alâyya.
4	Taḥt it-tuffâḥa ⁷ hiyye l-fallâḥa	nôme b-rayâḥa ya mâma ḏiḥkit 'alâyya. ⁸
5	ḥabîbi ¹⁰ nâtir w-in kân lak ḥâtir	tâḥt il- 'anâtir ya mâma dâwwir 'alâyya. ⁹
6	ḥabîbi b-dâro šûfi šu mâlo ¹²	dâḥab as'âro ¹¹ ya mâma za'lân 'alâyya.
7	ḥabîbi b-ḥême ¹³ w-il-fûr'a dême ¹⁵	'amar b-gême ¹⁴ ya mâma ṭalit 'alâyya.

¹ The third person sing. fem. is formed in the perfect tense sometimes also with a final *i* instead of a (in certain cases), e. g. *ṭâlit*, *libsit*, *ḥannit*, for *ṭâlat*, *libsat*, *ḥannat*. This pronunciation seems to be preferred by Mohammedans, more especially the women, who still cling to the "pure" Palestinian dialect, as women are in speech and manners conservative, but it seems to be of Syrian origin.

² Mothers still sue for their sons' brides.

³ Words are often inserted to complete the metre. *Bûrnus*, fine linen cloak.

⁴ Throughout this song the words *ya mâma* (O mother) are inserted before the next to the last word of each stanza, when sung. See also the song no. 2, note 3.

⁵ Literally:—come to an end.

⁶ *Hâl* = *hâdi il*.

⁷ Cant. 2 3^b; 8 5.

⁸ Variant: ... *biryâḥa*, *hiyye-l-fallâḥa*, *ya mâma*, *mnitmàssaḥ fîha* ...

⁹ This stanza is supposed to be sung by the girl.

¹⁰ Cant. 3 1 and 5 6.

¹¹ Cant. 5 11.

¹² The mother is spoken to.

¹³ Inserted for the sake of the rhyme.

¹⁴ Cant. 6 10.

¹⁵ *Daim* ذيم is classical. The word is used in this connection very rarely.

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| 8 | ḥabîbi bârra ¹
w-il-für'a mürra | sâbil il- ġürra ²
ya mâma b-il-'askariyya . . . ³ |
| 1 | Celibacy
Rise, O mother, and sue me | Has become tedious to me—
A fair one. |
| 2 | She put on her burnus (cloak),
Will it not stop— | And she removed it—
This celibacy? |
| 3 | Under the lemon tree
Your mother is merciful, | Sleep, O my eyes;
She had pity on me . . . |
| 4 | There is a quiet sleep
Though she is a peasant girl | Under the apple-tree—
Yet she tricked me . . . |
| 5 | My beloved is waiting
If you care to, | Under the arches—
Search for me! |
| 6 | My beloved is in his house—
See, (O mother), | His price is gold—
Why is he angry with me? |
| 7 | My beloved in his tent
And separation is tyranny, | Is the moon in his cloud—
It becomes tedious to me. |
| 8 | My beloved is outside,
And separation is bitter | With his forelock hanging—
During military service. |

XVI⁴

- 1 w-âna⁵ râyiḥ w-imrâwwiḥ w-implaggi⁶-d-dârb iṣ-šargiyya
2 w-âna râyiḥ w-imrâwwiḥ lagâtni bintin⁷ ṭariyya⁸ (bdêwiyya)

¹ Cant. 29. See also song no. 2 notes 7 and 10, p. 227.² Cant. 5 11.³ The rhyme is good as is also the metre:

This song was known in part before the war, during which some six verses of little local importance were added. Cf. the substitution of *عسكريه* 'askariyeh for *عزوبيه* (y) 'zûbiyeh). They have already become obsolete.

⁴ This song is of Beduin origin. Some four verses are omitted, being offensive; with slight variations it is known in different parts of Palestine. This version is that circulating among the Beduin around Gaza. The refrain is *يا حلالي يا مالي* *ya ḥalâli ya-mâli*. It is the answer of the chorus to the reciter.

⁵ *W-ana* *وانا* is the idiomatic contraction of *wa beînama ana* (or the like) *وبينما انا*.

⁶ Facing, meeting with.

⁷ *Bintin* = Class. *bintun*.

⁸ Variants:—*zêniyya* *زنية* nice, *bdêwiyya* *بدويه* Beduin.

- 3 ya¹ tûlha w-àlla 'a-tûli l-in² fiha mn-il-gùsr (i)šwàyya.
 4 ya râsha râs il-ḥamâma minhu -j-jadâyil³ marḥiyya
 5 w-êš⁴ agùllak fi-l-i'yûn?⁵ w-itgûl i'yûn gûzlâniyya.
 6 w-êš agùllak fi-l-munḥâr? w-itgûl fûstga ḥalabiyya.⁶
 7 w-êš agùllak fi šfâfha? w-itgûl lôza ṭariyya.⁷
 8 ya tûmmha ḥâtm(i)sîmân⁸ nsiddo bi-l-'âsrawiyya.
 9 w-isnânha lâdm il-lûlu maškûka šakka zêniyya.
 10 w-êš agùllak fi-l-inḥûd? w-itgûl rummân mallisiyya.⁹
 11 w-êš agùllak fi bâṭnha? mâtwi ṭayya 'a -ṭayya.
 12 w-êš agùllak fi-l-ifḥâd? w-itgûl šâm'a maḍwiyya.¹⁰
 13 w-êš awaššiflak gûnjha? w-itgûl ta'lim in-nûriyya . . .¹¹

- 1 When I was returning home, taking the Eastern path,
 2 When I was returning home a delicate girl met me.
 3 Her height is, by God, my height, though she may be a little shorter.
 4 Her head is like a dove's head from which her locks hang loose.

¹ *Ya* is the "oh" of admiration.—Class. *yû-li* ديال.

² *Lin* is the contraction of *wa lau in* ولو ان (colloquially *lawann* لوان); it may, however, be derived from the classical *la-in* لئن though.

³ *Jadâyil* جدایل. Cant. 4 3.

⁴ *Weš* is the contraction of the Class. *wa-šayyū šai'in* (coll. وایش).

⁵ (*I'yûn* another plural form of 'inên—عينين).

⁶ *Fûstug ḥalabi* فستق حلي *pistacia vera* (*staphylea pinnata*) is the best sort of the pistachio nut. The colour of the prepared fruit resembles the *qamḥi* قمحي, wheat colour (Cant. 7 26) which is in our opinion the best colour for the human body. Whereas the "golden" colour *dāḥabi* ذهبي, Cant. 5 14 and 15 (reddish) is considered second to it.

⁷ Green almonds are very much liked, because they are the first fresh green things after the winter and their sour taste makes them the more agreeable.

⁸ *Ḥâtm (i)Sîmân* خاتم سليمان. This expression is taken over from the Jewish magic by the way of the Arabian Nights; cf. the story of the porter and the three sisters. Here it conveys the meaning that it is a magical thing and at the same time so small that it can be covered by a small nickel piece. Besides, a small mouth is said to be a true sign of a *vulva angusta*.

⁹ *Rummân mallisi* رمان مليسي is a sort of pomegranate of middle size having unusually small grains and very delicious. *Kufî-Kenna*, the traditional Cana in Galilee (St. John 2 1) and 'Ain 'Arîq عين عريق north of Jerusalem are famous for this fruit. Cf. the notes to the seventh chapter.

¹⁰ *Ābyad za' iš-šâm' šim'c* ابيض زي الشمع is a simile for whiteness. The word *maḍwiyye* مضويه seems to have been inserted for the sake of the rhyme only.

¹¹ *Nûri* نوري *nûriyye* نوريه *nâwar* نَوَّر *nûriyyât* نوريات, masculine and feminine words for "gypsy," singular and plural. The gypsy woman dances coquettishly. Here it means that she is a mistress of coquetry.

- 5 "How shall I describe her eyes?" "Say, they are gazelle eyes."
 6 "How shall I describe her nose?" "Say, it is a pistachio nut from Aleppo."
 7 "How shall I describe her lips?" "Say, (they are) a fresh almond."
 8 Her mouth is like King Solomon's signet, we may cover it with a metlik piece.
 9 And her teeth are a chain of pearls elegantly strung . . .
 10 "How shall I describe her breasts?" "Say, they are Mallisi pomegranates."
 11 "How shall I describe her belly?" "Say, it is one fold over another."
 12 "How shall I describe her thighs?" "Say, a lighted candle."
 13 "How shall I depict her coquetry?" "Say, it is like that of a gipsy woman..."

XVII

- 1 yâ gâzâli,¹ kêfa 'anni ab'adûk, šattatu šamli wi-hâjri 'awwadûk?
 2 šakkâr il-ĥâris² 'alâyya-l-bâb u-râĥ, 'âl-li ma-ftâĥ-lak la-bâkir is-šabâĥ
 3 iftaĥili,³ âĥ, yâ sitt il- milâĥ,⁴ ⁵ bass il-lêle nayyimûni 'indakum.⁶

- 1 O, my gazelle, how did they remove you from me?
 They separated us and accustomed you to be far from me.
 2 The watchman shut the door on me and went away,
 Saying to me: "I'll not open it for you before to-morrow morning."
 3 O, mistress of the fair ones, pray, open it for me,
 And let me sleep only this night at your house!

XVIII

tiški, t'ûl: ya ĥârim⁷ jifni n-nôm, ya ĥârim.⁸
 âna min ĥubbi fik,⁹ ya jamil,¹⁰ țarrâzt ismak 'a-maĥârim,
 kûll il-(i)mlâĥ šihdû-li fik innak ĥilu,¹¹ lâkin zâlim

¹ Cant. 2 9; 2 17; 8 14. The gazelle is the ideal of grace.

² Cant. 3 3. *Vide* song no. 2, stanza 5.

³ Cant. 5 2.

⁴ Cant. 1 8; 5 7; 6 1.

⁵ *Vide* note to Cant. 1 3.

⁶ The metre is: $\begin{array}{ccccccc} \backslash & \cup & \backslash & \cup & \backslash & \cup & \backslash \\ \backslash & \cup & \backslash & \cup & \backslash & \cup & \backslash \end{array}$

⁷ Participle of *ĥrm* حرم to prohibit, to deny.

⁸ Cant. 3 1 and 5 2.

⁹ Cant. 1 3^b; cf. also Cant. 3 10.

¹⁰ Cant. 4 7 and 6 9.

¹¹ Cant. 1 16 and 2 14^b.

yâ mâhlâk ya hîlu lâmman tîntîrih¹ la-n-nôm . . .
 tiswâdd 'êni u min tâht itbân li
 yâ a'âzz min nûr 'êni,² fên kûnt il-yôm?
 ilak warttên ya hîlu w-int šâhi, w-ârb'a la-n-nôm.³
 'âla šart, ya jamîl, marîlak bayâd bâṭni:—⁴
 yînzal 'alêk in-nâda,⁵ tiskar talatîn yôm . . .⁶

She complains and says:—"O, you, who have denied sleep to my eyelids.
 Because of my love for you, fair one, I've embroidered your name on
 handkerchiefs.

All the pretty girls assured me that you are sweet, but cruel—
 How fair are you, sweet one, when you are stretched in sleep . . .!
 My eye darkens and beneath you appear to me;
 O, you, who are dearer than the light of my eyes, where have you been
 to-day?

You have two roses when you are awake, and four when sleeping—
 On condition, O fair one, that I do not show you the whiteness of
 my belly—

(Otherwise) the dew would fall on you and you would be drunk for
 thirty days."

¹ This word is classical and is not used elsewhere. It stands for the colloquial *titmâddad* تتمدد or *tittl'ah* تتلفح. — Cant. 7 7.

² Cf. Psalm 17 8.

³ A similar passage is the following:—

ḥabîbi 'a-l-'ên gâ'yîb
 w-âna 'âlbi 'alêh dâ'yîb
 ya rûbbi tǝjîbo w-ašâhîd
 wârd ḥâddo w-il-yâsimîn . . .

حبيبي ع العين غايب
 وأنا قلبي عليه ذايب
 يا ربي تتجيبه واشاهد
 ورد خده والياسمين

My beloved is absent at the well

And my heart melts for him.

O God, I beg Thee to bring him to me,

That I may see the roses of his cheek and the jasmine (of his face).

Cant. 6 12 and 6 7.

⁴ Cant. 5 14. According to the above cited book of Preuss, *Biblisch-talmudische Medizin*, the rabbis interdicted the coitus nudus, and this is where Mohammedan tradition follows them.

⁵ Cant. 5 2. Cf. also Daniel 4 22-30 for Nebuchadnezzar's disease; the dew is believed to be harmful to the eyes.

⁶ This is a so-called *mauwâl maşri*. Metre and rhyme are deliberate. See note to the *palaest. Diwan* of Professor Dalman. During the winter season 1920, 21 the "actress" Frôssô sang this *mauwâl* in the *variété cafés* of Jerusalem.

XIX

1	yâ gâwye šambarik mâl ¹ yâ šaḥbi fi šāfa l-gôr ³	w-il -ḥadd bayyan ḥamāra . . . ³ nimši 'āla ḍau nārha.
2	rāsha ḥammās ⁴ w-iš-šā'ir bisbās ⁶	rābi fi Tōbāš ⁵ jadāilo ragāyib. ⁷
3	šid(i)rha ha-l-lôḥ w-il-gāl(i)b majrûḥ	ḥallāni anûḥ biddi-le ṭabīb. ⁸
4	bāt(i)nha hallās ⁹ là trāfignāš	yâ ṭayy l-igmāš w-aḥirtak (i)tīb.
5	ḥaš(i)rha n-naḥil ¹⁰ là trāfignās	yâ šallit ḥarir w-aḥirtak (i)tmil.
6	ḥaš(i)rha n-naḥil là trāfignāš	yâ 'ūd in-naḥil ¹¹ w-aḥirtak (i)tmil.
7	tūmmha l-miltāmm ¹² u mātā bniltāmm	zād il-gāl(i)b ḥamm 'a-frāš il-ḥabīb? ¹³

¹ This song is a *māḥa*. On the different forms of song cf. Dalman's preface to his excellent *palaestinscher Diwan*.

² Literally, Your cheek has shown its ruddiness, flush. Cant. 6 6; 4 3^b.

³ *Šāfa*: the brink; They would then be walking by night. This verse ends with the exclamation *yâ wāw*!

⁴ The meaning of *ḥammās* is uncertain. *Muḥit il-Muḥit* does not explain it. I could not get the exact rendering.—Cant. 7 6.

⁵ Tōbāš is a village in the Nāblus district. Another village of the same name is said to exist in the Jebel Ḥaurān, but I could not find it on the available maps of Palestine.

⁶ *Bisbās* seems to mean hanging down nicely (?).

⁷ *Jdāilo ragāyib* is a curious expression, which stands for "attractive curls," Cant. 4 3 and 6 4.

⁸ Cant. 2 5 and 5 8.

⁹ Cant. 7 2.

¹⁰ Cant. 7 1.

¹¹ Cant. 7 7 and 5 14.

¹² Cf. also the song No. 16.

¹³ Cant. 3 4 and 8 2.

8 šuftha ya-hûi
w-il-asâwir¹ fi-l(i)šmâl

tì'jin fi-l'ajîn
u fi l-yamîn . . .²

O bewitching one, your "mutch" moved,
 And the red colour of your cheek has appeared...
 O my friend, on the remotest edge of the Jordan valley
 We may (safely) walk by the light of her fire...

2 Her head is pentagonal—
 She grew up in Tobas,
 And her hair hangs down,
 Its locks are worth having(?)

3 Her broad chest
 Caused me to weep,
And the heart is sick
 And requires a physician.

4 Her belly is soft
 Like a fold of cloth.
 “Do not follow us—
 You will be disgraced in the end . . .”

5 Her slender hip
 Is like a bunch of silk.
"Do not follow us—
 In the long run you will stumble . . ."

6 Her slim leg
 Is like the stem of the palm tree.
 "Do not follow us—
 In the end you will fall . . ."

¹ Cant. 7 2.

² The provenance of this song is the neighbourhood of et-Tayyibe and northwards. The dialect is peasant and in several passages rather hard to render exactly.

Verse one is the refrain. Its metre is:

The general metre for verses two — seven is: $\left\{ \begin{array}{cccc} - & \cup & \cup & - \\ \cup & - & \cup & \cup & - \end{array} \right| \begin{array}{cccc} \cup & - & \cup & \cup & - \\ \cup & - & \cup & \cup & - \end{array}$

Note the division of the verse; the first three stanzas rhyme.

7

Her small mouth

Has added to the sorrows of the heart.

When shall we meet

On the beloved's bed?

8

I saw her kneading the dough, O brother,

And the arm rings were on both the right and left hand...

XX

. myn sÿhr 'ynêk arûh fên yâ wà'di?^{1 2}yâ-lli kawêtni,³ yâ sâbab wà'di...in jùtt bi-l-wašl tib'a sâbab sà'di⁴àfraḥ w-a'ûl:—"ḥubbi mhannini"⁵ya ma sabêṭ⁶ nâs myn 'âbli u min bà'di...⁷

Variant:

myn sÿhr ynêk âna arûh fên, ya wà'di?

w-ašbâḥt myn nâr ġarâmak mübtala u wâḥdi.

lô zûrtani fard lêle yâ kamâl sà'di

àfraḥ w-akid il-'azûl:—"ḥubbi mhannini"

yâ ma sabêṭ (y)'ûl innâs myn 'âbli u min bà'di.

Where shall I flee from the spell of your eyes—alas.

You, whose love has burnt me, O cause of my felicity.

If you'll bestow your charms on me, you'll be the cause of my happiness;

I shall rejoice and say: "My beloved regales me."—

Oh, how many people before me and since have you taken captive.

Variant:

Where shall I flee from the spell of your eyes—alas.

Since I have become afflicted by the fire of your love, I am alone.

If you should visit me one night, O perfection of my happiness,

I would rejoice and mortify the envious (saying:—) "My friend regales me."

Oh, how often did you captivate the minds of men,—before me and since.—

¹ This version and another one I know in Jerusalem. I have heard a third one from Miss M. N., Nazareth.

² The first stanza reminds one vividly of Psalm 139 7.

³ Cant. 4 9.

⁴ *Sabab sà'di* سبب سعدي. Cf. *causa nostrae laetitiae* in *Litania Beatae Mariae Virginis*.

⁵ *Hanna'a* هَنَا (lit. he lets me enjoy [life] fully, Cant. 2 6).

⁶ *Sabêṭ* سبيت. Cf. Proverbs 7 26.

⁷ The metre does not differ from that of the usual *mauwâl*.

XXI

- 1 w-àna nâzil 'a-l-wâdi w-is-sâ'a tintên¹
 la'âni l-maḥbûb 'abbâlni² bawwâsni l-ḥaddên.
- 2 w-àna nâzil 'a-l-wâdi w-id-dinya šita
 la'âni l-maḥbûb ya 'êni lâffni b-'abâto . . .^{3 4}

- 1 As I was descending to the valley At two o'clock,
 There met me the beloved, kissed me, And let me kiss his cheeks.
- 2 As I was descending to the valley In the rain,
 My beloved met me (oh my eye!) And wrapped me in his mantle...

XXII

- 1 sâfar il-maḥbûb, ma rêtiḥ⁵ ya 'ên?
 šâga-llâh⁶ 'a-l-iyyâm illi maḍên.⁷
- 2 šufto lâbis iṣ-šambar,⁸ zêno 'amar⁹
 šibh il-ḡazâl¹⁰ mšawwar,¹¹ kaḥîl il-'ên.¹²

¹ The time is two hours after sunrise.

² 'Abbâlni قَبْلِي stands for the original exclamation *yâ'êni* يَا عَيْنِي.

³ Cf. Ruth 3 9. Are these not parallels to Ezekiel 16 8, where we read: et expandi amictum meum super te, et *operui ignominiam tuam*? As the prophet was a captive in Mesopotamia, Ezech. 1 3, he may have taken this allegory from daily life there. In 1915 I was unwillingly witness of an incident which illustrates this passage. There was a man, some twenty yards off the road from Bagdâd to Mo'azzam المعظم - بغداد who, between 8 and 9 A. M., in broad daylight expandit amiculum ('*abâye* عباية) suum super puellam.

⁴ The second part of the verse is repeated when sung. The metre is (verse 2):

$$\begin{array}{cccccccc|cccc} \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & || & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup \\ \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup \end{array}$$

⁵ The classical form of it is *ra'aitih* رَأَيْتِيه; Cant. 3 3.

⁶ Lit., drench (sc. with blessings). This is also a classical expression.

⁷ *Mâḍa* مَضَى pass away, go.

⁸ The *šambar* is used only for covering the head, cf. song no. 19, line 1.

⁹ His smells are aromatic; cf. Song 36.—Cant. 4 13 seq.

¹⁰ Classical; cf. Cant. 1 9 and 1 17.

¹¹ *Mšawwar* مَسْوُور formed, lit. painted, formed, Cant. 8 14. This same word is used to translate the passage Isaiah 53 2: He has no form nor comeliness. لا صورة له ولا جمال. Cf. first stanza of song 3.

¹² Cf. the song no. 12, first stanza.

- 3 šufto lâbis il-magta'¹ zêno bilma',
 šibh il-gâmar yitša'sa',² ma' nijimtên
- 4 šufto mhâwwid³ 'a-ido, m-âhla hâddo,
 m-âhla n-nôme 'a-hâddo sâne u šahrên...^{4 5}
- 1 My beloved went away—haven't you seen him, O eye?
 May God bless the days which passed (sc. in his company).
- 2 I saw him wearing fine linen; his beauty is like amber.
 He is like the gazelle in form, eyes painted with kohl (stibium).
- 3 I saw him wearing new coloured linen; his beauty sparkles.
 He gleams like the moon between two stars.
- 4 I saw him resting with his cheek on his hand—how sweet is his cheek!
 How sweet is sleep on his cheek for a year and two months!...

XXIII

- 1 'a-s-sabât,⁶ 'a-s-sabât⁷ țâr il- 'izz u-mârr u-fât.⁸
 2 'a-s-sabât (u) yâ 'ayyûš⁹ yâ-mm il-idrâ' il-mangûš¹⁰
 3 huḍilik dâhab wi-grûš l-âgḍi (niḡḍi) lâki ha-l-hâjât.

¹ Lit., the cloth before being cut for the trousseau. Here are meant brand new clothes. Bridal clothes were in bygone years made of a good sort of raw silk حريز الملك *harîr il-mêlek*. (Yusif D.)

² Cf. Cant. 6⁹ and cf. Notes to Cant.

³ Classical form derived from *hwd* هود go down, lean down.

⁴ This means a long period. Cf. also the forty days of the holy men in the Bible (Jesus, Moses, Elijah).

⁵ This song is recited at the popular festival gatherings of the peasants to the *dabče* (*dabke*) دبكه a native trotting dance.

The language is *fellâhi* and very much like classical Arabic. The metre is composite:

Line 1: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ — — ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘

Line 2: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ — — ˘ ˘ ˘ — || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ — — ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘

Dr. Wetzstein (*Die syrische Dreschtafel*) states that the *dabke* has nearly always the metre of the Andalusian ode, viz, two trocheao-spondee stanzas followed by a creticus. This song comes from north of Ramallah.

⁶ This is a Beduin song. The verse is sung by one, and repeated by a chorus. I learned it during my stay at Bir Sâlim (1903) from Beduin of Šarafand el-Ḥarâb. Verse 1 is the *maradd* (refrain).

⁷ Cant. 1 16.

[⁸ For the idiom cf. Cant. 2 11: חלף חלף לו — W. F. A.]

⁹ See p. 203, n. 2.

¹⁰ *Mangûš* منقوش tattooed.

- 4 'a-s-sabât (u) ya Mariûm^{1 2} yâ-mm il-idrâ' il-mabrûm
 5 tlagîni tâht il-(i)-krûm³ l-âgđi lâki ha-l-hâjât.
 6 'a-s-sabât (u) yâ zêne² mitlik ma šâfat 'êni⁴
 7 w-âlla l-aḥṭṭik bi-ḥđeni⁵ w-aḥlif 'annik la-l-mamât . . .

- 1 Come and sleep! Come and sleep! The splendour has fled, has passed
 away and gone!
 2 Come, O Ayyuš, and sleep, O you with the tattooed arm.
 3 Take gold and (silver) piasters That I may do something for you.
 4 Come and sleep, O little Mary, Oh you with the well-turned arm.
 5 If you meet me below the vineyards I may do something for you.
 6 Come to sleep, O fair one! My eye never saw one like you!
 7 By God, I'll place you in my bosom And I'll be true to you till death!

XXIV

- 1 yâ 'ên ibči⁶ 'âla-lli bi-l-hây waḥdân⁷
 2 lô'et el-bên bi-l-iwwal u-bi-t-tâni⁸
 3 'aḡđet 'âla šift il-maḥbûb. Bi-lsâni⁹
 4 bizz il 'âsal¹⁰ yâ jamil wi-šribt (i) ḥfâni¹¹
 5 yâ 'ên kûni 'alâyya min iṣ-šuhhâd¹²
 6 l-ârja' bi-l-widâd tâni . . .¹³

¹ A rare form of *Mariam*, to rhyme with *mabrûm* مبروم.

² See p. 203, n. 2.

³ Cant. 1 6.

⁴ Cant. 1 8; 1 15; 5 9; 6 1.

⁵ Cant. 2 6.

⁶ He laments his own hard luck.

⁷ *Waḥdân* وحدان lonely stands for *lawâḥde* لوحدة.

⁸ *Bi-l-iwwal u bi-t-tâni* بالاول وبالثاني without end.

⁹ In verses 3 and 4 he recollects the happy hours spent in her company.

¹⁰ Cant. 1 2 (vulgata).

¹¹ See stanza 3 of no. 51.

¹² The usual plural form is *šâhdîn* شاعدين or better *š(u)hûd* شهود.

¹³ A *mauwâl* is *maşri* مصري موال with five lines, of which line one, two, three and five will rhyme, or *mauwâl Baġdâdi* بغدادي موال with 7 lines, where lines 1, 2, 3, 7 on the one hand and 4, 5, and 6 on the other will rhyme. It is preferred to use one and the same word (with other meanings) to rhyme. The *mauwâl* is nearer to the classical poetry than any other sort of songs. It has 5 beats generally and is more common in towns than elsewhere. Usually it consists of a single verse.

- 1 Weep, O my eye, over one who is lonely in the encampment!
- 2 The pangs of separation are both first and second (sc. in my heart).
- 3 I bit the lip of the beloved. At my tongue was the breast of honey,
- 4 O fair one, and I drank in deep draughts.
- 5 Bear witness, O eye (spring, well) to my vow,
- 6 That I will return again to love...

XXV

- 1 'inêki -s-sûd sâgu l-mûbtali, sâgu.^{1 2}
- 2 w-iḥdûdik il-ḥûmr juwwât il-gâdah râgu.³
- 3 âju bêt 'izzik lâ mabsamik dâgu⁴
- 4 bâtu sakâra⁵ la-nûṣṣ il-lêl ta fâgu...

- 1 Your black eyes led the afflicted, they led (him).
- 2 And your red cheeks shone in the wine glass.
- 3 They came to your proud house (O fair one) but they did not taste your mouth,
- 4 (And even so) they spent the night drunk and did not awake until midnight...

XXVI

- 1 ṭil' il-'âmar w-i'tâla⁶ min yammikum⁷ ṣâḥibi⁸
- 2 milla ḥawâjib u jôz (i)'yûn⁹ ilak ṣâḥibi⁸
- 3 tîfdâk rôḥi l-'azîza in 'ûlta li ṣâḥibi⁸
- 4 mâlak matîlin¹⁰ bën ahl il-hâwa¹¹ mâlak
- 5 ya nâḥlitin (i)b-gûš(u)n¹² küllma ḥabb il-hâwa mâlak
- 6 lâni ṭam'ân wâla 'êni 'âla mâlak:
- 7 rittak aḥûy 'âla ṭûl il-mâda¹³ ṣâḥibi.⁸

¹ This is a *mauwâl*. Heard from Miss M. N., Nazareth.

² Cant. 4 9.

³ Cant. 4 3^b.

⁴ *mabsam* مَبْسَم laughing party. Cant. 2 3^b.

⁵ Cant. 5 1.

⁶ This is a so-called *mauwâl Baḡdâdi*.

⁷ *yammikum* يَمْكُم stands here for 'indikum and is colloquial; it has nothing to do with the classical *yamm* يَم the sea. Does it stand for *jambikum*?

⁸ Cant. 5 9 and 8 7^b.

⁹ Cant. 5 12 and 1 15.

¹⁰ *matîl* مَتِيل plus nunation.

¹¹ Cant. 1 4^b; 5 1; 6 1.

¹² Cant. 7 8.

¹³ Cant. 8 1.

- 1 Lo, the moon has risen from your side and is getting high, my friend!
 2 How wonderful are your brows and pair of eyes, my friend!
 3 May my dear soul be sacrificed on your behalf, if you so order me, my friend!
 4 You have no equal among the lovers, no, you have none!
 5 O slender palm tree with a bough, moved by every breeze,
 6 I am not covetous, nor have I cast my eye on your riches;
 7 I only wish you to be my brother for ever and ever, my friend!

XXVII

- 1 ya mâma šûfi-l-kanâri w-il-ʿasal min tûmmo jâri¹
 2 âhi yûmma šûfi tûlo² w-iş-şabâya zağratûlo.³

- 1 Look, O mother at the canary — How the honey flows from his mouth!
 2 O, mother, look at his tall stature— And (so) the virgins have sung him.

XXVIII

- 1 Yâ zên,⁴ yâ-bu hōra⁵ hâddak kâma⁶-l-ballōra
 2 maḥabbatak fi glēbi⁷ bāḥṣat u ʿimlat jōra . . .

- 1 O fair one, like a poplar tree, Your cheek is like crystal;
 2 Your love has probed in my heart And made (there) a pit . . .

XXIX

- 1 mâ bēn āsmar w-ābyaḍ ḍayyāt āna ʿumri.
 2 w-il-biḍ sūkkar (i) mkārrar bi-l-ḥarir malfūfa
 3 w-is-sūmr ʿutr il-ganâhi il-l-ʿalil mauşūfa.⁸

¹ Cant. 4 11.² Cant. 7 8.

³ Cant. 1 3^b. A parallel from 'a-r-rôzana عَ الرُوزَنَة
 . . . w-aʿlīb šabb (y)hlēwa واقلب شب حليوة
 kull il-banât tyʿšâni كل البنات تعشقني

And I'll become a smart young man, and all the girls will love me.

The metre is: ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — | ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ —
 ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — | ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ —

⁴ This is a *dabke* which I have known since 1903.⁵ Cant. 7 8 and 4 15.⁶ *Kama* كما is the class. form of *zei*, *mitl*. Cf. note 11, p. 231.

⁷ *Glēbi* غلبي is the diminutive of *galbi* قلبي my heart — song 14, line 3 and 6.
 A similar parallel from north of Ramallah, also part of a *šāḥje* سحجة is
 yâ bu jidile mantâra يابو جديله منتورة
 ḥakyak dalâl u ġānlara حكيك دلال وعندرة

O you with the loosened braid, your speech is coquetry and prattle.—Cant. 2 14.

⁸ This *mauwâl* is one of a host dealing with the complexion of the girls.

- 1 Between the brown and the white (sc. girls) I wasted my life.
- 2 The white ones are twice refined sugar, wrapped in silk,
- 3 And the brown ones are perfume of crystal vases, prescribed for the sick.

XXX

il būlbul nāga 'ala ġusn il-fill¹

àh, ya ša'i' in-ny'mâni...²

'aṣḍi alāflyf maḥbûbi,³

bên il-yasmin w-ir-riḥâni.⁴

ya mâma âna mardâne⁵

biddi ḥakîm i(y)dawîni⁶

dâwa l-ḥakîm mâ bynfâ'si

šôfit ḥabîbi btikfini.⁷

ḥabîbi âja la'yndi⁸

ya nâs, nayyâmtô 'âla zÿndi⁹

w-il-wârdi fâttaḥ b-il-wajanât¹⁰

w-il-miski fâyeḥ, yâ wâ'di.^{11 12}

The nightingale warbled on the jasmine bough—

O anemone...

I would like to embrace my beloved

Between the jasmine and the basil herb.

O mother, I am sick,

I need a physician to treat me.

¹ *Fill* (better *fyll*) فُل *nycanthem zambac*.

² *Anemone nemorosa*, or simply *ḥammûn* حنون.

³ Cant. 6 1.

⁴ *Jasminum officinale* and *ocimum basilicum*.

⁵ Cant. 5 8.

⁶ See song no. 19, verse 3.

⁷ See verse 2, song 14.

⁸ Cant. 5 2.

⁹ See p. 237, n. 1.

¹⁰ See song no. 18, line 8.

¹¹ Cant. 1 12.

¹² The metre is:—

Verse 2: ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — || ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ —
◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — || ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ —

But the physician's medicine is of little avail with me,
Since the look of my beloved would suffice (to heal) me.

My beloved came to me,
O ye people, and I let him sleep on my wrist.
And the roses budded (then) on the cheeks,
While the musk gave forth its odour, O joy!

XXXI

1	yâ bâhr mâ bânzalak	sâfar ḥabîbi fik
2	yâ wârd mâ bâṭufak	ḥumrit (i)ḥdûdo fik
3	yâ kūhl mâ bâṣḥanak	sawâd (i)'yûno fik
4	yâ fârš mâ bâ'rabak	âfša (i)nhûdo fik . . . ¹

- 1 I'll not fare on you, O sea, For my beloved made a journey on you.
2 I'll not pluck you, O rose, Bloom of his cheek is in you.
3 I'll not grind you, kohl (stibium), The dark of his eyes is in you.
4 I'll not approach you, O bed, For in you he has showed his breasts...

XXXII

1	hayyamàtni, hayyamàtni,	'an siwâha ašgalàtni ²
2	lèitani mâ rūḥtu ma'ḥa:	kuntu šâyim faṭṭaràtni . . . ³

- 1 She distracted me, yes, she distracted me,
 And drew me from everything, save from herself.
2 O, had I only not gone with her—
 I was fasting and she made me break the fast . . .³

XXXIII

1	gûmi, tjàlli ⁴ yâ bint amîr il-'arab ⁵
2	w-in kân 'alêki 'atab, niḥna 'alêna l-'atab.

¹ This is a portion of a lengthy poem: *makkâr* (or *ya zên*) *ya bû-z-zûluf* مكار (يا زين) يا بؤ الزلف You sly (fair) one, with locks on the temples.

² Cant. 49.

³ Variant: *aḥdit 'a'li dàššaràtni* احدثت عقلي دشرتني she deprived me of my reason and left me. Sexual intercourse breaks the fast in Ramaḍân.

⁴ *Tjalli* تجلى, make the *jalwe* جلوة.

⁵ For *bint amîr il-'arab* cf. Cant. 7 2 and Psalm 45 4.

XXXV

- 1 gûmi, tjalli u-halli ha-la'âdi tmût¹
 2 yâ sąjrit il-mistka² wi-gšûnha yagût.³
 3 niĥn min bêṭ ṭayyib⁴ w-aṣ(i)lna maṭbût,
 4 w-ijḏûdna fi-l-magâbir tiṣâhil it-tâbût...⁵

- 1 Rise, adorn yourself, and let the enemies die (sc. burst with annoyance),
 2 O mastic tree with the ruby boughs!
 3 We come from a noble house and our origin is sure,
 4 And our ancestors in the graveyards are worth their coffin...

XXXVI

- 1 ḥaddak u-naddak⁶ u dôrt wijhak il-wâsi'
 2 w-imḥabbidak bi-glêbi 'agrab il-lâsi'
 3 lâu ṣawwamûni ṭaman-t- iyyâm u tâsi'
 4 l-ḥrib (i)mdinet ḥalab⁷ w-âskun sidrak il-wâsi'.⁸

- 1 Your cheek, your odours and the round shape of your broad face—
 2 And your love in my heart is a stinging scorpion.
 3 If they compelled me to fast eight days or even nine,
 4 I'd destroy the town of Aleppo and dwell on your wide breast.

XXXVII

- 1 ṭulak^{9 10} ḥaṣab zân¹¹ wi-grûnak¹² ḥbâl il-bêt^{13 14}
 2 w-int azhêt¹⁵ il-'arab, kin¹⁶ ruḥt w-illa jêt.¹⁷

¹ This is a *zaḡrûta* from Galilee. (Miss M. N.)

² *Sâjrit il-mistka* (*pistacia lentiscus*) is taken over from the Arabian Nights (story of Aladdin and his lamp).

³ Cant. 7 s.

⁴ Cant. 7 i.

⁵ The *tâbût* تابوت coffin, is used only for Christian burials.

⁶ *Naddak* نذك could be explained as "your odours" (lit. your ambergris), but it seems rather to be a senseless word rhyming on the preceding one.

⁷ It would be more to the point if he stated: *gal'it ḥalab* قلعة حلب the citadel of Aleppo.

⁸ Heard in Jerusalem, in the district north of Ramallah, and from Miss M. N., Nazareth.

⁹ This song is a *saḥje* from the district north of Jerusalem.

¹⁰ See note 1 to song no. 3. She is addressed.

¹¹ Cant. 5 15^b.

¹² *Grûn* قرون "horns."

¹³ *Bêt iš-ša'r* بيت الشعر camel's hair tent, or goat's hair tent.

¹⁴ This is a parallel to Cant. 7 s.

¹⁵ *Âzha*, lit., "flourish," here in its transitive sense also.

¹⁶ *Kin*, *ċin* stands for *in kân* ان كان—Variant *lyn* = *lau in*.

¹⁷ *Jêt* is corrupt for *âjêt* اجيت classical *ji'ta* or *ataita*.

- 3 yâ-bu nagâriš,¹ yâ-bu jùbbe hâdra,²
 4 jarâhtni jûrh, tûl il-‘ûmr mâ yibra.
 5 w-il-hîdb w-il-‘ên sârighin³ min il-‘guzlân
 6 w-il-bâtn bâtn -il-‘âsûf,⁴ id-‘dâmir,⁵ il-‘aţšan.
 7 yâ-bu⁶-š-šanâyib⁷ dâhab⁸ l-il-i’lâliye⁹
 8 ‘addabt gâlbi, yâ-bu dâgga šmâliya.¹⁰
 9 yâ ‘işbit¹¹ il-‘âmbar¹² min hîzigha mâlat,
 10 mâ hallha illa iymînak min kâribha šâlat.
 11 ġârbi bêt il-amîr mhêra¹³ ġirra¹⁴
 12 mšânšile b-id-‘dâhab¹⁵ mâ tinṭili¹⁶ bârra.

- 1 Your height is that of the teak log, and your side-locks are like tent-ropes.
 2 And it is you, who make the Arabs rejoice, whether you go or come...
 3 O you with the embroidery and the green coat,
 4 You have given me a wound which throughout life will not heal.
 5 Your eyelashes and your eyes you have stolen from the gazelle,
 6 And your belly is that of a noble she-camel, when she is thirsty.
 7 O you with the mustache who went upstairs to the loft, [solarium]
 8 You tortured my heart, O you with the tattoo on your cheek.
 9 Oh, the amber fillet has slipped because it was too tight,
 10 Only your right hand unloosed it, its tightness made it slip up.
 11 West of the emir's house is a young filly,
 12 With golden hangings—she does not come out...

¹ I could not get the singular for this word, so I take it to be *nagš*.

² The green colour is preferred, because it is at the same time the colour of the prophet's standard.

³ Lit., you stole them (fem.).

⁴ ‘*Āsûf* عاسوف is “riding camel.”

⁵ *Dâmir* ضامر with slender hips; cf. song 53.

⁶ Now she addresses him.

⁷ *Šânab* شنب is the singular form. The form *šanâyib* شنایب seems to have been influenced by the plural of the more common word *šârib* شارن *šawârîb* شوارب.

⁸ *Dâhab* is the classical equivalent of *râh* راح.

⁹ ‘*ulliyje* is the *solarium* of the Romans.

¹⁰ This is a tattoo mark like a freckle, and is considered to be very attractive.

¹¹ Cf. Esther 6 8.

¹² Cant. 4 11.

¹³ Cant. 1 9.

¹⁴ *Ġirr* غر young, unexperienced.—Cant. 8 5.

¹⁵ Cant. 1 11.

¹⁶ *Bṭinṭili* بتنطلع is one of the rare colloquial Palestinian Arabic words which form a passive, whereas passives are the rule in the Mesopotamian vernacular.

XXXVIII

- 1 Yâ tûlak tûl 'ûd il-gàna w-il 'ûng mâyl mël^{1 2}
 2 w-il -hàs(i)r min riggito hadd il-gûwa w-il-ḥêl.
 3 ya nâyimîn id-dâḥa³ (i)tnabbahu bi-l-lêl
 4 hâdi l-'arûs il-'âmbara w-illi 'alêha l-'ên.⁴

- 1 O you, whose height is that of the lance, your neck is bent,
 2 And your hip, by its slenderness, has caused the loss of all (my) strength.
 3 O you, who sleep in the fore-noon, watch in the night —
 4 This is the bride, the amber one, on whom each eye is cast . . .

XXXIX

- 1 Ya ḥabbîl il-binn Âlla w-in-nâbi ḥabbik⁵
 2 fî blâd il-yâman⁶ ma yizra'u ḥabbik.
 3 l-aṣîr darwîš w-adârwiš 'âla ḥubbik⁷
 4 yihdik sabil il-šâfik wâla ḥabbik . . .⁸

- 1 God and the Prophet loved you, O coffee-bean,
 2 Even in Yemen they do not plant a bean like you.
 3 I'll become a dervish and lead an ascetic lip for your love's sake—
 4 Confound the one who saw you and did not love you.

XL

- 1 yâ râyiḥ šmâl u bâss gûllo
 2 u sâllim 'al-ḥabîb u bâss gûllo⁹

¹ For the metre cf. note on no. 42.

² The bent neck and the slender hip make the figure more attractive.

³ Cf. *ḥneḏyyina* song no. 8, note 3.

⁴ Heard in Jerusalem (M. T.) and also from Miss M. N., Nazareth.

⁵ This is a Mohammedan stanza. As the prepared coffee bean is brown, a girl of dark complexion is likened to it.—Cant. 1 5.

⁶ Yemen is Arabia Felix.

⁷ The Mohammedan *derwîš* درویش is often married, since celibacy is not a *conditio sine qua non* for his class. But the poet apparently likes the rôle of Schiller's *Ritter Toggenburg*.

⁸ The source of the song is Galilee. (Miss M. N.)

⁹ This form of imploring is used in Cant. 5 s^b. The song is from the north of Jerusalem. [N. H. S.]

- 3 wlîfak¹ mâ iynâm il-lêl kullo
4 iysâhir bi-l-gâmar² hîn il-ġiyâba . . .
5 anâm il-lêl 'êni ma tnâmi³
6 târa l-mau'ûd mâ yîrif iynâmi?
7 farâšna l-fârš hayyêna l-manâmi⁴
8 šâḥ id-dik mâ šufna l-ḥabâba . . .^{5 6}

- 1 O wanderer northwards, only tell him,
2 Greet the beloved and only tell him:
3 "Your playmate lies awake the whole night,
4 He watches with the setting moon."
5 Though I sleep at night my eye is awake;
6 Can the promised one not sleep?
7 We spread the couch and prepared the bed,
8 The cock crowed, yet we have not seen our beloved.

XLI

- 1 gaḏḏêt -il-lêl a'idd in-njûm waḥḏâi⁷
2 w-agallib fi-n-nhûd il-biḏ wiḥḏâi⁸
3 banât il- 'amm fihin kull waḥḏâi⁹
4 tirmi -t-ṭêr min tâsi' sâma¹⁰—ba¹¹


¹ The root of *w(u)lîf* وليف is *alf* الف.


² *Iysâhir bil-gômar* يساهر بالقمر or *ġishar mû' il-gamar* يسهر مع القمر, the waning moon, which rises late. Cant. 3 1^a and 5 2^a.

³ This admits of two meanings, so that it might be considered either as a bare statement or an imperative.—Cant. 3 1^a.

⁴ Cant. 1 16.

⁵ Cf. Mark. 13 35; John 13 38; Matth. 26 34 and 75.

⁶ Metre: Verse 1: 

Verse 2: 

⁷ *Waḥḏâi*, inserted for the sake of the metre and the rhyme, stands for *waḥḏi*.

⁸ *Wiḥḏâi* is the *Fellâḥ* form of the classical *hiḏā'i*: beside me.—Cant. 5 2.

⁹ *Waḥḏâi* stands here poetically for *wâḥde*, "sole, single," fem. This form is used in the Mesopotamian dialect.

¹⁰ This expression ought to be *sâbi' sâma*, as according to Mohammedan tradition there are seven heavens.

¹¹ All *'atâba* verses end with the syllable *ba* (or *âba*), the accentuation being on the penult regardless of the general rule.

- 5 ʿala nàhr-iş-şâfa wîrdat ḥalîme
 6 jadâyil sûd w-arḥàthin ḥalîme¹
 7 rûḥin, yâ biḍ, ma-ntinniş ḡanîme¹
 8 tà'in yâ sûmr,² yâ izz -iş-şahâba.
 9 naşâme-l-biḍ ṭa'màtni m'allil³
 10 u-wijhin ka-l-bàdr yidwi ma' il-lêl⁴
 11 ʿala frâghin il-jism šâr m'allal⁵
 12 ṭarîḥ il-fârş min yàmm-iş-şahâba.^{6 7}

- 1 I spent the night counting the stars alone,
 2 And embracing the white breasts beside me.
 3 O my cousins—each one of them
 4 Strikes a bird from the ninth heaven (with her glance)!
 5 To the clear spring Halime went for water.
 6 Her black locks—she let them hang loose.
 7 Away with you, O white ones, for you are not worth getting!
 8 Come, you brown ones, O best of friends!
 9 The fairest of white ones flattered me with vain hopes.
 10 Their face is as the full moon, which shines at night.
 11 When they left my body withered away,
 12 Confined to bed—by my great love for my friends.

¹ Cant. 6 4.

² Cant. 1 5.

³ This is in the plural.

⁴ Cant. 6 10.

⁵ Cant. 5 8 and 2 5.

⁶ 'Atâba verses are *par excellence* the product of the country. The provenance of these verses is the district north of Ramallah.

⁷ The metre differs with nearly every verse given in this paper. We may scan it thus:—

Verse 1: ○ — ○ — ○ — ○ — ○ — | ○ — ○ — ○ — ○ — ○ —
 ○ — ○ — — ○ — — ○ — | — — — — — — — —

Verse 2: — — — — — — — — — — | ○ — — — — — — — —
 — — — — — — — — — — | — — — — — — — —

Verse 3: ○ — — — — — — — — | ○ — — — — — — — —
 — — — — — — — — — — | ○ — — — — — — — —

- 3 I adjure you by the prophet, O well, did they not come?
 4 Did not the cattle of my friends come to water?"
- 5 The dove cried out and said: "I come to you,
 6 At midnight I came to you, O my beloved.
 7 I thought there were torches at the door of your house,
 8 But lo, your cheeks were turned toward me."...

XLIII

- 1 jàmb id-dâr l-azrà' lak lemûne
 2 kùll in-nâs 'âla ħubbak lâmûni
 3 sâne u šahrên¹ lâ kiswe wâla mûne:—
 4 ašâhdak bâs-šubḥ u mâsa... ba.
- 1 Near the house I shall plant a lemon tree for you.
 2 Everbody has blamed me for my love of you;
 3 (I have been) a year and two months without clothes or food,
 4 (Living) only by seeing you morning and evening.

XLIV

- 1 gaṭà't (i) jbâl mâ fiha d(u)rûbi²
 2 w-imšît il-lêl w-âhli ma d(i)ru bî
 3 w-âna lau âdri l-manâya fi d(u)rûbi³
 4 gaḇl ma-mšît waddà't il-ḥabâba...⁴
- 1 I crossed mountains, where there were no paths,
 2 I wandered all the night and my relatives did not know where I was.
 3 If I had known that death was in my path,
 4 Before departing, I would have bidden farewell to the beloved ones.

XLV

- 1 w-âna l-ašîḥ sôt "Allâhu âkbar"⁵
 2 'âla-lli nhûdha rummân u âkbar.

¹ *Sane u šahrên* سنه وشهرين is a long, unlimited period; cf. above, song. 8, 5; 22, 4; p. 226, n. 6.

² Cant. 2 s.

³ Cant. 4 s.

⁴ There are four variants to this song; this form comes from Tûl-karm.

⁵ *Allâh(u) âkbar* الله اكبر are the introductory words of the *adân* اذان, the call to prayer. They express also astonishment or admiration.

- 3 w-âna hâyif yijîni š-šêb u- âkbar¹
 4 u tikrah šôfti hîlwa l- 'îšâba.²

- 1 I'll cry out: "Great is God,"
 2 For her whose breasts are pomegranates and larger.
 3 But I fear that old age will befall me,
 4 Then she of the beautiful fillet will hate the sight of me.

XLVI

- 1 mârâg³ 'anni bitlâffat hawalêh
 2 biswa l-hôš⁴ w-in-nâzil hawalêh⁵
 3 kašâft iṣ-šidr⁶ u bân li hawalêh
 4 gâmar w-(i)njûm fi 'âl -is-sâma . . . ba.

- 1 He passed by me, turning his head on all sides;
 2 He is worth the house and everything around it.
 3 I uncovered his breast and there appeared around it
 4 The moon and the stars in the height of heaven.

XLVII

- 1 yâ tûlak tûl 'ûd iz-zân lâ mâl⁷
 2 u-šâ' rak gâlab il(i)jdâl lâ mâl⁸
 3 u-bâyyak,⁹ lâ ârḍa šîga¹⁰ wâlâ mâl
 4 u-kîf ir-râi 'indak w-il-jawâba?

- 1 O you, whose height is that of an unbending teak,
 2 Whose hair surpasses the stiffest braids in stiffness.
 3 By your father, I do not want bridal gift nor wealth,—
 4 What is your opinion and your answer?

¹ Old age is here personified; cf. Latin *senectus*. Is. 46 4.

² 'Îšâba عصابة poetical form for (y)'šbe عصبه; cf. song 37, line 9 and Est. 6 8.

³ Cf. song 3, line 4.

⁴ Hôš حوش answers here to the German "Haus und Hof".

⁵ In-nâzil hawalêh النازل حواليه, all (the property) stretching around it.—
 Cant. 6 9 10.

⁶ Šidr صدر is here and elsewhere pronounced like *sidr* سدر.

⁷ Cant. 5 15 and 7 8. Wâlâ mâl ولا مال and did not bend.

⁸ Cant. 6 4 and 6 6.

⁹ Bayyak بيك is diminutive of abâk أبوك.

¹⁰ Šîga صيغه is pronounced as *šîga* سيغه.

XLVIII

- 1 yâ tûlak tûl 'ûd iz- zân w-il- mês¹
 2 u hâddak² ma ribi bi-l-yâman w-il-gês³
 3 ḥsâra ya l-(i)mliha yôhdik tês⁴
 4 u yûgtuf ward hâddik 'a-n-nâda . . . ba⁵

- 1 O you, whose height is that of the teak and the tile tree,
 2 Your cheek did not grow among Yemen nor Qais.
 3 What a pity, O fair one, that a he-goat should marry you
 4 And pluck the rose of your cheek in the dew . . .

XLIX

- 1 yâ tûlak tûl nâhle⁶ fi sarâya⁷
 2 wi-hdûdak⁸ hûmr w-išfâfak tarâya
 3 min (i)štambûl l-ab'âtlak marâya⁹
 4 wi-tmâra u šûf,¹⁰ ya 'izz¹¹ il-habâba . . .

- 1 O you, whose height is that of a palm tree in a serail,
 2 Your cheeks are red and your lips are fresh.
 3 I'll send you mirrors from Constantinople,
 4 Look into the mirrors and gaze, O best-beloved.

¹ The Latin name for *mês* شجرة الميس is *celtis australis*.

² *Hâddak*, your cheek, is used here *pars pro toto*.—Cant. 1 18.

³ Qaisî and Yâmanî قيسي و يمنى are the two political parties in Palestine.
 Cf. the article of Mr. E. N. Haddad in the *Journal*, Vol. I., pp. 209 ff.

⁴ *Tês* تيس he-goat is the symbol of stupidity.

⁵ Cant. 6 1. Cf. the note to the text of Cant. 7 12. Cant. 7 12 is somewhat similar. The metre is:



⁶ Cant. 7 8.

⁷ *Sarâya*, سرايا, serai.

⁸ Cant. 6 6.

⁹ *Stambûl* is the Paris of the Orient. Variant: *u min iš-šam* . . . ومن الشام
 and from Damascus.

¹⁰ *Se*. your beauty.

¹¹ Or: O pride of the beloved.

L

- 1 anâm il-lêl w-âhlam bîk¹ b-hidwâi²
 2 ḥafîfîn, ḥaṭṭamat³ gđâmo bhidwâi²
 3 ḥakûli 'an ṭâ'm rîgo bî dwâi⁴
 4 širîb minno l-'alîl ṭumma ṭâba.

- 1 I sleep at night and dream of you, in peace,
 2 O light of foot, whose walk is graceful.
 3 They told me of the healing taste of his palate;—
 4 The patient drank of it and recovered . . .

LI

- 1 'a'tâba b-âwwal iz-zênât ḥuṭṭi⁵
 2 zabâd u nâdd 'al-garmûl ḥuṭṭi⁶
 3 (i) 'yûnik nâhr min ummo warâtto⁷
 4 u sidrik rôḍ⁸ min ṭâhto l-i'sâba . . .^{9 10}

- 1 Sing an 'atâba to the first of the fair;
 2 Put civet and ambergris on your braid.
 3 Your eyes are a river, from whose source I drew,
 4 And your breast is a garden, with herbs underneath . . .

¹ Cant. 3 1 (Psalm 63 6).

² Derived from class. *hudu* هـدو, an unusual form, here only for the rhyme.

³ *Ḥaṭṭam* حطـم walking mincingly, proudly.—Cant. 7 1.

راحت تتخطم هي وما هي وخت في القلب حربه مجليه
rahit tyttḥaṭṭam ḥiyye u-ma ḥiyye? u ḥallat fi-l-'alîb ḥârbe majliyye.

She went, walking mincingly, Is it really she, or is it not she?

And she left in my heart a bright spear.

⁴ Cant. 7 9. Cf. line 8 of song 32.

⁵ Cant. 5 9.

⁶ Cant. 3 6.

⁷ Cant. 5 12 (7 9).

⁸ Cant. 6 11.

⁹ This is a metaphor taken from the Koran: جنات تجري من تحتها الانهار.

¹⁰ Variant: *u-sidrik rôḍ marta' la-š-šabâba* وصدرك روض مرتع للشبابا
 Your breast is a garden and a grazing place for youths.

Variant for lines 3 and 4 (supposed to be said by "her"):

(i) 'yûni lak manâhîl lo warâtte عيوني لك مناهل لو وردته
u sidri rôḍ binbîtlak 'j'sâba. وصدري روض بينبت لك عشا با

My eyes are springs for you, if you come to drink.

And my breast is a garden, with herbs sprouting forth for you.—Cant. 8 2.

LII

- 1 jaràhni b-hidb (i)yûno w-il-(i)myâli¹
 2 bi-gâlbi la-ḥayyikum² zâdat imyâli.
 3 ḥabâbi, lêš ta-zittûni (i)myâli³
 4 bâ'd ma kûnt ašâḥḥ (i)mn il-gâna . . . ba?⁴

- 1 He wounded me with his eyelashes and kohl pencils . . .
 2 In my heart swells affection for your tent . . .
 3 O friends, why did you increase my affliction
 4 After being straighter than a lance?

LIII

- 1 mâ ḥilî-li gēr ṭûlha⁵ b-wašṭ⁶ ḍâmir
 2 bâḥlitna⁷ šibh il- 'ûd b-wašṭ⁶ ḍâmir.
 3 âna l-ârkab salâyl ḥêl ašâyil
 4 w-adâwwir⁸ 'â wlîfi⁹ fi-l-ḥâla¹⁰ . . . ba

- 1 I never admired anything like her form with a slender hip;
 2 She, who is chary of her charms, is slender as a bough.
 3 I'll ride on noble relay horses
 4 To search for my playmate in the desert . . .

LIV

- 1 Ḥabîbi¹¹ gâb¹²
 Wâna 'âlbi dâb¹³
 Ba'â lo zamân
 Ma ba'âtši jawâb.¹⁴

¹ (Y)myâl اميال is the plural form of mîl ميل, the kohl pencil, cf. Cant. 4 9.

² Ḥayy حتى encampment.

³ Cant. 5 8.

⁴ Cf. first stanza of song 38.

⁵ Cant. 7 7.

⁶ Wašṭ is pronounced with partial assimilation wâṣṭ (وسط).

⁷ Bâḥlîtna, better baḥlîtna باخلتنا for bâḥle 'alēna باخله علينا.

⁸ Cant. 5 6.

⁹ Walîf وليف; cf. song No. 40, stanza 1.

¹⁰ Cant. 3 6.

¹¹ Cant. 3 1^b; 1 7.

¹² Cant. 3 1^b and 5 6.

¹³ Cant. 5 8 and 2 5.

¹⁴ Cant. 7 11.

- 2 Ykšif 'alāyya
 Ya ṭabīb
 'Āla-lli atāni
 Min il-ḥabīb.¹
- 3 Wāllah yā rabb
 ha-l-āmru 'ajīb²
 Wāna 'albi dāb
 'Āla l-aḥbāb.^{3 4 5}
- 1 My beloved is away
 And my heart has melted.—
 For a long while
 He has sent no message.
- 2 Examine me
 Oh physician,
 As to what I suffered
 On behalf of the beloved one.
- 3 By God, Oh Lord!
 This is a wondrous thing;
 Yet my heart melted
 For the beloved ones.

¹ Cant. 5 8 and 2 5.

² I. e., love—Cant. 8 6^b.

³ This word is put in the plural for the sake of the rhyme.

⁴ This song, from which several verses are omitted, is known all over Palestine and Syria. I heard it in 1912 in Aleppo.

⁵ The rhyme is good; the metre runs thus:—

$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \cup & \searrow & \cup & \searrow & & \searrow & \cup & \searrow & \cup & \searrow \\ \cup & \searrow & \cup & \searrow & \cup & \searrow & \cup & \searrow & \cup & \searrow \end{array}$

عروسته هالشليه
ايه
واشترها بماله
ايه
يام العريس كوني شرحه
ايه
ومحبته لا تغاضي
ايه
خلي العزيب يتجوز
ايه
وينف رجله عن داري
ايه

٧١

نادولي العريس لاقشع حالاته
لاقشع بياض عنقه واقبل شاماته
قصفه من الريحان شقة عباته
جيبوا ابرة الفضة وخيط الملبسي
ونادولي العريس لاقشع حاله
بالله يا امه نادي خواته
يرقصوا للعريس بالشمعه المضويه



٦٧

ابو حاجب ابو كدله ابو عين ابو شعير ثلاثة اذرع وباعين
وبالله عليك تلني بالحضين ترى الدنيا فيها موت وحيا - با

٦٨

ابو جعود عليك الجعد بالزين جوز حواجب خط القلم بالزين
على صدر الحليوى جوز بزين قمر ونجوم حولهم مشعشعه - با

٦٩

يا مية اهلا وسهلا في قدمكم لبس الجوخ يصلح لقدمكم
الارض اليابسة الي داسها قدمكم اخضرت والعشب فيها انتشى - با

٧٠

ايه	عريسنا هالماوردي
ايه	بدي اعزمه الليله عندي
ايه	يا عروسته هالشليه
ايه	يا خدودها تنقط وردي
ايه	طبخ طبيخه من حاله
ايه	يعيش ودراعه ببقاله

٦٣

حيبي ظل من الشباك لاشوفك
يا ديب التمل يا حمرة شفوفك
عليم الله يوم ما بشوفك
علي اليوم اكثر من سنه — با

٦٤

يا صحن ليه ومنطى بشاوريه
زلوا من الطريق زلوا لتمرق السريه

٦٥

يا ام العروس يا ملكه يا لولو بشبكه
اعطينا عروستا وعوضينا البركه

٦٦

يا مدور كما الصينيه يا وجه القمر يا عروسه مرد
يسوغلك ساعه شليه عريسك وصي السايغ
يسوغلك اسواره الفيه ابوك وصي السايغ

٦٠

شال كشميرك يا عروس عيزيني
لاحظ زندي عَلَى زنديك وانزل عَلَى البساتين
لاقطف العنب فوق العنب تين
لاقطف عنقود المحبة حتى تحبيني

٦١

قومي يا عروس حل الرواح
والبلبل غنى والديك صاح
تحت شباك عريسك سايع اسمه صلاح
يسوغ اساور ذهب لايديك الملاح

٦٢

بباضك بباض الورقه
وحجرة خدودك خلقه
واللي معه المال يوخذ ممتلك جميله
واللي ما معه مال ببقى ممقوت خلقه

٥٧

حببيتي نزلت عالدار لبست
جلال مطرز على الراس لبست
تحا كيني ترى الروح ببست
انا العليل وهي لي الدوا — با

٥٨

دقت الطبول والزمور من دخلتك للدار
وشعشت التريا والقنديل يقدح نار
والقمر في السما وايش نزله للدار ؟
نجمة الصبح سبقت نجمة الغرار

٥٩

لبستك الزهري نزلتك وادي
اصطادها يا عريس ان كنت صياد
اصطادها يا عريس واقبل صيدها
اصطادها يا عريس وست البنات هادي

٥٤

- ١ حبيبي غاب وانا قلبي ذاب بقي له زمان مابعث جواب
- ٢ اكشف علي يا طيب عالي اتاني من الحبيب
- ٣ والله يا رب هالامر عجب وانا قلبي ذاب على الاحباب

تنبيه

لينس « للغنائي والزلاغيط » التابعة ترجمة او نقل او اي ملاحظة في القسم الانكليزي من هذه المقالة . وجل المراد من سردها تميم الفائدة

٥٥

ناعورة الدوم تنعق « يا حبيبي » تعن
وعينها تععن عزم المقيم تعن
ناشدتها بالمسيح « مالك تنوحي » ؟ تعن
قالت : « ولفني فارقت يا بلوتي مرّاي
مرّاي لو بنظرك ولف الصبا مرّاي
ما كان قلبي مدي الروح بطلت تعن »

٥٦

عريسنا يا زيتونه والزيت بنقط منه
وعريسنا وحيد يا رب كثر منه

٥١

- | | |
|---------------------------|---|
| عتابا باول الزينات حطي | ١ |
| زباد وند عالقرمول حطي | ٢ |
| عيونك نهر من امه وردته | ٣ |
| وسدرک روض من تحته العشابا | ٤ |
- [وسدرک روض ومرتع للشبابا]

٥٢

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| جرحني بهدب عيونه والميال | ١ |
| بقلي لحيمك زادت اميالي | ٢ |
| حبابي ليش ته زدتوني ميال | ٣ |
| بعدهما كنت أصح من القنا — با ؟ | ٤ |

٥٣

- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| ما حايلى غير طولها بوسط ضامر | ١ |
| باختنا شبه العود بوسط ضامر | ٢ |
| انا لاركب سلايل خيل اصايل | ٣ |
| وادور عَ وليفي بالختلا — با | ٤ |

٤٨

يا طولك طول عود الزان والميس
وخذلك ما ربي باليمن والقيس
خساره يا المليحه يوخذك تيس
ويقطف ورد خذك عالندى - با

٤٩

يا طولك طول نخله في سرايا
وخدودك حمر وشفافك طرايا
من اسطمبول [او من الشام] لابت لك مرايا
وقمارى وشوف يا عز الحبابا

٥٠

انام الليل واحلم ببيك بهدواي
خفيف خطمت اقدامه بهدواي
حكولي عن طعم ريقه بيه دواي
شرب منه العليل ثم طابا

٤٥

وانا لاصبح صوت « الله اكبر »
على اللي نهودها رمان واكبر
وانا خايف يجيني الشيب واكبر
وتكره شوقي حلوه العصابه

٤٦

مرق عني بيتلفت حواليه
بيسوى الدار والنازل حواليه
كشفت السدر وبان لي حواليه
قمر ونجوم في عالي السما — با [مشعشعه — با]

٤٧

يا طولك طول عود الزان لا مال
وشعرك غلب الجدال لا مال
وبيك لا ارضى صيغه ولا مال
وكيف الراي عندك والجوابا ؟

زعق طير الحمام وقال : « جيتك
بنص الليل يا محبوبي جيتك
حسبت مشاعل بباب بيتك
اتاريهن خدودك مصوبه » — با

٤٣

جيب الدار لازرع لك ليمونه
كل الناس على حبك لاموني
سنه وشهرين لا كسوه ولا مونه
اشاهدك بس صبح ومسا — با

٤٤

قطعت جبال ما فيها [واكثرها] دروبي
ومشيت الليل واهلي ما درواي
وانا لو ادري المنيا في دروبي
قبل ما مشيت ودعت الحبابا

٤١

- ١ قضيت الليل اعد النجوم وحداي
واقلب في النهود البيض وحداي
بنات العم فيهن كل وحداي
ترمي الطير من تاسع سما - با
- ٢ على نهر الصفا وردت حلبيه
جدائل سود وارختن حلبيه
رحن يا بهض مانتنش غنيمه
تعن يا سود [سمر] يا عز الصحابا
- ٣ نشامى البيض طعمتني معلل
ووجهن كالبدريضوي مع الليل
على فراقهن الجسم صار معلل
طريح الفرش من يم الصحابه

٤٢

- ١ زعق طير الحمام وقال : « ماجوش
هاللي واعدوني اليوم ماجوش »
سألتك بالنبي يا بير ماجوش ؟
ولا وردك طراش الصحابا ؟

٢٩

يا حبة البن الله والني حبك
في بلاد اليمن ما يزرعوا حبك
لاصير درویش وادروش علی حبك
یهتک سبیل آل شافک ولا حبك

٤٠

١ یا رایج شمال و بس قول له
 (وسلم ع الحیب و بس قول له) : —
 «ولیفک ما ینام اللیل کله
 یساهر بالقمر حین الغیابا»

٢ انام اللیل عینی ما تنام
 ترى الموعود ما یعرف ینام ؟
 فرشنا الفرش هیمنا المنام
 صاح الديك ما شفنا الحبابا

٣٧

١	طولاك خشب زان	وقرونك حبال البيت
٢	وانت ازهيث العرب	كن رحت ولا جيت
٣	يا بو نقاريش	يا بو جبه خضرا
٤	جرجتني جرح	طول العمر ما يبرى
٥	والهدب والعين	سارقهن من الغزلان
٦	والبطن بطن العاسوف	الضامر العطشان
٧	يا بو الشنايب	(ذهب للاعاليه)
٨	جرحت قلبي	يا بو دقه شماليه
٩	يا عصبة العمبر	من حرقها مالت
١٠	ما حلها الا يمينك	من كرها شالت
١١	غربي بيت الامير	مهيرة غره
١٢	مشاشله بالذهب	ما تنطلع برا . . .

٣٨

١	يا طولك طول القنا	والعنق مايل ميـل
	والخصر من رفته	هد القوى والحيل
	يا نايين الضحى	واتنبهوا بالليل
	هادي العروس العمبره	واللي عليها العين

٣٤

قومي تجلي يا كنة البنا
والكحل في عينك زقزقت له وغنى
حط القدم عالققدم ما سمعت له رنه
والبطن اللي حملك يجعل مسكنه الجنه

٣٥

قومي تجلي وخلي هالاعادي تموت
يا سجرة المستكه [المصطكى] وغصونها ياقوت
نحن من بيت طيب واصالنا مشبوت
وجدودنا في المقابر تستاسل التابوت

٣٦

خذك وندك ودورة وجهك الواسع
ومحبتك في قلبي عقرب اللاسع
لو صوموني ثمان تيام وتاسع
لا خرب مدينة حلب واسكن سدرك الواسع

٣١

١	يا بحر ما بنزلك	سافر حبيبي فيك
٢	يا ورد ما بقطفك	جمرة خدوده فيك
٣	يا لكل ما بصحنك	سواد عيونه فيك
٤	يا فرش ما بقربك	افشى نهوده فيك ...

٣٢

هيمتي	هيمتي	عن سواها اشغلتني
ليتني ما رحت معها	كنت صايم فطرتني	

٣٣

١	قومي تجلي يا بنت امير العرب	
٢	وان كان عليك عتب	نحنا علينا العتب
٣	وان كنك طويله	رمح خيالنا
٤	وان كنك قصيره	بارودة ارجالنا
٥	وان كنك سمرة	عسل مخفيه بجرارنا
٦	وان كنك بهضا	اميره مشرفة ع دارنا
٧	وان كنك بخيله	بتزيدي مالنا
٨	وان كنك خيره	ترباية ارجالنا

٢٧

يا ما ماشوفي الكناري . والعسل من تمه جاري
آه يا شوفي طوله والصبايا زغرتوله

٢٨

يا زين يا بو حوره خدك كما البلوره
محبتي في قلبي بجشت وعملت جوره

٢٩

ما بين اسمر وابيض ضيغت انا عمري
والبيض سكر مكرر بالحرير ملفوفه
والسمر عطر القناني للعليل موصوفه

٣٠

يا لله يا حبيبي نسكر تحت ظل الياسمين
نقطف الورد عن امه والعوازل نايمين [والصبايا فرحانين]

- ٤ بز العسل يا جميل . . . وشربت احفاني
٥ يا عين كوني علي من الشهاد
٦ لارجع بالوداد تاني

٢٥

- ١ عينيك السود ساقوا المبتلي ساقوا
٢ وخذودك الحمر جوات القدح راقوا
٣ اجوا بيت عزك لا مبسمك داقوا
٤ باتوا سكارى لنص الليل تي فاقوا

٢٦

- ١ طلع القمر واعتلى من يمكم
٢ ملا حواجب وجوز عيون الك
٣ تفداك روعي العزيزه انت قلت لي
٤ مالك مثيل بين اهل الهوى
٥ يا نخلة بغصن كلما هب الهوا
٦ لا تي طمعان ولا عيني على
٧ ردتك اخوي على طول المدى
- صاحبي
صاحبي
صاحبي
مالك
[مالت] مالك
مالك
صاحبي

٢٢

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| ١ | سافر المحبوب ما ريته يا عين ؟ | سقى الله عَ الايام الي مضمين |
| ٢ | شفته لابس الشمبر زينه عمبر | شبه الغزال مصور كحيل العين |
| ٣ | شفته لابس المقطع زينه يلمع | شبه القمر يتشمع مع نجمتين |
| ٤ | شفته مهود ع ايدہ ماحلى خده | ماحلى النومه ع خده سنه وشهرين |

٢٣

- | | | |
|---|----------------------|---------------------|
| ١ | عالسبات عالسبات | طار العزوم وفات |
| ٢ | عالسبات ويا عيوش | يام الاذراع المنقوش |
| ٣ | خذيلك ذهب وقروش | نقضي لك هالحاجات |
| ٤ | عالسبات ويا مريوم | يام الاذراع المبروم |
| ٥ | تلاقيني تحت الاكروم | لاقضي لك هالحاجات |
| ٦ | عالسبات ويا زينه | مثلك ما شافت عيني |
| ٧ | والله لاحطك في حضيني | واحلف عنك اللمات |

٢٤

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| ١ | يا عين ابكي على ألي بالحي وحدان |
| ٢ | لوعة البين بالاول وبالتالي |
| ٣ | عضبت على شفة المحبوب . . . بلساني |

٢٠

- ١ من سحر عينيك اروح فين يا وعدى ؟
- ٢ ياللي كويتني يا سبب وعدى
- ٣ ان جدت بالوصل تبقى سبب سعدي
- ٤ افرح واقول حبي مهنيني
- ٥ يا ما سبيت ناس من قبلي ومن بعدي

...

- ١ من سحر عينيك انا اروح فين يا وعدى
- ٢ واصبحت من نار غرامك مبتلي وحدى
- ٣ لو زرتني فرد ليله يا كمال سعدي
- ٤ افرح واكيد العذول: « حبي مهنيني » ...
- ٥ يا ما سبيت عقول الناس من قبلي ومن بعدي ...

٢١

- ١ وانا نازل عالوادي والساعة تتنين
- لاقاني المحبوب قبلاني بو سني الخدين
- ٢ وانا نازل عالوادي والدنيا شتا
- لاقاني المحبوب يا عيني لفني بعباته

مرد

١ يا غاويه شيمرك مال والحد بين حماره
يا صاحبي في شفا الغور نمشي على ضو نارها

* * *

٢ راسها خماس را بي في طوباس
والشعر بسباس جدايله رغايب
٣ سدرها هالالوح خلاني انوح
والقلب مجروح بدي له طيب
٤ بطنها هلاش يا طي القماش
« لا ترافقناش واخرتك تعيب »
٥ خصرها النخيل يا شلة حرير
« لا ترافقناش واخرتك تميل »
٦ تمها الملمم زاد القلب هم
ومتي بنلمم غ فراش الحبيب ؟

...

٧ شفتم يا خوي تعجن في العجين
والاساور في لشمال وفي اليمين

- ١٠ وايش اقول لك في ليهود ؟ ونقول : « رمان مليسيه » يا حلاي يا مالي
 ١١ وايش اقول لك في بطنها ؟ « مطوي طيه ع طيه »
 ١٢ وايش اقول لك في لفخاد ؟ ونقول : « شمه مضويه »
 ١٣ وايش اوصف لك غنجها ؟ ونقول « تعليم النوريه »

١٧

- ١ يا غزالي كيف غني ابعذك شتوا شملي وهجري عودك ؟
 ٢ سكر الحارس علي الباب وراح قال لي : « ما فتح لك لباكر الصباح »
 ٣ افتحيلي آه ياست الملاح بس الليله نيموني عندكم ...

١٨

- ١ تشكي تقول : « يا حارم جفني النوم يا حارم »
 ٢ انا من حبي فيك يا جميل طرزت اسمك ع محارم
 ٣ كل الملاح شهدوا لي فيك انك حلو لكن ظالم
 ٤ يا ماحلاك يا حلو لمن تنطرح للنوم
 ٥ تسود عيني ومن تحت تبار لي
 ٦ يا اعز من نور عيني فين كنت اليوم ؟
 ٧ الك وردتين يا حلو وانت صاحي واربعه للنوم
 ٨ على شرط يا جميل ما ريلك يياض بطني
 ٩ ينزل عليك الندى تسكر ثلاثين يوم ..

- ٥ حبيبي ناطر تحت القناطر « وان كان لك خاطر يا ما ما
دور عليا »
- ٦ حبيبي بداره ذهب اسعاره شوفي شو ماله يا ما ما
زعلائ عليا
- ٧ حبيبي بخيمه قمر بغيه والفرقه ضيمه يا ما ما
طالت عليا
- ٨ حبيبي برا سابل الغره والفرقه مره يا ما ما
بالعسكريه

١٦

- ١ وانا رايح ومروح وماقي الدرب الشرقيه يا حلالي يا مالي
- ٢ وانا رايح ومروح لاقطني بنت طريه [بدويه] //
- ٣ يا طولها والله ع طولي لن فيها من القصر شوويه //
- ٤ يا راسها راس الحمامه منه الجدايل مرخيه //
- ٥ وايش اقولك في العيون ؟ ونقول : « عيون غزلانيه » //
- ٦ وايش اقول لك في المنخار ؟ ونقول : « فستقه حليبه » //
- ٧ وايش اقول لك في شفافها ؟ ونقول : « لوزه طريه » //
- ٨ يا تمها خاتم سليمان نسده بالعشراويه //
- ٩ واسنانها لضم اللولو مشكوكه شكه زينه //

١٤

- ١ آس العذار فوق وجنتيه ابض يا نار قلبي عليه
ما عدت انا انسى الجفا - يا منيتي حرام عليك
- ٢ زورني يا بوالوش البشوش وابري قلبي من الغشوش
لاكشف على سدرك واشوف بستان وما شالله عليه
- ٣ زورني يا بوالقلب الحنون وابري قلبي من الهموم
الحب دا كله فنون وصاني محبوبي عليه
- ٤ انا بحبك من زمان روحي فداك قلبي كان
مزعزع على سدرك بستان مكتوب «ماشالله» عليه

١٥

- ١ العزوبه طالت علي قومي اخطيلي يا ما ما
واخذه شليه
- ٢ لبست البرنس قلعت البرنس مش رايحه تخلص يا ما ما
هاالعزوبه [هاالعسكريه]
- ٣ تحت النيمونه نامي يا عيوني امك حنونه يا ما ما
حننت عليا
- ٤ تحت التفاحه نومه برياحه هي الفلاحه يا ما ما
ضحكت عليا

- ١ عالميم عالميم بېضا وجرأ يا سلام
 - ٢ عالميم عالميم دارت خدها وقالت "بوس"
 - ٣ عالميم قالت لي: (زرار الدكة حلت لي)
 - ٤ عالميم عالميم حدفني بالجارني
 - ٥ عالميم يا اسما تحت التينه تباوسنا
 - ٦ عالميم يا شيبيني يا زهر البساتين
 - ٧ عالميم يا عمي خد لك بوسه من تمي
 - ٨ عالميم يا منصور تحت الصره في عصفور
 - ٩ عالميم خود وجيب تحت الصره شي عجيب
- مديت ايدي عالميوس رفر ف يا طير الحمام
 افرش بحضينه وانام
 اخدت لي عقلي قوام
 يحرق بيها شو حرکه
 واخذ مني مية ريال
 لا ضرب حالي سكين
 ابوي طلق امي واخوي سافر عالشام
 في عريبه في حنتور في لوكانده للمنام
 في قبطانجي وفي بابور راكب فيه عبد الحميد

- ٤ يا ابيض يا لون الياسمين ياللي على خدك ورده
وحياة جمالك والوجنت انا اسير المحبه .

١١

- ١ مرمر زماني ما سقاني سكر قلبي تولع بهواك يا الاسمر
٢ مرمر زماني ما سقاني عمبر انا وحيبي بالجنينه نسكر
٣ يا رايحه عالمام خديني معاك لاجمل البقجه وامشي وراك
٤ وان كان ابوك ما اعطاني اياك لاعمل عمائل ما عملها عند
٥ بالله يا قسيس ولا تاذيها هادي بنه والهوى راميا
٦ « قولوا لعين الشمس لاتحاشي حبيبي صبح بالبراري ماشي »

١٢

- ١ آه يا اسمر اللون حياتي الاسمراني
حيبي وعيونه سود اما الكحل سباني
٢ شفتها واقفه عالمينا بيدها فله وياسمينه
صبي العرق واستقينا حياتي الاسمراني
٣ شفت الحلوه يا عيسى زي الشمعه بكينسه
لمن شلحت قيصها صار المسلم نصراني

- ٣ مرقت عليّ من باب الدير اهلاً وسهلاً يا مسأ الخير
تفاح شامي على اسديري ولاّ سفرجل ؟ قوموا اقطفونا !
- ٤ مرقت نخطم هي وعمتها ريحه وروايح ريحة قذلتها
دخلك يا إما مأحلى بوستها بين الحواجب غسل بصحونا
- ٥ شفتها بتمخطر حامله الجرّه بيضا وغريره حوّاظها بالله
ماما يا ماما حبيبي برا لابس ومتلبس ومكحل عيونه
- ٦ على دلعونه على دلعونه اسمر سباني بغمز العيونا
اسمر سباني وانا سييته طقوا يا العدى بالي تدعونا
- ٧ قعدت قبالي واخذت لي بالي خد البنيه بلح جبالي
حلوه يا حلوه قومي من قبالي حلوه يا حلوه النفس ملعونه
- ٨ طلعت عالجبيل دوسه على دوسه نزلت الجبل دوسه على دوسه
« وان كان يا حيي علوزلك بوسه اصبرع اهلي حتى ينامونا »

١٠

- ١ رايح عّفين يا مسليني يا بدر حبك كاويني
املا المدام يا حبيب واسقيني يا كترشوقي عليك يا سلام
- ٢ دخلت انا جنينة الندمان لقيت حبيبي بتفرج
مديت ايدي على الرمان قال لي الحلو صاحبه « محرج »
- ٣ يا بدري خالك والوجنات وغمز عيونك يا عيوني
دول صبحوني فيك ولهان وهم في عشقك ظلموني

- ٥ من اجتنى حبيبته تسألني عليه لاحظطه بجضيبي يا عيني واتحنن عليه
٦ من اجتنى حبيبته تسألني عليه انا وحببي يا عيني مندلع سوى

٨

- ١ عاهيله الهيله الهيله ياربنا يارب تجمع مع الحباب شملنا
٢ حنينه يا حنينه يا حنينه ليش نومك للضحى؟ ريته هنا
٣ قامت من النوم وتنده: «سادتي واقعه بالعشق وشوفوا حالي
ضاع نص الليل زوروا فرشتي خاليه من الحب وحدي نايه»
٤ قامت من النوم وتنده: «يا فرج لا في مجنونه ولا عقلي خرج
لابني المحبوب عليه ودرج بسكره ومفتاح والحارس انا»
٥ قامت من النوم وتنده: «يا لطيف لا في مجنونه ولا عقلي خفيف
مين يحب الله ويظعنني رغيف رغيف المحبوب يكفاني سنه»
٦ قامت من النوم وبنت زغيره حامله البقجه وفيها محيره
قاتلها: «يا بنت ولىش محيره؟» قالت: «من زغرسني رما في الهوى»
٧ قامت من النوم وتنده عمها ريحة العطار يا ريحة تمها
سعيد وما سعد من هواها وحبها زادت بعمره ثمانت عشر سنه

٩

- ١ عَلَى دلعونه عَلَى دلعونه اسمر سباني بغمز العيونا
٢ عَلَى دلعونه بقول دحيلك اساتني زغيره ما نيش من جيلك
اصبر علي حتى احكيلك عالي جوالي مبارح واليوم

- ٣ قتلها : « يا حلوه ارويني عَلَى بزازك فرجيني »
 قالت لي : « روح يامسكين وبزازي تفاح الشام »
 ٤ قتلها : « يا حلوه ارويني عَلَى بطنك فرجيني »
 قالت لي : « روح يامسكين وبطني مخمر عجان »
 ٥ قتلها : « يا حلوه ارويني عَلَى نخادك فرجيني »
 قالت لي : « روح يامسكين ونخادي عمدان رخام »
 ٦ قتلها : « يا حلوه ارويني عَلَى نهودك نيميني »
 قالت لي : « روح يامسكين ونهودي كوز الرمان »
 ٧ قتلها : « يا حلوه ارويني عَلَى عيونك فرجيني »
 قالت لي : « روح يامسكين وعيوني عيون الغزلان »
 ٨ قتلها : « يا حلوه ارويني عَلَى حواجبك فرجيني »
 قالت لي : « روح يامسكين وحواجبي هلال شعبان »
 ٩ قتلها : « يا حلوه ارويني عَلَى تمك فرجيني »
 قالت لي : « روح يامسكين وقي خاتم سليمان »

٧

- | | | | | |
|---|---------------|--------------|-------------|---------------------|
| ١ | الحنه الحنه | يا قطر الندى | اشوفك حبيبي | يا عيني جلاب الهوى |
| ٢ | من اجتنى امه | تسألني عليه | لاحطه بعيني | يا عيني واتكل عليه |
| ٣ | من اجتنى اخته | تسألني عليه | لاحطه بعبي | يا عيني واتزرر عليه |
| ٤ | من اجتنى عمته | تسألني عليه | لاحطه بكهي | يا عيني واضمه عليه |

٥ فله بتملي والشعر مخني مدلي ليرتين عثملي على عين الكل
يا فله

٦ فله بتتوضي بابر يق الفضه على بوسه وعضه على عين الكل
يا فله

٧ فله بتتخارب بالعين والحاجب والله لاصاحب على عين الكل
يا فله

٨ فله بالحاره بتشرب سيكاره بحبك جكاره على عين الكل
يا فله

٩ بيع المخلل بيمشي وبدل لآخده واتكال على عين الكل
يا فله

١٠ بيع الكنفاه بيمشي باطافه والبوسه من شفافه بتسوى الكل
يا فله

١١ بيع المرمر بيمشي وتبحسر لا بوسك واسكر على عين الكل
يا فله

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١٢ طالعه من دار ابوها نازله بيت الجيران

لابسه فسطان عالموضه والعيون بتضرب سلام

١٣ قلت لها «يا حلوه ارويني على سدرك فرجيني»

قالت لي: «روح يا مسكين وسدري بلا طرخام»

والنومه تحت لحافك بتسوس الفين وميّه

٤ يا نهود حبيبي كما البلور قطفهم سفرجل ورماني

ياريتني بينهم مدفون بين الياسمين والريحاني

٥ يا طالعين عالقصر لفق يا نازلين سلموا لي

على غزال وعيونه سود هو سبب حزني ونوحي

— . —

٦ نرات عالجرا لا تحم جملة حباب حموني

لا هو بليفه ولا بصابون الا بغمز العيوني

٧ لا يعجبك شب شملول ماشي بطوح بردانه

اكله وشربه من السوق والهم كله على امه ٠٠٠

٥

١ فله يا فله يا زهر الفل هاتوا لي حبيبي وخلوني افل

يا فله

٢ فله يا عيني يا غنب الزيني لافه بحضيني على عين الكل

يا فله

٣ فله يا قاضي وانافيك مشراضي لايغ اغراضي واعيف الكل

يا فله

٤ فله يا كبيره ورده ياسمينه عشقك يا سرينه بيسي الكل

يا فله

٣

- ١ قدك المياس يا عمري يا غصين البان كاليسر
انت احلى الناس في نظري صورك ونشاك يا عمري
- ٢ دق الباب ففتحته « واهلا وسهلا » قتلته
كاس المدام سكبته قتلته : « تفضل يا عمري »
- ٣ دق الباب بلطافه ففتحته بظرافه
جبتله صحن كفافه والمازه من ورد خده
- ٤ مرقت عني الغندوره ع راسها شكله ومنظوره
يا رب يسلم لي طولها « هو حبي وانا حبه »
- ٥ انا وحيبي بالجنينه والورد خيم علينا
طلبت البوسه من جبينها يا رب تستر علينا
- ٦ انا وحيبي بالكروسه وعيونه سود ومحروسه
يا ربي تسلم لي بوسه « ياخوش كلدي صفا كلدي »

٤

- ١ اممرو لابس قميص النوم ومزدره بحب مرجان
ساعه يسكر وساعه يميل يشبه عود الريحان
- ٢ يا وقفتي على الباب وحدي امسح دموعي بجرمتي
وان سألوك عني الكدعان عاشق ومفارق صاحبتني
- ٣ يا مددقة على شفافك بستك ولا حدن شافك

- ١ يا رب يا العالي شلون عبدك ظلمته ليه ضلعي كسراته ؟
- ٢ مروا علي تنين قطعوا صلاقي واحد حبيب الروح واحد حياتي
- ٣ سلم علي وراح مثل الغريبه ياد معة بالعين كوني سكينه
- ٤ سلم علي وراح راكب حصانه يسلم حبيب الروح يسلم لي شانه
- ٥ سلم علي وراح راكب خنتوره يسلم حبيب الروح يسلم لي طوله
- ٦ ماليش غرض بالسوق مررت لشوفك

عاذلي سنتين مشتاق ما زويت من شوفك

٧ راحوا على الحمام حلوا شعورهم

كل البنات نجوم حي قمرهم

- ١ برهوم يا برهوم يا ابو الجديله غمزني بعينه (يا يما) بيده تشكيله
- ٢ برهوم عالسطوح والشعر يبلوح والقلب مجروح (يا يما) جرح السكينه
- ٣ برهوم مش عنا والكف محني اطلب واتمني (اي والله) تلقى الغنيمه
- ٤ برهوم بالحاره يشرب سيكاره دخلك ياساره (اي والله) الليله افتحي له
- ٥ « والله ما افتح لك تاشاور اهلك في اول جهلك (يا برهوم)

خايف ترمينا ..

THE GUEST-HOUSE IN PALESTINE

E. N. HADDAD
(JERUSALEM)

A guest-house¹ is a meeting place for the clan² and for the reception of guests; it is found in every village of Palestine. The number of guest-houses depends on the size of the village and on the number of its clans. In some villages there is only one guest-house; others have two, three or more. If the members of one or more clans are living together in friendly relations, one guest-house may serve for several clans, but if this is not the case each clan has its own guest-house, which may not be a special building, but is often a room which a man offers for that purpose. If the chief or mukhtar of the clan has a large house then, as a rule, one of the rooms of his house serves as a guest-house. The repairs needed for the guest-house are paid for by the whole clan. The expenses include petroleum and mats. Every person of the male sex who is more than thirteen years old has to pay his share of the expenses.

Hospitality is one of the good old customs of the Arabs, as is also the duty of respecting the rights of guests. As soon as a guest enters the host's house he is under his full protection; cf. the story of Lot, Genesis 19 4 ff. and of the Levite, Judges 19 23.

Guests not only have free lodging, but they also receive their food and whatever else they need. To refuse to receive a guest is considered a great disgrace; cf. Job 31 32 and Luke 9 5. Hence the common Arabic expression "My house is your house" (i. e., "Consider yourself at home") is more than an empty phrase. Whoever eats bread and salt with the Arabs is regarded as under their protection.

¹ المضافة.

² جماعة pl. جائل.

Guest-houses are open both by day and by night to men only. Women, even if they are strangers, are strictly forbidden to stay in them. A woman is permitted to enter a guest-house in case of presenting a charge against somebody, in the presence of the elders and the mukhtar. After stating her case she leaves, and then the nearest relative takes up her defence. In case she has no relatives this duty devolves upon the mukhtar. All persons of the male sex, including children, are allowed to enter the guest-house, but as it is considered very improper for children to meet with men at social gatherings, they are seldom found there. On days of weddings and funerals they have the right to be there at meals and eat with the men.

Babies and children up to three years of age are strictly forbidden to enter the guest-house. Fathers who visit the guest-house carrying their children in their arms are responsible for their cleanliness. If it is only a case of wetting, then the father must offer, as penalty, a meal to all those present in the guest-house. If the case is more than a mere wetting, he must offer an animal as an atonement for this indecency. A strange woman or girl is strictly forbidden to enter a guest-house but stays with the women of the village, with whom she takes her meals and sleeps. One of the duties of the mukhtars and elders of the village is to make arrangements for women as soon as they arrive.

The purposes of guest-houses may be summed up as:—

1. To serve as places of amusement for the villagers and their guests.
2. As free lodging places for guests.
3. As village law courts.
4. As public meeting places for discussion of all questions of interest to the villagers.
5. As coffee houses.
6. As reading rooms, where newspapers are read and government orders and notices are announced.

In the evening we not only find here guests and idlers but all kinds of labourers and peasants who, after their hard daily work, come to the guest-house to spend the evening, smoking, grinding and roasting coffee, and drinking it by sipping it in their well-known noisy way. Disputes of every kind should be presented before the chiefs and mukhtars to be settled here. These decisions are more acceptable than those of the law courts. Harmless games such as

*khweitimi*¹ and *huzzeirah*² are played. The playing of cards is considered as very disgraceful. Jokes of all kinds make the gathering very lively. Proverbs and moral tales while away the evening hours. The persons who wish to sleep may stay in the guest-house or go home, but the guests remain there for the night.

Every guest-house has a guardian, or rather a servant.³ He is the employee of the clan, which provides for his payment. His food is also given by it. His work is to look after the needs of guests, to see about their beds, food, fodder for their animals and other necessary things. These things are given in turn by the families of the clan.

In some places this is not done in turns but by voluntary contributions. The servant must prepare the coffee and bring the coffee beans and the wood from the person whose turn it is to give them. The food he receives already prepared for the guests.

Guests may be of every class. Animals are killed for those of the higher class as a sign of respect. Otherwise a sufficient amount of the usual food is given. If a guest is not a mere wayfarer, but comes for a purpose he will bring a gift of one or more animals. Guests come with offerings in the case of weddings, visits of condolence or congratulation on safe return from a journey.

Those who come to condole stay one day or more after the dead person is buried and do not return on the day of the interment. Those who come during the funeral procession do not bring animals but offer money instead. To offer money after the burial has taken place is a disgrace; in such a case the gift of an animal is proper. The head of the condoling party presents the money on their behalf by wrapping it in a handkerchief and casting it on the covered grave. Such offerings are presented to the guest-house of the clan of the deceased.

Condolers and honoured guests are not allowed to depart without an entertainment in their honour, which lasts two or more days. The length of stay of the guests depends on the number of the invitations given by the inhabitants of the village. At each invitation one or more animals are killed for the guests. Condolers do not stay over

¹ خويتمة

² حزيمة

³ ناطور

night but eat the food presented to them and then return home. They do so in order to cause as little expense as possible to the relatives of the dead person.

Guests are invited to partake of food after they have been welcomed and after coffee has been offered to them. Such an invitation includes the killing of animals for the guests. People try to outdo one another in inviting guests and usually there is much rivalry. This kind of invitation is called *mughâlatah* ¹ In case of disagreement, the mukhtar or some one chosen for the purpose must decide.

The decision should be referred to one or more chiefs, or some one may be chosen for the purpose by the hosts. One after another the contestants stand before the judge and speak as follows: "What is your opinion about the matter, O judge, whose decision we accept? I demand your protection from injustice and its ways by the life of Abraham, the Friend of God, and the seventy-two prophets." The judge answers: "Don't worry about it." Another person comes in his turn and repeats the same words adding, "I have a great desire to entertain those people", and closing, "May God keep your beard and their beards alive. I beg you to grant them to me." The judge answers: "I have heard your case. Now sit down until I hear the others." Each one repeats the same words.

The one in whose favour the judge decides is addressed with the words, "May God reward you." These words are considered as a final decision. Then the victor in the contest goes at once and prepares the food needed for the feast, such as rice and sheep.

In some villages the host usually offers everything required in the way of food; in others, his relatives aid by bringing bread. The host brings rice, butter and the animals to be killed. If guests arrive at a village long before the time of the chief meal, simple food is presented to them by the relatives of the host. Food of such kind is called *khurûj*.

In a very large deep dish of wood, called *bâtiah*,² they break the bread into crumbs and pour over them meat gravy. Some pour on in addition butter, or melted butter with rice and meat. This dish is then presented to the guests with two whole legs of mutton and the fat tail of the sheep. The hosts do not eat but wait on their

¹ مغالطة

² باطيه

guests; but when there is an old man in the family of the hosts, he sits down with the guests to eat. The guests give pieces of meat to those who wait upon them as a sign of honour and respect. The chief guest cuts the legs and the tail of the sheep and distributes pieces to anyone of those present. The host may offer less than a whole killed animal at one meal, and the remaining part may be presented at another time, but an act of this kind is not favoured.

It is commonly known that the inhabitants of the districts south of Jerusalem, (such as El-Mâlha, Sataf, Beit-Jâla, Arîâs, the whole region of Hebron, where the Qaisi comprise the majority of the inhabitants), are more liberal than the inhabitants of the northern districts, where the Yemeni outnumber the Qaisi.

Sugar and coffee are not offered by the host only, but any one of the clan may bring them, if he wishes, and the guest-house servant takes charge of them. Coffee is roasted in an iron pan with a long handle, in the presence of the guests. Coffee that is not roasted in the presence of the guests cannot be offered. After being roasted, the coffee is ground in a mortar with a wooden handle. The man who crushes the coffee beats with the pestle in a variety of rhythms to amuse himself and the guests. Those who have ever been present at a guest-house will have noticed this. The Arab drinks coffee of two kinds, bitter and sweet, but the first is preferred. It may be prepared in three ways, bitter (Arabic fashion) half sweet (Turkish fashion) and very sweet (European fashion). Coffee may be drunk by guests many times at one meal. Every meal should have coffee after it as a rule. The person who prepares the coffee tastes it in the presence of the guests to see if it is well prepared. It is believed by some people that this is intended more as a proof of security, to show that the coffee contains no poison. Guests drink coffee according to age; the oldest takes coffee first and the rest follow in turn.

Songs of every kind are sung, especially by the *shâ'ir* (the village poet), who is at the same time singer and accompanist. While playing the *rabâbi*, the native one-stringed instrument, he sings, often improvising the words of the song as he goes along.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

SOME ADDITIONAL NOTES ON THE SONG OF DEBORAH

In the *Journal*, II, 73—83, the writer has presented a new reconstruction and interpretation of the Song of Deborah. A number of corrections and additions have been noted since, and for the sake of completeness it may be well to collect and print them.

Pag. 79, n. 5:—The correction of *Merôz* to *Merôn* has been anticipated by Grätz, who gives it doubtfully in his *Geschichte*, I, 117, as I now see. By a slip on the writer's part, the Assyrian *Marum* of the inscription of Tiglathpileser has been corrupted to *Marun*, which must therefore be left out of consideration. This *Marum* belongs with *Mrm*, No. 12 in the Tuthmosis list, mentioned before Damascus, and therefore probably too far north. It is interesting to note that the Talmudic *Mêrôn*, modern *Meirôn* near Safed, had a second name, *Tekoa* (Klein, *Beiträge zur Geographie und Geschichte Galiläas*, pp. 23—25), a fact which forms an interesting parallel to the double name *Šimôn* (*Šimrôn*)-*Merôn*, Jos. 12 20. *Seimûniyeh* is the most probable site of Meron; there is an interesting tell, quite unoccupied, on the site. In this connection it may be observed that *Seimûniyeh*, lying ten miles west of *Debûriyeh* and seven east of Tell 'Amr in a straight line, is an admirable location for Meron, which proved recalcitrant from cowardice. The pottery-sequences, obtained from Tell 'Amr in September, 1922, by Garstang and Pythian-Adams, show that that the site is exclusively Iron Age, and materially increase the probability that it represents *Harôset hag-Gôyim*, presumably founded either by Sisera himself or by an immediate predecessor, at the threshold of the Iron Age, early in the twelfth century B. C. Much of the pottery found is identical with the ware from the first and second periods at Gibeah, 1200—1000 B. C. The only other available site for *Harosheth*, el-

Harbaj, a beautiful tell, is probably Hannathon, as will be shown elsewhere. The excavations of the British School here have shown that the site was occupied during the Middle and the Late Canaanite (Bronze) Ages and reoccupied for a short period during the Iron Age, a history which agrees perfectly with the literary references to Hannathon, in the Amarna Tablets, the Old Testament, and the Assyrian inscriptions.

Pag. 81, st. IV:—The adverb *šam* is probably here temporal (Ar. *tumma*), as often in biblical Hebrew, instead of local (Arab. *tamma*). We should render:

At the sound of the cymbals,	Between the drums,
Then they will recite	The triumphs of Yahweh,
The triumphs of his yeomen	In Israel they will tell.

Pag. 81, n. 2:—The identification of Beth Anath with modern Bi'neh (so pronounced on the spot) will be defended in a paper to appear in the *Annual of the American School*, Vol. II—III, written in the summer of 1921. It may be observed that this view was first proposed by Neubauer, *Géographie*, pp. 235f., whose references may be supplemented by comparing Klein, ZDPV XXXIII (1910) 37f., for Talmudic Rûm Bêt 'Anat or Râmât Bêt 'Anat. It is curious that it has been disregarded by subsequent topographers, who have preferred the impossible identification of Beth Anath with 'Einîā. For the loss of the *t* cf. *Bêt-šan* = *Bēsân* = *Beisân*; *Bêt Neṭōfah* = *Battōf* (Klein, MNDPV 1908, 33ff.), and the numerous cases in the Aramaean place-names of Palestine and Mesopotamia which may be found in Thomsen's *Loca Sancta* (index), Neubauer, etc.

Pag. 81, n. 3:—Cf. now also the long note on the subject of the phrase "mother in Israel" by Pilcher, QS 1922, 38—41. Pilcher also compares the phrase on Sidonian and Laodicean coins and justly observes that the term *em* as applied to towns means rather "chief town of a district," or "town of first rank" than *metropolis* in the Greek sense—except on Sidonian coins.

Pag. 82, st. VII, line 4:—The rendering "And why does Dan become attached to ships" is not altogether happy; a better translation would be "And why does Dan take service on (foreign) ships." As is well known (cf. Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, p. 494), *yagûr onîyôt* means "he becomes a client (*ger*, *metoikos*) on ships."

W. F. ALBRIGHT.

THE ŠINNŌR IN THE STORY OF DAVID'S CAPTURE OF JERUSALEM

The famous passage 2 Sam. 5 6-9, especially verse 8, forms one of the most difficult exegetical problems in the historical books of the Old Testament. The crux of the difficulty is the obscure word *šinnôr*, none of whose known meanings harmonize well with the context. Owing to the great interest of the narrative for students of the history and topography of Jerusalem, much ingenuity has been expended on the interpretation of this word. Unfortunately, the Gordian knot has usually been cut by adopting a more or less arbitrary meaning for *šinnôr* and disregarding the context on the plea of textual corruption. If there was textual corruption, it crept in at an exceedingly early date, before the compilation of Chronicles, which, as the writer will endeavor to show elsewhere, dates from about 375 B. C. In the corresponding section of Chronicles (1 Chr. 11 4-7) the compiler, who usually copies almost word for word from Samuel, leaves out carefully all the obscure allusions to the lame and blind, the *šinnôr*, etc., though retaining the rest of the passage. If this shows anything, it is that the word *šinnôr* was no longer understood, at least in the particular force employed in the text. On the principle of *difficilior lectio*, as it evidently stood in the copy of Samuel used by the Chronicler, it was surely the original reading as well; it is difficult to imagine a simpler word being corrupted to such a rare one. It is, of course, possible that a line dropped out after *šinnôr*, as Vincent supposes, but this assumption can only be adopted as a last resort.

In a literal translation our passage runs as follows: And the king and his men went to Jerusalem (i. e., *Yerušalaima*), to the Jebusite who dwelt in the land, and (the latter) said to David, Thou canst not come in hither, but (if thou dost) the blind and the lame will be able to repel thee (verb in plural with 6)—that is to say, David shall not come in hither. And David captured the citadel of Zion, that is, the city of David. And David said on that day, Whoever smiteth (*makkeh*) a Jebusite, let him smite (*yigga' be*) the *šinnôr*—for (and) the lame and the blind my soul (lit., the soul of David) hateth (with the *ketiv*). Therefore they said, The blind and the lame shall not enter the House.

From verse 6 it is clear that the Jebusites had placed the cripples of their town on the walls as a taunt to David—the walls were so strong and the Jewish force so puny that even cripples were garrison enough. If David had to rise day after day, as the siege progressed, only to see the mocking line of cripples on the wall, it is not surprising that he conceived a lively hatred for the unfortunate causes of his humiliation. The emphasis placed on the lame and blind, especially in connection with the aetiological motive in verse 9, shows that there was some reference to them in David's command to his troops on the day when Jerusalem was stormed (verse 8). It is not probable that a tradition would have represented so noble a character as David in the light of a coward wreaking vengeance on the helpless cripples; the vengeance which is undoubtedly implied by the tone of the passage must have been visited on the Jebusites. What was the nature of this vengeance?

The most logical attempt so far made to solve the problem on the basis of the Masoretic text is that of Dalman, PJB 1915, 39–44. Pointing out that the *šinnôr* must have been the object of David's vengeance on the Jebusites, he adopts Wellhausen's suggestion that the *šinnôr* was a part of the Jebusite's body. While Wellhausen, however, suggests the throat, Dalman, going out from the same meaning of *šinnôr*, "pipe, canal," proposes "penis" as an appropriate rendering, without calling attention to the fact that *שִׁנּוֹר* means incidentally "vagina" in post-biblical Hebrew. Dalman thinks that the mutilation of the penis would be appropriate poetic justice, since the Jebusites would all become cripples in an even worse way than the cripples who had so aroused his ire. However, it is hard to see any direct connection between the punishment and the crime, and the meaning "male organ" is decidedly forced. Hebr. *ammah* seems to acquire this meaning in the same way that Eng. "yard" has. It is true that Eng. "cock" in the sense of "male organ" means properly "faucet", which is one of the known meanings of *šinnôr*; but it seems to the writer that a better explanation may be derived from an analysis of the semasiology of *šinnôr*.

In the Old Testament the word *šinnôr* is found in one other passage, Ps. 42 8, and the closely related *šantêret* once, Zech. 4 12. In Psalms *šinnôr* means certainly "spout", and seems to refer to the pipes connecting the upper and lower *tehom*, as in Avestan cos-

mology; the pipes were presumably furnished with faucets to enable the water to be turned off and on at will. In Zechariah, the word *ṣantéret* is used of the pipes through which oil was admitted to the seven lamps from a basin (*gullah*) above. Naturally it means here "faucet", since the flow of oil had to be regulated. It is not impossible that these words are loans from Assyrian, though the Assyrian word for "faucet," *ṣarṣaru*,¹ is quite different.

In Aramaic and post-biblical Hebrew three meanings of *ṣinnôr*, *ṣinnôrâ* are known: (1) spout, faucet (e. g., *Miqwâ'ôt* 4, 1: המניה כלים ותחת הזינור;² (2) socket in which the pivot of a door turns, socket in general; (3) hook, bent pin. In Syriac the following meanings are listed by Payne-Smith: (1) bee-sting—i. e. hook—; (2) fish-hook—*ṣinnârtâ*—; (3) Modern Syriac, jaw. From Aramaic the word passed over into Arabic; cf. Fraenkel's meager discussion on p. 89 of his *Aramäische Fremdworte im Arabischen*, where he suggests a combination of Aram. *ṣinnôrâ* with Arab. *ṣunbur*, completely forgetting Arab. *ṣinnârah*. In the *Lisân* (cf. also Lane and the *Muḥîṭ*) the following meanings are given: (1) plane-tree (Persian loan); (2) head of a spindle, iron in the head of a spindle (also suspected by the Arabic lexicographers of being a Persian loan-word); ear (in Yemen); (3) handle of a shield; (4) fish-hook (cf. also the *Muḥîṭ* and Dozy); (5) crochet-needle (Dozy).

If we ask ourselves what the source of all these meanings must have been, we are at first somewhat perplexed for a reply. The doublets *ṣinnôr* and *ṣantéret* indicate that we are dealing with a good old Semitic word—whatever its ultimate origin may have been. The solution of the difficulty seems to be furnished by the Arabic *ṣinnôr* (سنور) in the sense "joint of the neck"; it is very well known among Semitic phonologists that *sin* and *ṣade* tend to interchange

¹ For Assyr. *ṣarṣaru*, "spout, faucet," cf. JAOS XXXV, 396ff.; AJSJL XXXV, 185. The tabu in *Šurpu* against drinking water from a faucet is exactly paralleled in later Hebrew literature, which, as so well known (cf. now also Marmorstein, ZA XXXIV, 94-6), is full of Babylonian conceptions. The Kabbala (*Emeq ham-melek*, fol. 153, quoted from Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, p. 29) says: "Let no man drink from a running tap or spout, but from the hollow of his hands, lest a soul pass into him, and that the soul of some wicked sinner." Naturally the Babylonians had observed that diseases (i. e., demons) were contracted by drinking from water-taps.

² Cf. *ṣanterîn*, "water-taps, spouts," in *Targum Šeni* to Esther, 1 2.

in the presence of an *r*, owing to the influence of the broad pronunciation of vowels with *r* (partial assimilation at a distance). It is evident at once that a meaning like "joint" is precisely what we need for our problem, since all the other meanings may be traced back to it without difficulty.

The meaning "socket" is most natural, since all animal joints are based on the ball and socket, like the ancient hinge. In German *Gelenk* is still used sometimes in this sense. Nor is there any difficulty in "faucet, spout," since ancient pipes were always jointed, either as reeds or as a line of earthenware cylinders (vases) joined together; a faucet or spout in the ancient sense was simply a joint of pipe provided with a primitive stop-cock. The meaning "hook" is clearly derived from "link of a chain," or the like; cf. *link* and *gelenk*—which also preserves the meaning "link in a chain." From the meaning "hook" are readily deducible "bee-sting, fish-hook, crochet-needle," as well as "handle of a shield"; from the latter "ear" comes naturally, like the opposite development of "ear" = "handle." One may also compare *Henkel* = "handle, ear," and "hook," as well as the German humorous *Henkeltopf* = "person with prominent ears."

If now we take the primitive meaning "joint," which we have just recovered, and insert it in our translation, the difficulty immediately disappears: And David said on that day, Whoever smiteth a Jebusite, let him strike a joint (*bešinnôr*, or perhaps "his joints")—for the lame (and the blind) my soul hateth. In other words, the Jebusites were not to be slain, but to be lamed, if possible, that the lame survivors might live to bear witness to the folly of mocking King David. It is probable enough that all the male Jebusites (including Arauna) were lamed in some way, since the wrath of a David would hardly stop short of a thorough process. It was justice of a primitive type, to be sure, more like what we would call poetic justice, but in those rough days, accustomed to the *lex talionis*, it could hardly fail to commend itself. It is important to note that this rendering is in strict accord with the best Hebrew idiomatic usage. The expression *yigga' be* is used in exactly the same way Gen. 32 26, in the story of Jacob's encounter with the angel, who "touched" the tendon of his thigh, *וַיַּגַּע בְּכַף יָרְכּוֹ*, and lamed him for life.

In concluding, we must not fail to refer to the ingenious sug-

gestion of Birch, that *šinnôr* in our passage means "subterranean canal, tunnel," and that David sent his men up this perilous route to storm Jebus, presumably without the knowledge of the besieged. This theory has been defended brilliantly by Vincent (in his *Jérusalem*, I, pp. 146 ff.) whose results are fast becoming the common property of scholars. With so elegant an archaeological demonstration it could hardly be otherwise, since the philological premises are those generally held. These premises, however, are basically unsound. Heb. *we-yiggā' baš-šinnôr* cannot mean "and will reach through the *šinnôr*," unless we assume that the phrase had in this passage a meaning nowhere else found in Hebrew literature. Nor does *šinnôr* anywhere else have the meanings "conduit of water, canal where the water murmurs, passage in connection with water." We must thus regretfully give up this interpretation, fascinating as it is, and return to the exegesis of Wellhausen and Dalman, modified as shown above.

It is not surprising that the word *šinnôr* in the sense "joint" employed in the tenth century (when the story arose) had become obsolete in the fourth, since all the meanings known in Aramaic are derived ones. Ḡ rendered *παρὰξιδιον*, evidently taking the sense "hook" and explaining it as "dagger." Aquila and Symmachus were still more at sea, the one considering *šinnôr* here as a water-course, the other as a battlement, both translations being obviously attempts to harmonize some meaning of *šinnôr* with the traditions regarding David's capture of Jerusalem.

The best expression for the subterranean water tunnel of the type familiar from Zion, Gibeon, Gezer, Ibleam, etc., is *solen* (Gr. *σολήν*). As pointed out by Eisler, JRAS 1923, p. 64, note, Cadmus is said to have dug such *σολήνες* from the Theban acropolis to a subterranean fountain.

W. F. ALBRIGHT.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER OF THE PALESTINE ORIENTAL SOCIETY

(June 1921—June 30, 1922)

Receipts

<i>Balance in hand, May 30th, 1921</i>	£ E. 206 PT. 32.7
Life subscriptions	20 00.0
Library compound subscriptions	22 87.5
Donations to the funds of the Society	4 00.0
Annual subscriptions for 1920	2 00.0
Annual subscriptions for 1921	106 16.1
Annual subscriptions for 1922	66 33.3
Sale of Journal	2 90.7
Total:	<u>£ E. 430 PT. 60.3</u>

Expenditure

Postage	£ E. 8 PT. 55.0
Stationery	3 24.0
Refreshments	3 48.0
Printing of programmes and circulars	9 95.5
Printing of Journal	77 66.6
Transport of Journal and agency fees	4 69.0
<i>Balance in hand June 30th, 1922</i>	323 02.2
Total:	<u>£ E. 430 PT. 60.3</u>

Examined and found correct, and accompanied by the proper vouchers:

S. RAFFAELI
July 22nd, 1922.

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¹ This list has been corrected up to November 11 th, 1922. Members are asked to notify the Secretary of any change of address or any other inaccuracy.

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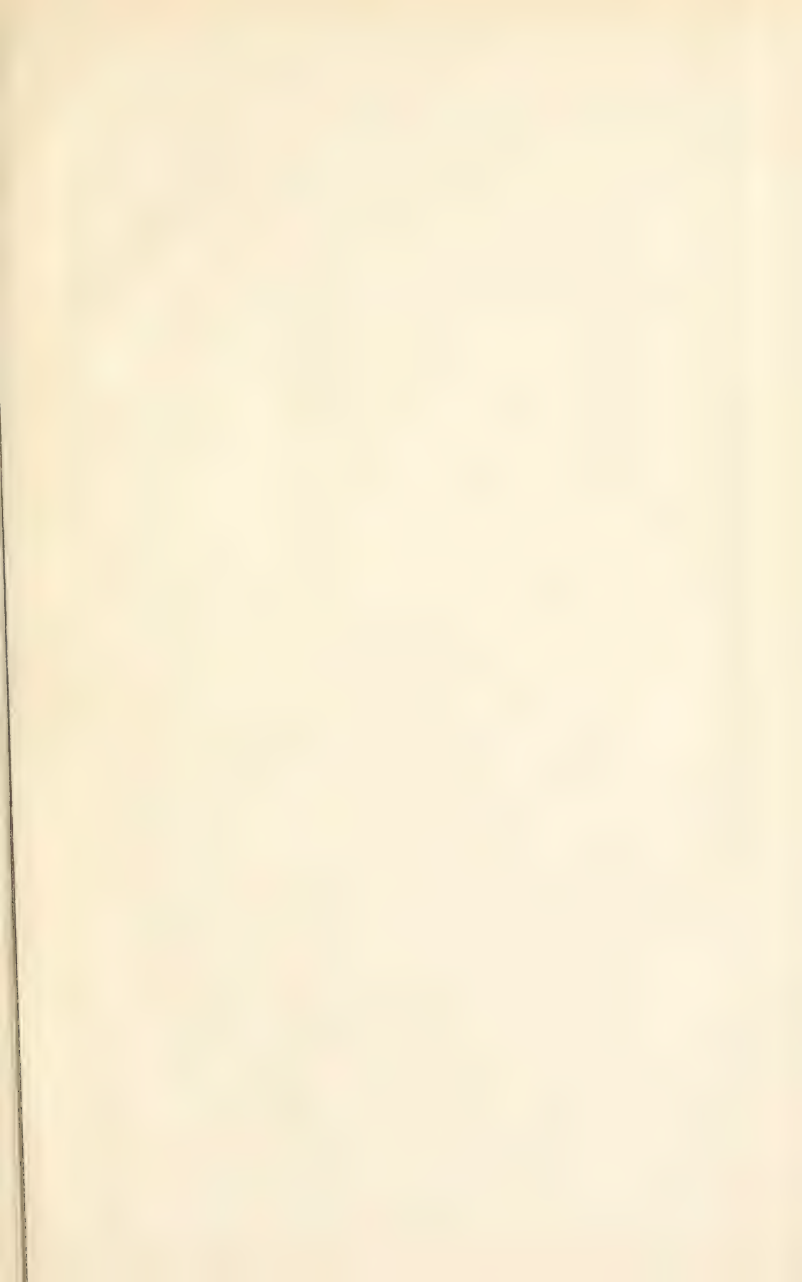
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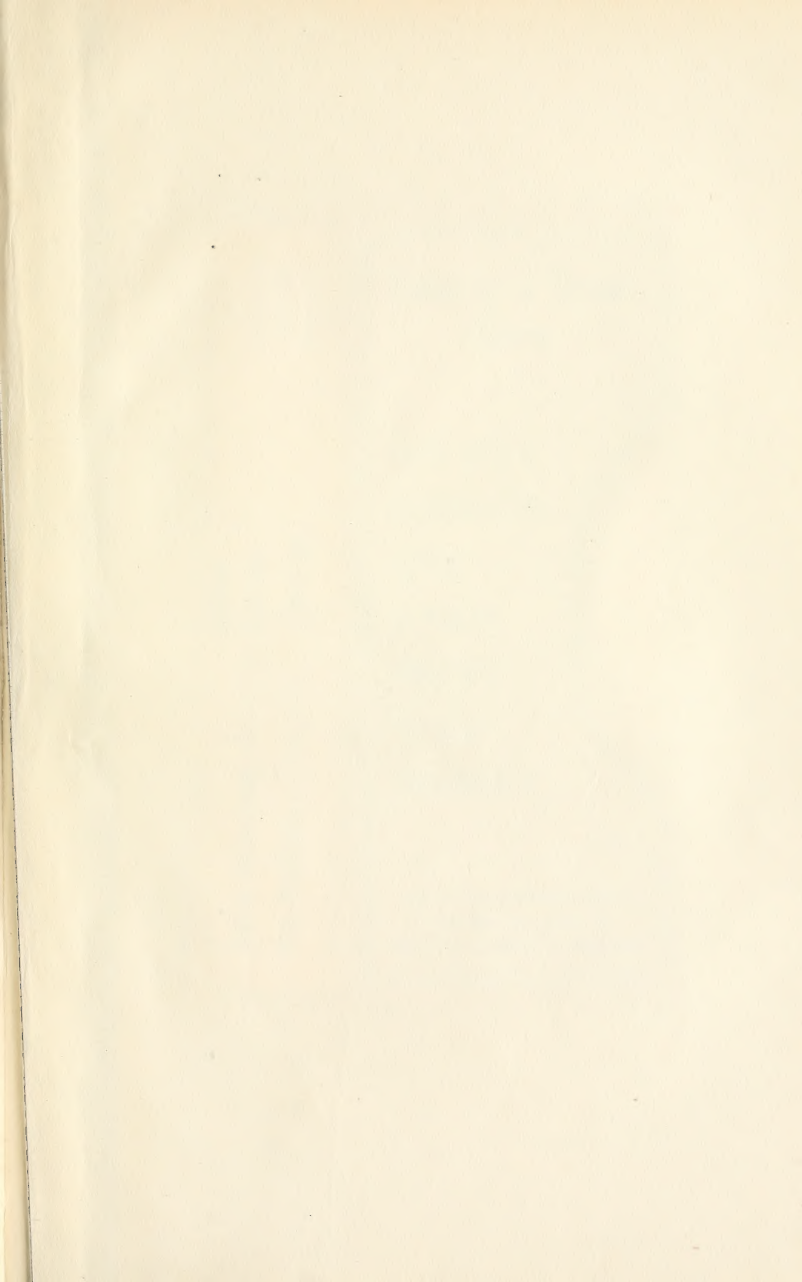
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